

THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1797.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE,
in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King CHARLES II. —
Part I.



L O N D O N,

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ANNUAL REGISTER

PREFACE

HIS MAJESTY'S

VARIOUS causes, which it would be fruitless to detail, have delayed the publication of the New Annual Register a little beyond the time which we had originally fixed for its appearance. Our readers, however, we flatter ourselves, will not be hastily disposed to accuse us of unpunctuality, when they consider the great importance of our domestic transactions, independent of the foreign matter, during the last year. The volume for 1799, we can venture to promise, will be much earlier in its appearance; that volume will contain information of the most interesting, and which, for reasons that must be every reflecting person, it was necessary and proper to withhold for the present. It will contain (besides the usual historical matter) a copious, impartial, and authentic narrative of the affairs of Ireland, and a view of the present state of North America, and of the dispute between the French Republic and the United States.



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The History of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, in Great Britain, and
ing the Reign of King Charles II. Part I.

Г. Ч. А. Н. О.

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national sphere fear without the consent of Parliament. The Members fear to the Emperor. Matters which are decided. Declared to be unconstitutional. The sum for public interest was to be provided. New taxes. Money. The High Light. Supplies and Ways and Means. LOYALTY LOAN. Dates from the subject. Some voted. Extraordinary of the House. The Financial Proceedings of the Session. Army and Navy Estimates. 1891.

CONTENTS.

THE History of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, in Great Britain, during the Reign of King Charles II. Part I. Page xiii

BRITISH AND FOREIGN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

General Reflections on the Present State of European Politics. State of Parties in Great Britain. The General Election. The Ministry triumphant. The Meeting of Parliament. His Majesty's Speech. Debate on the Address in the House of Lords. Extraordinary Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam. Debate on the Address in the House of Commons. Apprehensions of a French Invasion. Measures proposed by the Minister for the Defence of the Country. Debate on these Proposals in the House of Commons. Debates on the Supplementary Militia Bill. In the Commons. Bill for amending the Supplementary Militia Act. Debates in the Commons on the Cavalry and Gamekeepers' Bill. Further Debates on the Bill for embodying Gamekeepers. The Measure abandoned. Debates on the Army and Navy Augmentation Bill in the Commons. Progress of those Bills through the House of Lords, &c. Bill for allowing Catholics to serve rejected by the Lords. Scotch Militia Bill, 3

CHAP. II.

The Financial Proceedings of the Session. Army and Navy Estimates. Debates upon these Subjects. Sums voted. Extraordinaries of the Army. The first Budget. Supplies. and Ways and Means. LOYALTY LOAN. The Sums for which Interest was to be provided. New Taxes. Money sent to the Emperor. Debates upon that Subject. Declared to be unconstitutional when sent without the Consent of Parliament. The Members for

C O N T E N T S.

the City of London instructed by their Constituents to oppose the Minister upon this Subject. A Vote of Censure proposed and negatived. Account of the second Budget. Supplies, and Ways and Means, according to the two Budgets, for the Year 1797. Terms of the second Loan of Eighteen Millions. Summary of the New Taxes. Debates upon the second Budget. Substitutes for some proposed Taxes. Sums proposed to be sent to Ireland and to the Emperor. Debates upon that Subject. The House informed that no further Sums were to be sent to the Emperor on account of the Preliminaries of Peace, &c. Loan Bill read a second Time in the House of Lords. Portion given with the Princess Royal. Relief proposed to the Subscribers to the LOYALTY LOAN. Navy and Exchequer Bills. India Budget,

26

C H A P. III.

Review of the Negotiation at Paris in 1796. His Majesty's Declaration on that Subject. Debates in Parliament on the Negotiation—In the House of Lords—In the House of Commons. Endeavours of the Opposition Party to remove the Obstacles to Peace. Motion to that Effect in the House of Lords. Further Discussion on the Subject of Peace in the same House. Motion for Peace in the House of Commons,

66

C H A P. IV.

Alarming Mutiny at Portsmouth. Delegates chosen by the Fleet. The Sailors refuse to weigh Anchor. Lord Howe arrives with the Act for an Increase of Pay. The Sailors return to their Duty. A Mutiny at the Nore. The Flag of the Sandwich struck. Delegates chosen. Deputation of the Admiralty proceed to Sheerness. Part of Admiral Duncan's Fleet join the Mutiny. Proclamation of Pardon. The Earl of Northesk arrives in London with Proposals from the Sailors. Preparations made to attack the Mutineers. Several of the mutinous Ships return to their Duty. The Delegates seized. Court Martial held upon Parker and other Mutineers. Parker's Trial, Conviction, and Execution. Mutiny on board the Pompee off Brest. Parliamentary Proceedings upon the Mutiny—in the House of Lords—in the Commons. Bill passed for the Augmentation of the Seamen's Wages. Bill passed to prevent Excitations to Mutiny and Sedition. Bill for preventing an Intercourse with the Ships in Mutiny,

108

C H A P. V.

Critical Situation of the Bank of England. Extraordinary Demand for Specie. Order of Council prohibiting the Issue of any more Specie from the Bank. Supposed Causes of the Run on the Bank, and of its Incapacity for answering the Demands. Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, relative to the Order of Council. Debates in the House of Lords on that Communication. Debates in the same House on his Majesty's Mes-

sage,

C O N T E N T S.

Jage. Committee appointed to inquire into the Affairs of the Bank. Committee to inquire into the Necessity for the Order of Council. Report of the Committee. Debates on the Subject. Resolutions proposed by the Duke of Bedford negatived. Debates in the House of Commons on his Majesty's Message. Committee appointed by the Commons for an Inquiry into the Affairs of the Bank. Motion by Mr. Fox to inquire into the Causes of the Order of Council negatived. Bill to enable the Bank to issue small Notes. Report of the Secret Committee on the Bank. Committee revived. Small Note Bill, for accommodating Traders and Manufacturers. Motion by Mr. Sheridan on the Affairs of the Bank. Bank Indemnity Bill. Reflections on the present State of the Bank, 124

C H A P. VI.

State of Ireland with respect to France. Observations on the abortive Attempt of General Hoche. Becomes the Subject of Debate in the British Parliament. Debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Whitbread's Motion relative to the Invasion of Ireland. Debate in the House of Lords on the same Subject. Earl of Moira's Motion on the State of Ireland—negatived. Mr. Fox's Motion in the House of Commons on the same Subject—also negatived, 179

C H A P. VII.

Popular Meetings for the Purpose of petitioning for the Dismissal of Ministers. Motion to that Effect in the House of Lords—in the House of Commons. The Duke of Bedford's Motion on the State of the Nation. Mr. Grey's Motion on a Parliamentary Reform, 206

C H A P. VIII.

The War. French land a Body of Troops on the Coast of Pembroke-shire. Surrender as Prisoners without Resistance. Conjectures as to the Object of this Expedition. The Spanish Fleet defeated by Admiral Sir John Jervis, off Cape St. Vincent, and four Ships of the Line captured. The Dutch Fleet completely defeated off Camperdown, by Admiral Duncan. The British Forces, under Admiral Nelson, defeated at Teneriffe. French Vessels captured and destroyed by the Squadron under Sir J. B. Warren. West Indies. Trinidad taken by the British Forces under Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Admiral Harvey. Unsuccessful Attack at Porto Rico. Proposal for raising black Regiments in the West Indies—negatived, 244

C H A P. IX.

Campaign in Italy. Vast Preparations of the Emperor, First Movement of the Austrian Army. Advanced Guard of the French defeated. Buonaparte takes

C O N T E N T S.

takes the Field. Austrians defeated near Verona. French driven from Corona. Battle of St. Marco, where the Austrians were completely routed. Advances of General Provera. French Retreat from Ronco. Battle of Rivoli. Rear-guard of General Provera cut off by Augereau. Battle of St. George and La Favourite. Provera taken with his whole Army. Austrians dispersed and defeated in different Parts. French enter Roveredo. Trent taken by the French. Surrender of Mantua. Invasion of the Papal Territories. French take Possession of Loretto. Pope solicits a Negotiation. Treaty with the Pope. Austrian Army again recruited. The Archduke Charles assumes the Command. Austrians fall back on the Approach of Massena. Rear-guard of the Austrians taken by Massena. Austrians defeated on the Banks of the Tagliamento. Village of Gradiska taken. Palma-nuova and Town of Gradiska taken. Goritz taken with all the Austrian Magazines. French enter Trieste. Battle of Tarvis. La Chiuse taken and all the Austrian Baggage. Battle of Lavis. Bozen and Brixen taken. Battle of Clagenfurt. Letter of Buonaparte to the Archduke. French driven from Bozen and Brixen. Battle of Newmark. Battle of Hunsmark. Movements on the Rhine. Armistice. Treaty. Preliminaries signed between the Emperor and France. Government of Venice overthrown by the French. Government of Genda changed.

255

C H A P. X.

France. Interior Administration of the Republic. Observations on the Factions in France. Plan for the Election of a new Third of the Councils. Royalists Conspiracy. Oath imposed upon Electors. General Election. New Members introduced. New Director chosen. Debate in the Council of Five Hundred concerning the Colonies. Debates concerning the Finances. New Plan of Finance. Breach between the Council of Five Hundred and the Directory. Conduct of the Directory censured. Private Correspondence protected from Violation and Inspection. Buonaparte's Conduct with respect to Venice censured. Laws of Divorce ordered to be revised. Report on religious Worship. Resolutions in favour of Emigrants—in favour of Priests. Power taken from the Directory of putting Districts in a State of Siege. Political Clubs instituted. Army discontented with the Proceedings of the Councils. Change of Ministers. Attempt to remove Barras from the Directory. Moderate Measures of the Council of Ancients. Factions prepare to decide the Contest by Force. March of Troops within the constitutional Limits. Violent Dissentions between the Councils and Directory on this Subject. Parties in the Directory. The Council surrounded by a military Force, and the Representatives in Opposition put under Arrest. Flight of Carnot, and Arrest of Barthelemi. Resolutions of the Councils. Banishment of the accused Members. Reflections on this Subject. Election of two new Members of the Directory. Negotiation at Lisle. Treaty with Portugal—annulled. Brief Remarks on the political Situation of France and England.

268

C O N T E N T S

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES (3)

PUBLIC PAPERS.

- Transactions in Parliament relative to the Stoppage of Payment in Specie of the Bank of England,* _____ (193)
- Copies of all Communications between the Directors of the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting Advances to Government since the first of November, 1794,* _____ (ibid.)
- Report from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the House of Lords to examine and state the total Amount of outstanding Demands on the Bank of England, and likewise of the Funds for discharging the same, and to report the Result thereof to the House, together with their Opinion on the Necessity of providing for the Confirmation and Continuance of Measures taken in pursuance of the Minute of Council on the 26th of February last,* _____ (217)
- Copy of Resolutions moved by the Duke of Bedford, May 15, 1797, in Consequence of the above Report—The previous Question was carried on the whole Series,* _____ (231)
- Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, in Consequence of the Resolution of the House to reject the Motion of the Duke of Bedford for the Dismission of Ministers,* _____ (234)
- His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Tuesday, July 20, 1797,* _____ (237)
- His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Nov. 2, 1797,* _____ (238)
- Address of the House of Peers to the King,* _____ (239)
- The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King, moved by Mr. Wilbraham Bootle,* _____ (241)
- Papers which passed in the late Negotiation for Peace at Lisle, between Lord Malmesbury, Plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain, and the Commissioners from the French Directory. Presented to the House of Commons, by Command of his Majesty, November 3, 1797,* _____ (242)
- Declaration of the King of Great Britain to the People; respecting the Rupture of the late Negotiation,* _____ (260)
- Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, presented Nov. 15, 1797,* _____ (295)
- Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Peterburgh, Feb. 10-21, 1797,* _____ (296)
- Proceedings of a Meeting held in Palace Yard, Westminster, April 3,* _____ (303)
- Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, July 3,* _____ (305)
- Proclamation of General Lake, Commander in Chief of the Northern District in Ireland,* _____ (308)
- Message from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to the House of Commons,* _____ (ibid.)
- Rescript, published by Order of the King of Prussia respecting the Prussian Territories on the left Bank of the Rhine,* _____ (309)
- Letter of Convocation addressed to the Plenipotentiary Envoys of the Associated*

C O N T E N T S.

<i>ciated States of Northern Germany, by Von Dohm, the Prussian Minister,</i>	(311)
<i>Imperial Ukase, or Edict, issued at Petersburg, respecting the Importation of French and Dutch Merchandise,</i>	(314)
<i>Treaty of Offensive and Defensive Alliance between the French Republic and the King of Sardinia,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Message from the President of the United States to Congress,</i>	(316)
<i>Speech of the President of the United States in opening the Session of the Legislature,</i>	(317)
<i>Treaty of Definitive Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia,</i>	(323)
<i>Public Acts passed in the First Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain,</i>	(327)

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

<i>Character of James I. King of Scotland,</i>	[3]
<i>The Life of Pope Leo X.</i>	[4]
<i>Memoirs of Baron Born,</i>	[12]
<i>Memoirs of Dr. Zimmerman,</i>	[17]
<i>Sketch of the Life and Character of William, Earl of Mansfield,</i>	[35]
<i>Other Anecdotes illustrative of Lord Mansfield's Judicial, and of his Political Character,</i>	[55]
<i>Anecdotes of the reigning Sultan, and of the ruling Cabinet at the Ottoman Court,</i>	[62]

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

<i>Particulars relative to the Religion, Economy, Classes, Tribunals, Customs, Arts, Literature, and Science of the Chinese,</i>	[66]
<i>Sketch of the Female Economy of the Seraglio, and of the real Condition of the Female Sex at Constantinople,</i>	[83]
<i>Observations and Anecdotes, illustrative of the present Police, Commerce, State of Society, and Manners at Constantinople,</i>	[88]
<i>Public Amusements at Bude,</i>	[96]
<i>Particulars concerning the present Pope, the Roman Nobility, and the Manners of Modern Rome,</i>	[98]
<i>Characteristic Anecdotes of the Modern Neapolitans,</i>	[101]
<i>Anecdotes of the Modern Tarentines, with the Humours of a Saint's Day,</i>	[104]

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

<i>Short Account of the Modern Greek Language, its Origin and System,</i>	[108]
<i>On the Latin Terms used in Natural History, by the Rev. John Brand, A. M.</i>	[111]
<i>Ec.</i>	[111]
<i>Observa-</i>	[111]

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Observations on the Nature of the Chinese Language,</i>	[114]
<i>On the Coalition attempted by some British Artists, between Poetry and Painting,</i>	[120]

P H I L O S O P H I C A L P A P E R S.

<i>Observations on the Means of confining Heat, and directing its Operations,</i>	[124]
<i>Account of a Method of making Soap of Wool, with Observations respecting its Use in various Arts. By M. Chaptal,</i>	[130]
<i>Interesting Account of the Effects produced on the Human Body, by the Internal Use of Nitrous Acid, and of the Benefit derived from it in the Cure of Diseases, by Mr. Scott, of Bombay,</i>	[136]
<i>Letter describing the good Effects of inspiring Vitriolic Æther in Cases of Phthisis Pulmonalis,</i>	[140]
<i>Curious Fact in the History of the common Mole, by Arthur Bruce, Esq. &c.</i>	[142]

A N T I Q U I T I E S.

<i>Remarks on the Opinions entertained by different Commentators, with respect to the Situation of the Hell of Homer,</i>	[143]
<i>Investigation of the Site of Troy,</i>	[147]
<i>State of the People, and of Civilization in Scotland, at the latter End of the 14th, and at the Beginning of the 15th Century,</i>	[152]

M I S C E L L A N E O U S P A P E R S.

<i>An Account of the Means employed to obtain an overflowing Well; in a Letter to the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, Baronet, &c. from Mr. Benjamin Vulliamy,</i>	[159]
<i>Economy of the Vineyards of the celebrated Tokay Wine,</i>	[162]
<i>Account of the Ferment for Bread used at Debretzin,</i>	[165]
<i>The Effects of Beneficence more extensive than are foreseen or intended, illustrated in the Story of Dr. Clement,</i>	[166]

P O E T R Y.

<i>Ode for the New Year,</i>	[171]
<i>Elegy written in a Church-Yard in South Wales,</i>	[172]
<i>Lines addressed to a Fountain,</i>	[174]
<i>Scenery by Moonlight, Melina and the Ghost of Hidallan,</i>	[176]
<i>Elinor, a Botany-Bay Eclogue,</i>	[178]
<i>Mary the Maid of the Inn,</i>	[180]
<i>Lines found in a Bowrer facing the South,</i>	[184]
	Ode

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Ode to Mirth,</i>	_____	[185]
<i>Ode for his Majesty's Birth-Day,</i>	_____	[189]
<i>Satirical Advice to Young Poets panting after Celebrity,</i>	_____	[190]
<i>Lodgings for Single Gentlemen,</i>	_____	[193]
<i>Birib and Court of Zeleotismus,</i>	_____	[195]
<i>Description of a Country Parson's Garden,</i>	_____	[196]
<i>Address to March,</i>	_____	[198]
<i>Apostrophe to an Old Tree,</i>	_____	[199]
<i>Sonnet to the Insect of the Gossamer,</i>	_____	[200]
 DOMESTIC LITERATURE of the Year 1797,	_____	 [201]
 FOREIGN LITERATURE of the Year 1797,	_____	 [299]

THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,
AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of KING CHARLES II.

PART I.

THE character of a nation, both with respect to morals and literature, is commonly found to vary with that of its rulers. Morals and literature are indeed in many respects closely connected; and science will not in general flourish without cultivation. The writers therefore, in many departments, of what are termed the *belles lettres*, in particular, will assume a cast and character from the manners of the times; and, though individuals may casually arise eminent in particular branches of science, yet, those which are most encouraged will in general occupy most the attention of mankind.

We are now arrived at a period which, in character and manners, afforded a remarkable contrast to that which it immediately succeeded. Indeed it is difficult to conceive how, in so short a lapse of time, the genius and pursuits of a people

ple should undergo so complete an alteration. That severity of manners, which is a general characteristic of sectaries, and which is inseparable from a state of adversity and oppression, still attached to the presbyterian party after the attainment of power, and the independents and other sectaries who were the immediate supporters of Cromwell, affected, if possible, still greater austerity. Men in office assumed a grave and even sanctified appearance; their favourite study (if they studied at all) was theology; and their literature was the sacred writings, and the more enthusiastic description of commentators on the Bible. The imitative passion, which is strongly predominant in the inferior classes of society, introduced a sobriety of demeanour even among the lowest of the vulgar; and their taste, as far as they aspired to intellectual improvement, was congenial to that of their superiors. The royalists were essentially different in almost every respect. Opposition in interests commonly produces opposition in habits and conduct, since men will seldom adopt the manners of those by whom they are persecuted. Charles too, and most of his near connections, had spent their latter years in the contaminated atmosphere of the French court; a country where vice and immorality seemed congenial to the national character, or, to speak more correctly, perhaps, to the character of its despotic government. — In such a school, where every species of moral depravity that can easily be imagined was taught and practised, this worthless monarch was found an apt scholar. He is characterised by Burnett as “one who had great vices, but scarcely any virtues to correct them;” and the character, though severe, is but too well justified by his conduct. He was destitute of every feeling of humanity, of every principle of honour; and was only restrained from the most wicked excesses of tyranny by his sloth, his debauchery, and cowardice. Charles, it is well known, was an infidel with respect to all religion, natural and revealed; and such a profession only could suit the profligate life in which he was engaged. Few, however, have the courage to die in the hopeless state in which unbelief involves them; and, at his latter moments, he caught eagerly at that delusive support which popery extends

tends to the despairing sinner. His example, however, rendered infidelity and even atheism popular. The bishop of Salisbury says "that, when he saw young men of quality who had something more than ordinary in them, he drew them about him, and set himself to corrupt them both in religion and morality; in which he proved so unhappily successful, that he left England much changed at his death from what he found it at his restoration."

That contemptible fabulist, Hume, who loses no opportunity of applauding vice, profligacy, and irreligion, wherever they occur, makes it a question whether the nation were much losers in point of morals in the main by the Restoration, though he allows "that licentiousness and debauchery became prevalent in the nation. The pleasures of the table were much pursued. Love was treated more as an appetite than a passion. The one sex began to abate of the national character of chastity without being able to inspire the other with sentiment or delicacy." — Admire, Christian reader, the pure ethics of an unbeliever! The detestable and profligate Charles is represented by the same author as one whose conduct "in the duties of *private* life, though not free from exception, was in the main *laudable*!"

Under such a monarch science and sound literature could scarcely be expected to flourish, and of all departments theology was most likely to be left in a neglected state. Under the temperate and judicious guidance of Clarendon, however, the first years of Charles passed with some credit to himself, and some advantage to the nation. Clarendon, with some faults, which were rather those of temper than of principle, was a sound statesman and an excellent man. He was zealously attached to the ancient form of government, and the constitutional liberties of his country. "He resolved," says Burnett, "not to stretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither set aside the Petition of Right, nor endeavour to raise the courts of the star chamber or the high commission again." A domestic incident related

by the same historian of this great man, is worthy of attention, since it is one of those little accidental occurrences which often serve to determine the conduct and character of a man during the whole of his life. It was told by Clarendon himself to lady Ranelagh, and by her to the author from whom it is extracted. — When he had attained some reputation in the exercise of his profession, he went down to Wiltshire to visit his ancient father, who, in one of their rural excursions, remarked, “that men of his profession were too much inclined to stretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves.” — He charged him therefore, if ever he arrived at eminence in his profession, never to sacrifice the liberties of his country to the will of a prince, or to his own interests. He repeated this twice, and immediately fell down in an apoplectic fit, and expired in a few hours.

The moderation of Clarendon's principles extended to most of the departments of administration. At a time when the parliament, in the first paroxysm of loyalty, was disposed to grant almost every request, this wise and upright minister asked only 1,200,000*l.* per ann. for the whole ordinary expenses of government — a sum which, at the present period, seems almost incredible for its moderation; and, though he might have obtained two millions, as Burnett remarks, the chancellor “had no mind to carry it farther, or to trust him (the king) too much.”

In these measures Clarendon was supported by the virtuous Southampton; and it is impossible to cite an instance more illustrative of their love of liberty and their country, than their aversion to war, and their detestation of standing armies. After the disbanding of Monk's army a plan was in agitation to raise a certain force to be so chosen and modelled that the king might depend upon it in every emergency. — To this plan Southampton strongly objected — He said, “they had felt the effects of a military government, though sober and religious, in Cromwell's army: he believed vicious and dis-
solute

solate troops would be much worse; the king would grow fond of them, and they would become insolent and ungovernable." He added, that "he would not look on and see the ruin of his country begun, and be silent; a white staff should not bribe him." Clarendon acceded to the sentiments of Southampton, and the scheme was abandoned.

The law as well as the church was chiefly modelled on the restoration by the earl of Clarendon's influence. Burnett allows, that "he put the justice of the nation in very good hands." He seated on the bench some of those who had officiated as judges under the commonwealth, particularly the estimable and learned Sir Matthew Hale. The clerical appointments also were bestowed with decency at least. Juxton, as the oldest prelate, and the friend of the unfortunate Charles, was advanced to the see of Canterbury, though from his learning and talents he was little entitled to so eminent a station. Sheldon, a man of some learning, and dextrous in business, was first made bishop of London, and, on the death of Juxton, was advanced to the primacy. Morley, the friend of the amiable and gallant Faulkland, was made bishop of Worcester. Some advances were even made to the most eminent of the presbyterian clergy. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds. The two former refused till the scheme of comprehension projected by Clarendon could be adopted, and an union of parties effected by adjusting the disputed points; but they were both, in the mean time, appointed chaplains to the king; and Reynolds, who was less scrupulous, accepted of the see of Norwich. The scheme of comprehension above alluded to was much promoted by Southampton, and when Clarendon gave way to the influence of the bishops and the high church party, who strongly opposed it, he was much disgusted. The king, at Clarendon's instance, published a declaration soon after the restoration, which, in the opinion of the most judicious persons, would have quieted most of the religious animosities, had it fortunately been adhered to; and, soon after, a commission was granted for a conference at the Savoy, to which twelve

of each party were nominated, with nine assistants, to consider of the union between the church and the presbyterians. The latter party proposed archbishop Usher's reduction as the groundwork of the conference. They then produced a series of objections to the church liturgy. They desired that no lessons should be taken out of the apocryphal books; and that the psalms used in the daily prayers should be according to the new translation. To the office of baptism they particularly excepted; and to the posture of kneeling at the lord's supper. In conclusion, they produced a new form of prayer drawn up by the celebrated Baxter, who was the principal manager for the non-conformist party. To Baxter was opposed a clergyman of the name of Gunning, who was afterwards successively made bishop of Chichester and of Ely. Of these men the bishop of Salisbury remarks, that they "were the most unfit to heal matters, and the fittest to widen them that could have been found out." They were both men of character and of learning, both subtle metaphysicians, and too fond of speculation. Many days were spent in the logical contentions of these acute disputants; and the conference at the Savoy was made a matter of amusement to the town, and not of edification to the church. As therefore the commission was limited to a certain number of days, the whole time elapsed without coming to a single conclusion; and, instead of any good, much evil was produced by the asperity of language, and the violence of the disputants. The episcopal party, as soon as the conference was dissolved, laboured to render the terms of conformity still more severe. The act of uniformity was passed, and the dissidents were in the end ejected from their benefices.

Previous to the passing of the act of uniformity, however, some alterations were made in the liturgy by the bishops themselves. The prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men," and "the general thanksgiving," were both added — compositions which have never been excelled, and but seldom equalled. The piety, the spirit, the happy adaptation of language conspicuous in these prayers, must ever render them subjects

subjects of admiration to men of true taste and sound principle. They are both ascribed to bishop Sanderson, though there is a tradition in St. John's college which assigns the former to bishop Gunning, the opponent of Baxter in the conference. There is, however, a similarity in the style, which seems to mark them both as proceeding from the same pen; and, as the thanksgiving was avowedly Sanderson's, we have a right to conclude that he was the author of both. It may seem an extraordinary circumstance, that so necessary a part of the liturgy should have been omitted by the preceding compilers; but they supposed that the psalms, and hymns, the doxology, the hallelujah, &c. sufficiently answered the purpose of thanksgiving. It was, however, observed, that these were not sufficiently particular and specific, and, on that account, this last form of thanksgiving was added.

Some alterations of less importance were also made: a rubric in particular was added from king Edward's liturgy, by the influence of bishop Gauden, explaining the reasons why protestants kneeled at receiving the sacrament, which gave infinite offence to the papists, as it contained an express declaration against the real presence. Another alteration was less favourably received. In the prayer for the parliament a new epithet was added to the king's title, who was styled "our most *religious* king," which, when applied to the infamous and profligate Charles, not only caused scandal but ridicule. The act of uniformity passed by but a small majority. It was executed, however, with peculiar severity, a circumstance which, in a more liberal age, we may be permitted, without suspicion of disaffection to the church, deeply to deplore. It was generally believed that a few concessions would have satisfied the more moderate among the presbyterians, and indeed Baxter was blamed by some of his own party for having offered a new liturgy, instead of insisting on a few of the most important points, which might have proved the basis of a happy union among the protestant part of the nation.

The sudden ejection from their cures of a number of men eminent for their piety and learning, and the hasty replacing of them; the wealth which flowed in upon the church from neglected fines and other sources; and the indolence and luxury which these circumstances, added to the contagious immorality of the court, brought, as Burnett remarks, some degree of scandal on the church; but its credit was nobly supported by one set of divines, who acted upon principles of the purest morality, and whose learning and piety served to counterbalance the respect in which some of the non-conformist ministers were held. Of Whitchcot, More, Wilkins, and Cudworth, we have already spoken in our preceding volume. The intellectual system of the latter was, however, not published till the present reign, viz. in the year 1678. The learned and excellent author perceived (what we of this age peculiarly feel) that the monstrous and pernicious doctrine of the *fatal necessity of human actions* was the groundwork of all the atheism and speculative immorality which prevailed. He perceived that by taking away all guilt and blame, all punishments and rewards, it not only militated against the precepts and principles of Christianity, but against all religion, natural and revealed, and against the very being of a God. He could not but perceive that it was equally hostile to all order in the state, since, if that doctrine be true, all laws are nugatory if not tyrannical; and to all virtue in a people, because it breaks down every barrier between guilt and innocence, between justice and oppression.

With these divines may be connected the names of Worthington and Lloyd. The former, a man of great learning and talents, "of eminent piety, and great humility, who practised (as Burnett expresses it) a most sublime way of self-denial and devotion." Lloyd was educated under bishop Wilkins, and was a most profound critic in the classical authors, and still more an adept in scriptural learning. His memory indeed was a complete concordance; he was an exact historian, and the most learned in chronology of all the divines of that period. Bishop Wilkins was accustomed to say

say of him, that he had the greatest share of learning in ready cash, of any man with whom he was ever acquainted. The principles of these men were rational and moderate in most instances. They were equally inimical to irreligion and enthusiasm. They loved the church, and approved the liturgy; but they did not consider it as unlawful to live and preach under another form of ecclesiastical government. They maintained a friendly intercourse and correspondence with those who differed from them in sentiment, and admitted of great freedom of opinion respecting speculative topics, both in philosophy and theology. From this liberality of sentiment, the more bigoted party in the church branded them with the name of Latitudinarians; and some of their more inveterate enemies unjustly charged them with favouring the doctrines of the Socinian sect.

From the same school proceeded Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Patrick. The first of these was a man of great learning, but of somewhat a reserved and haughty disposition.—Before the restoration he had published his “*Irenicum*, or a Weapon Salve for the Church’s Wounds,” a quaint title, which sounds but awkwardly to a modern ear; but the work contains a considerable fund of sound erudition. “His notion (says Burnett) was, that the apostles had settled the church in a constitution of bishops, priests, and deacons, but had made no perpetual law about it, having only taken it in, as they did many other things, from the customs and practice of the synagogue; from which he inferred, that certainly the constitution was lawful, since authorised by them, but not necessary, since they had made no settled law concerning it.” In maturer age he retracted much of these opinions, and declared, “that there were many things in the *Irenicum*, which, if he were to write again, he would not say; some which show his youth, and want of due consideration; others which he yielded too far, in hopes of gaining the dissenting parties to the church of England.”

He had not completed his twenty-seventh year, when, in

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1662, he published his "*Origines Sacrae*, or a rational Account of the Grounds of natural and revealed Religion," a work which abounds in curious information, and from which an industrious man, who was possessed of a good style, might extract an admirable defence of revelation against the ignorant and shallow attacks of modern infidels. The learning and industry of Stillingfleet at this early period was so considerable, that bishop Sanderfon, who had only known him by his works, when introduced to him at his primary visitation, was astonished to find him so young a man, and could hardly believe him to be the same. "I expected," said he, "to find one as considerable for his years as for his learning." After the revolution, when every man in the church, who was eminent for his learning, and irreproachable in his moral conduct, was preferred, Stillingfleet was made bishop of Worcester. He added, however, no new laurels to those he had reaped in his youth, by a metaphysical controversy into which he entered with Mr. Locke, of which we shall have hereafter to treat. The literary labours of Patrick and Tillotson will also come more properly under review in one of the succeeding reigns.

It was this society of divines who first reformed the English style of preaching.—"Before them (bishop Burnett informs us) it was overrun with pedantry. The sermon contained a great mixture of quotations from fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text, with the concordance of every word in it, and all the different expositions with the grounds of them, and the entering into some parts of controversy, and all concluding in some, but very short practical applications, according to the subject or the occasion. This (he adds) was both long and heavy, when all was *pye-balled*, full of many sayings of different languages. In short, the common style of sermons was either very flat and low, or swelled up with rhetoric to a false pitch of a wrong sublime."

The witty and eccentric South will scarcely be ranked among the improvers of pulpit eloquence in this country; yet

yet his sermons will be read, and on some accounts admired, while English literature shall hold its place in the commonwealth of learning. If we may credit Anthony Wood, who, though a dull man, was apparently honest, this extraordinary genius was, in the early part of his life, more directed by self-interest than became either a Christian or a scholar. While the independents were predominant during the usurpation of Cromwell, he sedulously paid his court to the ruling party, and was in favour with their leaders; when the presbyterians rose again into popularity and respect, South broke off all connection with his former patrons, and on the restoration, the rapid effusions of his eloquence were directed with equal violence against independents and the presbytery. His ungovernable temper, notwithstanding the flexibility of his principles, appears to have formed a bar to his promotion; and a prebend of Westminster, which he obtained through the patronage of the lord chancellor Clarendon, appears to have been his highest preferment. In his sermons there is more wit than eloquence, more imagination than learning. His reasoning, however, is often close, and his style is bold and fluent. Like Swift, who appears to have both admired and imitated him, he always chuses the most appropriate expression, however debased by its commonness or vulgarity. He possessed excellent talents, but in the pulpit they appear to have been misplaced. He was probably of too lively and versatile a disposition to engage in any work of labour and of erudition. The principal of his literary productions are his sermons, though towards the close of life he engaged in a controversy with Dr. Sherlock, concerning the Trinity, in which it is generally agreed, by at least the orthodox party, that South had the better of the argument.

The amiable and accomplished Barrow was of a character very different from his contemporary South. It is some credit to the heads of the university of Cambridge, that he obtained a fellowship and university honours, under the republican government, notwithstanding his well-known attachment to royalty. On the restoration, like most men of character and merit, he remained unnoticed, but was at length made

made master of Trinity College. His mind was most comprehensive, his industry indefatigable; and no stronger proof can be adduced of his various powers, than the fact of his having filled with reputation the mathematical chairs both at Gresham college and Cambridge, and also the Greek professorship at the latter place. Before the end of his life he resigned the mathematical chair at Cambridge to the justly celebrated Newton, and there is a tradition in the university, that he did it on conscientious motives; and that he was no sooner acquainted with Newton's merits (who was then a very young man) than, with a modesty which is rarely to be found, he pronounced himself unworthy any longer to preside in that department of science. This excellent and extraordinary man died at the early age of forty-seven.

Though he excelled in so many branches of learning, yet theology and ethics were the favourite sciences with Barrow. Yet, he has left but few entire treatises on these subjects, unless we consider his treatise on the pope's supremacy, an unanswerable work, as belonging to this department, though it is rather to be classed under that of ecclesiastical history. His sermons on the articles of the Christian faith may however be considered as a complete treatise, or rather a body of divinity; and indeed, according to the remark of Le Clerc, every sermon is a treatise or dissertation, complete in all its parts, rather than an oration. Charles II. who was more deficient in principle than in talents, remarked of Barrow, "that he was an unfair preacher, because he exhausted every subject, and left no room for others to come after him." His sermons were in fact not less remarkable for their length than for their excellence. He was once requested by the dean of Westminster to preach at the abbey. He divided his sermon into two parts, and at the entreaty of the dean consented to preach only *half* of it, but after having proceeded a full hour, the populace, who waited without to see the tombs, became impatient, and struck up the full organ to silence him. He preached once for three hours and a half before the lord-mayor and aldermen, and when asked if he was not tired, he replied, "I began to be a little weary with standing."

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The style of Barrow is clear, uniform, and chaste. He never rises to what may be termed the sublime, and his productions are not orations, but essays or dissertations, as has been already remarked. They are a treasure of religious and moral learning, nor are there any productions in the language, which may be read with more profit by students in theology.

The pious and excellent bishop Fell is better known as the publisher of the *Whole Duty of Man*, and some other short and practical treatises by the same author, than by any works which bear his own name. There are perhaps few phenomena in our literary annals more extraordinary than the mystery in which the name of the author of these treatises is involved; the style is not that of bishop Fell, nor is there any good reason to be assigned why he should be studious of concealment. The most probable conjecture is, that these works were the production of some pious and modest layman, perhaps of superior rank, who might conceive that if he were known as the writer, his own life and conduct might be drawn into a comparison with his precepts, or that their utility might be lessened by some circumstance connected with the author. Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, was more of a poet than a divine, though most of his compositions were in a religious strain, some of which are still popular. This prelate attended assiduously the dying moments of Charles II. but his exhortations had but little effect on the dying profligate, who ordered the room to be cleared of the protestant prelates, and took refuge finally in the delusions of the church of Rome.

“It was in the licentious reign of Charles II. (says Mrs. Macaulay) that writings were first publicly broached, which called in question the divine authority of Christ’s mission, and all those glorious promises of the gospel, which, if firmly believed, must in a great measure prevail over human vice and infirmity. It was in this licentious age that those baneful systems of philosophy were revived, which, by calling in question the future existence of man, strip the deity of the attributes

attributes of justice and goodness; destroy every benevolent end in the creation, render it the splendid work of an ingenious and all powerful artist, devoid of every principle of true wisdom and greatness; set loose the vicious and inordinate affections of the artful and the powerful to prey on the weak, the simple, and the injudicious; and by adding the insupportable horrors of despair to the afflictions of the unfortunate, increase the evils of human existence beyond the possibility of human bearing; hence proceed the numerous suicides, and all those acts of violence and desperation, which help to sadden the annals of English history. Against these infamous productions, the wit and acuteness of South, the labour of Bramhall, and the unmeasurable erudition and unanswerable argument of Cudworth were directed, and not in vain: for not an objection was left unanswered, not a cavil unexposed. Unfortunately, speculative wickedness has ever a powerful ally in the natural depravity of the human heart, and men will commonly attend to what flatters their passions in preference to a system which restrains them. If there were no wicked men there would be no unbelievers; and, as bishop Atterbury somewhere remarks—It is not a freedom of thinking for which these men contend, but a freedom of acting and living as they please. To the young and unlearned, for it is only the unlearned, or the half-learned, that can be assailed by the miserable sophistry of modern infidels, we may recommend the serious perusal of bishop Burnett's account of the life and death of the witty and profligate earl of Rochester, a man of great talents, whom a perverted education, vicious associates, and ungovernable passions, had made an unbeliever; but who was no sooner made acquainted with the proofs of Christianity than he yielded to them his entire conviction, and found, in those truths which he had before rejected, the only consolation during his expiring moments.

The truths of religion were not only defended ably and with success by the divines of the established church at this period, but by some of the non-conformist ministers, who were not inferior to their brethren of the establishment either

in erudition or ability. Among the first of these we may consider the venerable Richard Baxter, whose "Unreasonableness of Infidelity," and "Catholic Theology," may be still read with infinite advantage. Of this able and laborious writer, the saying of Dr. Barrow is, in the whole, a just character:—"That his practical writings were never mended, his controversial seldom confuted;" and the candid and liberal Burnett remarks of him, he "was a man of great piety; and if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the most learned men of the age. He wrote near 200 books, of these three are large folios. He had a very moving and pathetic way of writing; and was his whole life a man of great zeal and much simplicity; but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing." Mr. Baxter was one of the most unhappy examples of the black ingratitude of the British Tiberius. On the restoration, for his zeal and loyalty he was made chaplain to the king; and the discerning Clarendon laboured hard to remove his scruples, and reconcile him to the church. After the disgrace of that minister his whole life was a continued scene of persecution, and he was an inhabitant successively of most of the prisons in the metropolis. Towards the end of his life he had the misfortune to be tried for a libel before the execrable Jefferies, who wrested some passages in his annotations on the New Testament from their legitimate meaning into a censure on episcopacy in general, and a compliant and dastardly jury found him guilty. The trial is upon record, in which the greatness of mind displayed by the accused forms a singular contrast to the low and vulgar abuse of the illiterate Jefferies; and he appears a Socrates before a contemptible tribunal. He however lived to see the downfall of his persecutors, and to partake of the blessings of liberty which were the effects of the glorious revolution of 1688; an era now equally abused by the extravagant democrats, and by the wretched and misguided Tories, but which will ever be held in just estimation by every man who possesses the genuine sentiments that become an Englishman.

Of the celebrated Edmund Calamy we had occasion to speak

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 speak in our last volume: his writings are more controversial than those of Baxter. Dr. William Bates, the friend and coadjutor of Mr. Baxter in the Savoy conference, was also a man of considerable erudition. "He is universally understood (says the late editor of the *Biographia Britannica*) to have been the politest writer among the non-conformists of the last century." To these we may add the names of Howe, Jacombe, and Wilde, all of them eminent as preachers, and useful as writers. The former of these divines is characterised by Anthony Wood, who is not very favourable to the presbyterian party, as "a person of neat and polite parts, and not of that sour and unpleasant converse, as most of his persuasion were; so moderate also and calm in those smaller matters under debate between the church and his party, that he had not so much as once interested himself in quarrels of this kind, but hath applied himself to more beneficial and useful discoveries on practical subjects."

Of the theological writings of the other sectaries but few are at present held in much esteem; but Barclay's *Apology for the Quakers* will be read as long as sound learning, acute reasoning, and animation and correctness of style continue to be admired. The preface, addressed to Charles II. is a model of true eloquence, and the scriptural arguments of the author against war will never be refuted.

After this hasty sketch of the state of learning and science in the theological department during this period, we find ourselves reluctantly obliged to break off with some abruptness. In the other sciences a wide field lies still before us, and the political occurrences of this eventful year are so many, and so important, that to extend this dissertation further, would either abridge the reader of what is more immediately interesting, or extend the volume to an unmanageable size*.

* Burnett, — Macaulay, — Hume, — Anthony Wood, — *Biographia Britannica*, — *Biographical Dictionary*, &c. &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1797.

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For the Year 1797.

CHAPTER I.

General Reflections on the Present State of European Politics. State of Parties in Great Britain. The General Election. The Ministry triumphant. The Meeting of Parliament. His Majesty's Speech. Debate on the Address in the House of Lords. Extraordinary Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam. Debate on the Address in the House of Commons. Apprehensions of a French Invasion. Measures proposed by the Minister for the Defence of the Country. Debate on these Proposals in the House of Commons. Debates on the Supplementary Militia Bill. In the Commons. Bill for amending the Supplementary Militia Act. Debates in the Commons on the Cavalry and Gamekeepers' Bill. Further Debates on the Bill for embodying Gamekeepers. The Measure abandoned. Debates on the Army and Navy Augmentation Bill in the Commons. Progress of those Bills through the House of Lords, &c. Bill for allowing Catholics to serve rejected by the Lords. Scotch Militia Bill.

THE year 1797 has been distinguished by events the most remarkable perhaps in the annals of modern Europe. That splendid æra, when the whole civilised world appeared to awake from a state of intellectual torpidity, when the chains that superstition had forged and strengthened for ten centuries before, were broken by the strong effort of reason and of truth; even that extraordinary period is diminished in its importance on a comparison with the present times. The period of the reformation was however marked by happier characteristics, and happier presages, than

the present revolutionary period. Innovation was then produced by principle; it was sanctioned by piety; it was guarded by morals. In the present state of society, the friends of liberty, of order, and of religion, must discover, with pain, that policy, not principle, seems the groundwork of those changes we have recently witnessed. The French revolution unquestionably originated in the spirit of liberty; but that sacred name was too soon disgraced by the violence and misconduct of faction. By the unfortunate and impolitic combination against the nascent liberties of

France, the national spirit was excited, and the love of liberty was lost and forgotten in the strong impulse of patriotism. Repeated victory has tinged the patriotism of France with the less landable, though not less energetic, passion, ambition; the vanity of a people, naturally or habitually ostentatious, has taken the fatal direction of the desire of conquest, and the ardour of domination. To what fatal point, to what awful conclusion, the state of European politics now naturally tend, he must be indeed a bold man who will presume to predict.

To recapitulate the events which have given birth to these reflections, would be to anticipate the history of the year. Abroad we have seen the enormous increase of the power of France — we have seen Italy conquered, and Germany awed into submission. At home we have witnessed an event which was formerly regarded as one of the most awful and calamitous that could befall us as a nation — the incapacity of the Bank of England to fulfil its engagements. With all this, order and tranquillity have been happily maintained, and the sense and virtue of the British nation have risen superior to the impulse of passion or alarm.

One consequence might indeed have been naturally expected from the disastrous state of the public affairs. A partial change, at least, of ministers might have been regarded as a necessary consequence of unsuccessful counsels; yet even this political phenomenon has been exhibited, of an administration defeated in almost every project, failing in almost every promise, and mistaken in almost every speculation, and yet possessing still the confidence of the public. Since the period, when a regular op-

position was first formed in this country, the party hostile to ministers has perhaps never been weaker than at that of which we are now treating. The state of parties was indeed very fairly put to trial at the general election, which took place in the months of June and July, 1796. With a few exceptions, where the private character of the candidate, or the influence of family connexions, weighed against his political sentiments, the tide of success, in the counties and boroughs, ran proudly in favour of the minister and his supporters. In some populous places, where the independent electors were numerous, an appearance of opposition was displayed. In the city of London, Mr. Combe, one of the popular candidates, was elected by a great majority; and, what is still more extraordinary, nearly three thousand liverymen came forward, almost unsolicited, and without the usual inducements of treats and banquets, to the support of alderman Pickett. At Westminster, Mr. Fox stood at the head of the poll, and nearly three thousand of the electors gave their votes to Mr. Horne Tooke, in opposition to the ministerial candidate, admiral sir Allan Gardner. At Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham, some gentlemen stood forward on the same constitutional principles as Mr Pickett in London, and obtained respectable support. At Coventry, the opposition candidates were successful; and at Liverpool general Tarleton gained his election against his brother, whom the ministerial party there had brought forward to oppose him. From Bristol, Norwich, and some other places, invitations, it is said, were sent to different persons connected with opposition; but the gentlemen to whom these overtures

titres were made, were deterred by the fear of involving themselves in the ruinous expences, which are now, to the disgrace and misfortune of the country, the constant concomitants of contested elections.

The new parliament was called together at a season of the year unusually early—viz. the 6th of October, 1796. The speech from the throne afforded much satisfaction to the nation, and was welcomed as the harbinger of returning peace. It intimated “that his majesty had omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe; in consequence of which, a way was now opened to an immediate negotiation, which must produce an honourable peace for us and our allies, or prove to what cause alone the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed.

“That his majesty would send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object; but it was evident, that nothing could so much contribute to give it effect as the parliament manifesting both the determination and the resources to oppose the enemy; especially as there was an open design professed of attempting a descent upon these kingdoms.

“That, by the skill and exertions of the navy, our commerce had been protected almost beyond example; the fleets of the enemy had been blocked up in their own ports; the operations in the East and West Indies had been productive of great national advantages; and though the fortune of war on the continent had been more various, such a turn had been given to our affairs by the spirit of the Austrian forces under the archduke Charles, as might inspire confidence that the end of the campaign would prove as

disastrous to the enemy as its commencement had been auspicious.”

After his majesty's speech had been read in the house of lords, lord Bathurst rose to move the address. He had no doubt but that the house would be unanimous in agreeing to return their thanks for the gracious communication just delivered. He adverted to the important contest in which we were engaged; to the measure which had been determined on, of sending a person to Paris with full powers to treat for peace, and the necessity there would be (in case this negotiation should fail in its effect from the haughty demeanour or extravagant terms which might be demanded by the French directory) to unite as one man, and repel every hostile attempt in as brave and gallant a manner as we had formerly done. His lordship next went into an eulogium on the skill and courage of our naval commanders; he touched upon the war on the continent, and extolled the magnanimity of our ally the emperor; spoke of the flourishing state of the manufactures, revenues, and commerce of this country, and concluded with a panegyric on his majesty for his assurances of its being the wish nearest his heart to secure the prosperity of this country by an honourable peace, and to maintain inviolate the privileges and liberties of his people.

The earl of Upper Ossory, in rising to second the address, observed, that one part of the speech alluded to the projected descent of the enemy upon our coasts, and that his majesty had treated such a design with the contempt it deserved; though some precautions would be necessary to prevent, or turn it to the confusion of the enemy. He hoped that this peace, if we could obtain

obtain it, would comprehend the honour and security of our allies, and applauded that prince to whom, under the direction of his gallant brother, we were indebted for a series of military exploits, which in themselves were likely to expedite the negotiation.

Earl Fitzwilliam addressed the house in rather an eccentric harangue. Their lordships, he said, would recollect that he had been an advocate for the war at its commencement, from an opinion of its necessity; and he was now the more confirmed in it, from the experience of a long train of events. When the war began, it was asked whether it would be prudent to draw the sword, not only in the defence of an ally, but for the preservation of the civil happiness of Europe: it was generally admitted not only to be prudent but indispensable; the designs of the enemy tended to the destruction of every established government, and the total subversion of order in society; nor had those designs been abandoned. He had trusted, that he should not have heard a word of negotiation like that which had been mentioned, and was surprised to find such expressions used as were common at the end of an ordinary war. When he found the address re-echoed to the crown vague expressions concerning negotiation, without the least attention to the grand principle on which the war commenced, he was constrained to declare he should stand in opposition to it.

To restore order; to defend the states of Europe against the dangers which threatened them; to protect persons and property from a fatal devastation, and suppress the tendency of innovating and pernicious doctrines, were the ostensible objects of the war. What then was the

purport of the proposed address?

Why, it was neither more nor less than a recommendation to his majesty to acknowledge and approve that system he had formerly reprobated and opposed. If there were any wisdom in negotiation now, the same wisdom should have been manifested four years ago; for the same causes existed then, and proved the necessity of war, which exist at the present moment.

Was the system which had roused our attention, and demanded our exertions, now extinct? Their lordships ought to compare the views of France at that period, with the plans they had prosecuted now. The great and powerful governments of Europe were not the first who were attacked by the spirit of aggression; but the inferior and feeble states had felt their overbearing influence, and their subversive authority.

Such instances announced their intention, and success was to afford the means of extending their principles. He instanced Sardinia. No sooner was the king compelled to submit to a peace with France, than it was succeeded by their interference in the internal administration of his government; they insisted on his restoring to their liberty, and to their effects, all the persons who had been condemned to imprisonment or penalties for the propagation of anarchical doctrines. At Rome they signalised their triumphs by imposing the same degrading conditions. In Berlin the standard of insurrection was reared; the national cockade was worn to attract partisans, and propagate the principles of which it was the emblem.

Were their lordships prepared to submit to such indignities, to allow the national cockade to be worn in this country by every man whom the

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the French directory might choose to consider as a Frenchman? By arms alone these attempts and these disgraces were to be resisted; and to these evils we expose ourselves if we conclude any peace with the enemies of established government, and of the moral and religious order of society. Whatever confidence might be placed in the loyalty of the people at home, what could be said of our distant possessions? Were our colonies safe? Were the West India islands in a situation in which we could rely on their tranquillity? What had been the effect of French principles in their own settlements? What ravage had they not extended to our own islands of St. Vincent's and Grenada?

The effect of their system was to overthrow all the barriers by which property was protected, and the tendency was realised by the practice. Even in glancing over the proceedings of their legislative bodies, he had found that one of their reporters states, that the sale of the national property (that is, what was the property of individuals) is the pivot of the revolution. Were their lordships prepared to submit to the mandates of the directory? At their command were they ready to let loose all who had been doomed to punishment for sedition, and attacks upon the constitution of this country? to set at liberty Mr. Yorke? to recal from Botany Bay the Jacobins who had been transported thither? When they had consented to disband our troops and dismantle our fleet, now in the height of its power, did they imagine we should be able to cope with the forces of the directory, wielding the combined strength of the navies of Spain and Holland? If they did

not wish to expose the country to these disasters, they would not concur in giving his majesty an advice which would strike at the interest of the state, and weaken the security of his government.

From an observation of the noble lord who seconded the address, it appeared, that it was not merely for ourselves but for our allies that this negotiation was to be instituted. He doubted how far ministers were authorised to include them in the measures they were about to adopt: if we could gather the sentiments of the emperor from his conduct in circumstances apparently the most desperate, he would not condescend to treat with the enemy of established order and government. There was a subject on which he proposed a question to ministers: Did they mean to recognise France, circumscribed within her ancient boundaries, or the republic of France bounded by the Rhine and the Alps? For a series of years our ancestors had struggled to limit the territories of France, and to maintain the balance of Europe; and it was no trivial consideration whether this aggrandisement was to be acknowledged, and these acquisitions sanctioned. This, however, was a secondary consideration with him; for his prime objection was to treat with France, constituted as that government was. But the effects which our commerce would sustain by its aggrandisement were not indifferent: it was no light reflection that Holland was under the controul of the enemy; that Leghorn, once so important in war from the supplies which it furnished, and, in peace, as the great mart of our commodities and manufactures, was now taken from us. All the coasts of Europe were now shut against our commerce. In Italy

the establishment of a republic under France would exclude our trade in that country; and unless the king of Naples came boldly forward to resist the enemy, the whole of the north of Italy would be inaccessible to our manufactures. By commerce our nation had flourished; what then was to be our situation when every port into which our commodities had flowed, was to be shut against us? We might treat with the French directory; but what traffic could our merchants maintain with individuals destitute of property, or possessing it without security? The loss of Spain too was now certain; by whatever name it was distinguished (whether a monarchy or a republic, was now of little consequence) it was the tributary of France. Having thus reminded them of the principles on which the war was undertaken, his lordship moved, as an amendment, "that the house, impressed with the justice and necessity of the present war, would continue to give his majesty a vigorous support in asserting the general cause of his majesty and his allies, and in preserving the dignity of the crown."

The earl of Guildford expressed much satisfaction that a measure which might lead to the restoration of general tranquillity, had been considered as the leading feature of the address.

It was the same in his estimation, and, he believed, in that of every well-wisher to his country in this kingdom.

If the achievements of the archduke should operate, as he hoped they would, as means of rational negotiation, they ought to be regarded as omens of happiness to us and our ally; if, on the contrary, they should revive hopes formerly entertained, and cause the parties to

rise in their demands, and prolong this miserable and unavailing contest, they should be considered as evils of the first magnitude; they would be felt as such, not only by the people of the present day, but by their posterity for a length of time to come. There was one part of the address which he could not pass without a comment; that the tranquillity of the kingdom had remained undisturbed, and anarchy had been repressed by the wisdom and energy of the laws. It was with pleasure, his lordship said, that he could bear his testimony to this truth, that the tranquillity of the kingdom had remained undisturbed; he believed it was owing to the love the people bore to the laws of their country; but if, by the wisdom and energy of the laws, an allusion was intended to be made to the two extraordinary bills passed in the last parliament, it would be indeed unfounded. Those bills were held in abhorrence by the people, who at the same time held in the highest respect the known constitutional common law of the land. The noble earl concluded with his support of the present address, conceiving, he said, peace to be the greatest blessing the country could wish; but he did not mean, by so doing, to preclude himself from his right to enquire at any future period into the causes of the present calamitous contest, and the conduct of those who had plunged us into it.

Lord Grenville, after complimenting his noble friend who moved the address, totally differed from lord Guildford, who had asserted, this was a miserable and unavailing struggle; it was a struggle, he would maintain, that had already availed us; and though prospects of peace might

might be cut off, it would still be of the utmost avail to this country. With regard to the bills, he differed from him also entirely, and was convinced, they had contributed very greatly to preserve our internal tranquillity. Another noble earl had stated it as inconsistent with our principles to treat with any government in France but that of a monarchy. That the existence of a republic was an insuperable bar to negotiation, and that monarchy was indispensable, was a calumny which ministers had every session found it necessary to contradict. They had believed indeed that the best issue to the contest would be the re-establishment of monarchy in France; but they had never pledged themselves to an opinion so extravagant, that without this object no peace could be obtained. It was strange the noble earl should infer from the opening of the negotiation that the worst terms would be concluded; they certainly were not prepared to admit in the enemy any power to dictate to our internal regulations, or the overthrow of the constitution; neither surely was it a consequence that our allies were to be abandoned; it certainly would be unbecoming in him to answer the questions that had been proposed. But what security could we have against an interference similar to that which had been practised in Sardinia?

The king of Sardinia was compelled to accept unworthy terms of peace; the difference of our situation, by exempting us from the necessity of the one, secured us from the ignominy of the other. If just and honourable terms were refused by the enemy, we were preparing to repel any other; and the power

of maintaining this determination was the best pledge for our obtaining honourable conditions.

The earl of Abington spoke against the address, and also against the bills passed in the last session of parliament. There were rights of the people which neither came from kings, lords, nor commons; and they could not take them away.

The motion passed in the affirmative; but a most singular protest was entered on the journals by earl Fitzwilliam, the substance of which was as follows:

Dissentient. First. Because, by this address, unamended as it stands, the sanction of the lords is given to measures as ill-judged with regard to their object, as they are derogatory from the dignity of the crown. Solicitations for peace must encrease the arrogance and ferocity of the enemy of all nations; they must fortify and fix the authority of an odious government over an enslaved people; they must impair the confidence of other powers in the magnanimity of the British councils, and inevitably tend to break the spring of that energy which in former times has characterised this high-minded nation.

Second. Because no peace can be had with the usurped power now exercising authority in France: the methods by which they obtained it, the policy by which they hold it, and the maxims they have adopted, openly professed, and uniformly acted on, towards the destruction of all governments not formed on their model, and subservient to their domination.

Third. Because the idea that this kingdom is competent to defend itself, after the subjugation of all Europe, is presumptuous in the extreme, and contrary to the policy

policy both of state and commerce by which Great Britain hitherto has flourished.

Fourth. Because while the common enemy exercises his power over the several states in the manner we have seen, it is impossible long to preserve our trade, or our naval power; this hostile system seizes on the keys of the dominions of these powers, forces them, without any particular quarrel, into direct hostility with this kingdom, in so much that there is no harbour which we can enter without his permission, either in a commercial or naval character.

Fifth. Because no security can be hoped for in our colonies and plantations whilst this usurped power shall continue thus disposed and thus constituted. The new system leaves our colonies equally endangered in peace as in war; it is therefore that all ancient establishments are essentially at war for the sake of self-preservation.

Sixth. Because it has been declared from the throne, and adopted by parliament; that there was no way to obtain peace but through the ancient government long established in France. That government has been solemnly recognised, and assistance and protection as solemnly promised to those Frenchmen who should exert themselves in its restoration.

Seventh. Because the example of the great change in the moral and political world, made by the usurpation, is, by the present procedure, confirmed in all its force. It is the first successful example in history of the subversion of the government of a great country, by the corruption of mercenary armies, to the destruction of the whole proprietary body of the nation.

Eighth. Because our eagerness in suing for peace may induce the enemy to believe we are unable to continue the war; which, in the event of an actual peace, will tempt them to renew that conduct which brought on the present war; neither shall we have the usual securities for peace: they do not acknowledge the obligation of law; they have not the same interest or sentiment in the conservation of peace which have hitherto influenced other governments; nor shall we be better able to resist their hostile attempts after a peace than at the present hour. If we remain armed, we cannot reap the ordinary advantages of it in economy; if we disarm, we shall be subject to be driven into new wars, under every circumstance of disadvantage.

Ninth. Because they frankly tell us, that it is not our interest to make peace, for they regard it only as an opportunity of preparing fresh means for the annihilation of our naval power. They do not conceal that it will be their object to wrest from us our maritime preponderancy, to re-establish what they call the freedom of the seas, and to carry to the highest degree of prosperity those nations which they state to be our rivals, which they charge us with unjustly attacking when we can no longer dupe, and which they contemplate as furnishing resources for our future humiliation and destruction: they falsely assert, that the English nation supports with impatience the continuance of the war, and has extorted his majesty's overtures for peace by complaints and reproaches: they studiously disjoin the English nation from its sovereign.

Tenth. Because, having acted throughout the course of this momentous

mentous contest upon the principles herein expressed, and having fully considered, examined, and weighed the arguments offered to induce a dereliction of them, conscientiously adhering to, and firmly abiding by them, I thus record them in justification of my own conduct, and in discharge of the duty I owe to my king, my country, and the general interests of civil society.

We have inserted this extraordinary protest in the body of our historical detail, contrary to our usual practice, not only because of the ability with which it is drawn up, but because it contains a close and well-digested summary of the arguments for the continuation of the present war. Notwithstanding the singularity of its contents, it is undoubtedly a very able state-paper, and throws much light on the present aspect of European politics. It is supposed by some to have been the production of an eminent literary character lately deceased.

The address to his majesty was moved in the commons by lord Morpeth. He said, whatever the opinions might have been respecting the origin of the war, it must give the gentlemen of that house satisfaction to concur in a motion which had for its end an honourable peace; they must rejoice that the period was arrived in which a negotiation might be entered into; that there now existed in France a government which might be safely treated with, and that a passport had been obtained for a minister from this country to proceed to Paris. He hoped the negotiation would terminate favourably; but he also hoped we should show, whilst we were desirous of peace, that we were in a state to continue the contest, and could, if necessary, re-

double our efforts for the prosecution of war. He observed, that our resources were adequate for this purpose; our exports for the last year had exceeded by two millions sterling the amount of the last, and commercial prosperity had risen to a high degree during a period of war: he concluded with moving an address, to assure his majesty, that they reflected with satisfaction on the state of commerce in this country, on the continuance of our internal tranquillity, on the happy effects of the wisdom and energy of our laws in repressing anarchy, and that he might rely at all times on his commons for such supplies as might be necessary for the service of the year, and on the support of his parliament for those exertions directed to defeat the designs of the enemy.

Sir W. Lowther, in a short speech, seconded the address.

Mr. Fox, declining to give a silent vote, lest it might be subject to misconstruction, said, that his majesty had at length been advised to do what it had been his lot to advise his majesty's ministers to do the last three years, namely, to open a negotiation. But however he might lament that this measure had not been taken before a hundred millions were spent, and thousands of lives lost, in this cruel contest, yet it had his warm approbation now that it had been adopted; that he would not recollect, much less retaliate, the personal invectives against himself, the insinuations that an attempt to negotiate with such a people was a degradation to the dignity of Great Britain; that it was to sue for peace, and lay his majesty's crown at their feet.

There were some expressions, however,

however, of which he should take notice: and first, that every endeavour had been used to open a negotiation. Now, unless these words alluded to the endeavours made since the close of the last year, he should animadvert upon the ministers for their former want of endeavours to bring it about. He much approved of their having left out in the speech the words to which they were so bigoted before, of the war being undertaken for the cause of humanity and religion: — neither had they come forward with their constant and unfounded phrase, that it was *necessary*: they had acted wisely in abstaining from intemperate language, when they were to negotiate for peace. But there were other parts of the speech which demanded explanation; such as the flourishing state of our trade and commerce, by which our resources are said to be adequate to the crisis in which we are involved: he must hesitate in giving credit to an assertion so little supported by the public appearance of things: when he looked at the price of the funds of the country, the state of the transferable securities of government, the monstrous discount on the enormous quantities of paper which they have issued, with the schemes to relieve the pecuniary embarrassments of trade, he was led to think our resources were in a less favourable situation than the ministers had chosen to represent them; nor could he withhold some remarks upon the tranquillity of the country in which we are made to rejoice; a sentiment, indeed, in which he concurred, for tranquillity was at all times desirable; but when he heard it ascribed to the wisdom and energy of the laws passed in the last session of the last parliament, he entered his most so-

lemn protest against the whole of the assertion. He never had been convinced that there had been any persons in this country worth attention, desirous of anarchy and confusion; nor could laws, which were calculated to excite terror and abhorrence, produce tranquillity. Such laws might produce a false quiet, which he considered as a real alarm: could we rejoice in such tranquillity where discussion was to be stifled, and men were to brood in secret over the grievances which they felt? No: such a tranquillity alarmed him more than tumult; it was a tranquillity which every man who loved freedom ought to see with pain, every man who loved order, with terror.

To the constitution no man could feel a stronger attachment than himself; but he would not sport with the word; he would not use it without explaining it: his attachment was to the constitution under which he was born, under which he was bred; not to that of the last parliament, which did more to maim and disfigure the ancient constitution of England than any former parliament which ever sat within those walls. To the protection of the ancient constitution alone he ascribed that tranquillity which the country enjoyed. He would not join in this insinuation of praise upon those abominable laws, nor attribute to them effects which he believed inapplicable; and, much as he wished for general approbation of the endeavours to procure peace to this country, he should think it purchased at too dear a rate if coupled with approbation of these abhorrent laws. It was his duty, he thought, to say so much, that his vote might not be misinterpreted into acquiescence in this part of the address. The whole
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system of the war had been a faulty system; the system of domestic politics had been equally faulty; whatever the result of the negotiations might be, it was the duty of the house to re-consider the general system of politics adopted of late years, and whether it were possible to go on if that system should be pursued. Peace was certainly the great object; but whether peace would be effectual if there were no change in domestic politics, was matter of doubt: that it would be beneficial, whatever system was pursued, he was ready to assert. If it continued to be a bad one, peace would diminish the calamities of it; if it were amended, it would augment the benefits; at all events it was desirable; in one case it would be a palliative, in the other, a remedy; and in both it could not but be good, and therefore should have his warmest support.

What were likely to be the terms of peace, he would not even conjecture; but he would not hesitate to say, we ought to negotiate in the spirit of great moderation. With regard to the Austrian victories, which made a topic of animated exultation in his majesty's speech, it might be right to rejoice in the gallantry they had displayed, and the laurels they had recently acquired; no man admired their great military exertions more than he did; but let it be remembered that we were called to rejoice on their having recovered only a part of what was lost in this campaign, and that it was not because they had reaped successes calculated to obtain what ministers had stated to be the object of the war, but because they had saved the house of Austria from the destruction with which it was threatened. We

could not presume to flatter ourselves that the Austrians were likely to recover all they had lost in the present campaign, much less what they had lost in all the campaigns that were past. The achievements of our navy had been brilliant and glorious; at no former period had they displayed greater gallantry, and never perhaps equal skill; yet after all this, the peace we were desirous to obtain; and the utmost we could expect was, that it should be solid, and of permanent duration. Then what must be the sort of conflict in which we were engaged, when, after a four years' successful exertion of all the skill and all the valour of our navy, all our efforts could not produce a peace either brilliant or glorious, but we must content ourselves with hoping it may be solid and permanent? Might we not suppose that there was something in our cause radically defective, which palsied our efforts, and disappointed our strength? something which demanded from the common sense and prudence of Englishmen a strict and rigorous investigation, that we might discover what this something was, not merely to retrieve the present calamity, but guard our offspring against the error in future. No great length of time would elapse before he should think it his duty to bring this matter before the house; for it was of the most essential importance to the well-being of the country, and to the true support of the crown, that an enquiry should be made into all the causes which had brought the nation into its present state, and produced the evils of the present war, for the purpose of advising his majesty to make a fundamental change in the system upon which we had lately acted, both with

with regard to foreign and domestic policy. He found it necessary to say so much, that he might not preclude himself from the discussion of these topics at some future day; and, with this reserve, he did not oppose the address.

Mr. chancellor Pitt said, that he considered it as matter of just pride and honest satisfaction, that at so critical a conjuncture there should be no difference of sentiment in the house upon the only great and substantial question on which the address expressed an opinion. Such a circumstance exhibited the most decided proof that the steps which his majesty had taken for negotiation, and the clear and explicit declaration he had made, were in themselves so unexceptionable, and so well calculated for the end in view, that they must command assent from any man who retained the smallest care for the interest and honour of his country.

The honourable gentleman had justly stated, that what hitherto had been done only amounted to an overture for peace; it was indeed impossible to state what would be the result, what would be the disposition of the enemy, or what circumstances would occur to influence the fate of the negotiation. We ought to look fairly to our own situation; it held out to us a chance of peace if the enemy were disposed to accede to it on just and reasonable terms; but, if not,—if they were actuated by ambitious projects, we should gain another object by the course we had pursued: we should unmask them in the eyes of Europe; we should expose the injustice of their policy, and their insatiable thirst for aggrandisement; and if no other advantage were gained, we should

at least be able to put to the proof the sincerity of the pledge which had that day been given — that, if the enemy were not disposed to accede to peace on just and reasonable terms, the war would be supported by the unanimous voice, and the collected force, of the nation. If the unanimity were not founded merely on the pleasing sound of peace, the captivating charm of renewed tranquillity, and the prospect of the termination of those scenes of horror with which war is always attended; if it were the result of rational reflection, founded on a careful consideration of the situation of the country, and prepared to meet every conjuncture, it could not be too highly prized. We ought not to put out of view those means of exertion which we yet possessed; we ought to compare our state with that of the enemy; and the amount of our own acquisitions with the losses of our allies: we ought to estimate the extent of those sacrifices, which, under all these circumstances, it may be fitting for us to make, to effect the restoration of peace. The right honourable gentleman had intimated, that we ought to change the whole system of our interior policy, considering it as inconsistent with the constitution of our country, yet professing himself so well satisfied with the constitution as to ascribe to it that internal and undisturbed order and tranquillity which for some time past had been enjoyed; at the same time reprobating the laws which were passed in the last parliament, and refusing to subscribe to any construction of that part of the speech which included these amongst the means which had secured tranquillity. He, on the contrary, was of opinion that, exclusive of the influence of these

these laws, the peace of the country could not have been maintained; nor could he suffer reproach to fall on the last parliament, who displayed their wisdom and energy in providing a remedy suited to the alarming crisis. If there should be any ambiguity in the address respecting them, it was, because they were so consistent with the spirit of the constitution, so blended with the system of jurisprudence, so congenial to the practice of former times, and so conformable even to the letter of former acts, that it was impossible to make any discrimination; they had been passed in a moment of alarm and turbulence, and they had been found admirably calculated to meet the emergency of the time.

There were some other points upon which the right honourable gentleman had touched: he had seemed to think that endeavours had only been made of late to procure peace; he, for his own part, was confident, that no endeavours had been wanting for that purpose on the side of his majesty's ministers; but what might be admitted as an endeavour depended on a variety of circumstances, and would be differently appreciated by individuals of opposite sentiments: it depended on the relative state of parties, on the number of allies with whom we might be engaged to act, on the attention which we paid to their interests, and on the concert we wished to preserve with them. Taking all these considerations into view, he pledged himself that it would be found on enquiry, that ministers had neglected no opportunity which could have been improved, for accelerating peace.

The right honourable gentleman asserted, that we were at last come to the period which he at first had pointed out, and were only now

adopting those measures, which, if we had listened to him, might have been adopted long ago. But did it follow, that the measure was right then, because it was so now? Might not a period of four years have produced many events to justify a material change of policy, and to render measures wise and expedient which at another time would not have been so? As to the question of our resources, they furnished, in a moment like the present, a subject of well-grounded confidence.

If the revenue, after a four years' war, which might have been expected to have injured it so materially in so many branches; after the additional burthens which had been imposed, still kept up at the rate at which it was stated last year; if the commerce, notwithstanding the embarrassments which it had to encounter, had attained, and continued to enjoy, a pitch of unexampled prosperity; if such had been the state of things during a period when the country had to contend for every thing dear to it; if, notwithstanding the obstacles which had clogged the machinery, the spring had retained so much force and vigour, we might presume, that, if by the obstinacy and ambition of the enemy we should be called to still greater exertions, our resources yet remained untouched; we might presume, that we should be able to bring them into action with a degree of concert and effect worthy of the British nation.

These resources (he observed) had nothing in them hollow or delusive; they were the result of an accumulated capital, of encreasing commerce, of high and established credit; they were the fruits of fair exertion, of laudable ingenuity, of successful industry; they had been produced under a system of
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order and justice, whilst we had been contending against a country in every point the reverse of the picture. He said, that the right honourable gentleman had been suggesting what lessons we ought to derive from the experience of adversity; but when he added that the situation of this country was that of adversity, he could by no means agree to the truth of the proposition. How far it deserved to be ranked under that description; he called upon those to pronounce who were best acquainted with our resources. It could not surely be termed a state of adversity from any losses of our trade, the diminution of our capital, or the reduction of any of our foreign possessions. We had not been greatly impoverished by the events of the war in the East and West Indies; we could not be much weakened in our national strength by having our navy raised to a greater degree of glory and fame than it had ever before attained. Where then were we to look for the symptoms of this adversity? In the losses and disasters of our allies? Did the right honourable gentleman hold out these as a criterion of adversity, and in the same breath as a source of complaint that we were not sure of a triumphant peace? And why could we not command such a peace? Because we would not separate our own greatness and our own commerce from the fate of our allies; because we refused to purchase peace for ourselves on any terms but those which would secure the tranquillity of Europe, and considered the situation of Great Britain as chained to that of the continent by the bonds of a liberal and comprehensive policy.

Whilst the violence of France had been over-running so great

a part of Europe, and carrying desolation in its progress, our naval exertions had enabled us to counter-balance their successes by acquisitions in different parts of the globe, and to pave the way for the restoration of peace to our allies on terms which their own strength might have been unable to procure. If, indeed, we looked into the geographical situation of the seat of war, the emperor had not regained by his victories all that he had lost; but did we count for nothing the destruction of those armies by whom all previous successes of the enemy had been achieved? Did we count for nothing the glorious testimony which had been exhibited to mankind—that disciplined valour finally must triumph over those principles which the war was undertaken to oppose, and which owed all their extraordinary successes to the violence in which they originated, and the excesses with which they were accompanied? A memorable warning had been afforded by those foreign powers who, in opposition to their true interests, had courted the alliance of that enemy, and expected to find security in disgraceful tranquillity.

Recent events had served also to exculpate those who had been calumniated, as desirous to embrace their principles and receive their laws; and in Germany they had left behind them nothing but the memory of wrongs and the feelings of resentment. Germany had furnished a striking instance of fortitude and perseverance; he trusted that these were virtues which our country had not to learn: England had never shown itself deficient in firmness and magnanimity; it was unrivalled in resource, it was foremost in exertion, and it had only to maintain its accustomed vigour to effect the

the restoration of general tranquillity upon terms consistent with the dignity of its character and the security and interest of Europe.

Mr. Fox said a few words in explanation, in which he complained that Mr. Pitt had misrepresented his argument respecting the time for negotiation. He did not argue, that, because it was right to negotiate now, it was right to negotiate at any former period, but, (and he had not altered his opinion from any thing he had heard) that, if it were prudent and wise to send an ambassador to Paris now, when the French had carried their arms into the heart of Germany, it would not have been dastardly and pusillanimous to have adopted that measure when they had not one foot of that territory. He said, that he still retained his opinion respecting the new laws; and when he voted for the address, he did not include them in his construction of that part of it in which mention is made of the wisdom and energy of the laws.

The question upon the address was then put, and carried *nemine contradicente*.

On the 18th of October the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to consider that clause of his majesty's speech which alluded to the intention manifested by the enemy to attempt a descent on these kingdoms. The clause being read, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that, after the unanimous vote which the house had given upon the first day of the session, and their universal concurrence in that part of the address which respected a foreign invasion, it would be unnecessary to make any apology for calling their attention to the subject. That it was the duty of every one to exert him-

self to prevent the attempt if possible, and, at the same time, to take such measures of defence as should cause the invasion, if it should be attempted, to terminate in the confusion and ruin of the enemy. He said, the natural defence of this kingdom was its naval force, which, at that moment, was more formidable than ever it had been at any other period in the history of the country. But, strong and powerful as it was, it was capable of considerable increase, could an additional supply of seamen, or even landsmen, be procured. For this purpose he suggested a levy upon the different parishes throughout the kingdom, an expedient similar to that which had been practised with so much success about two years before. He observed, that it must be evident to every one, that, as great numbers in the old regiments had fallen in the defence of our foreign possessions, it was necessary to adopt a more expeditious mode for their completion than the ordinary method of recruiting. He therefore proposed, in the first place, a levy of fifteen thousand men from the different parishes for the sea service, and for recruiting the regiments of the line.

In digesting this plan, he said, there were two considerations, the first, the means of calling together a land force, sufficiently strong to frustrate the attempt, keeping our naval force entirely out of view; and, secondly, to adopt such measures in raising this force as should not materially interfere with the industry, the agriculture, and the commerce of the country. The primary object was to raise, and gradually to train, such a force as might in a short time be fit for service. The most expeditious,

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and the cheapest mode of attaining this object, was that of raising a supplementary levy of militia, to be grafted upon the old establishment. He proposed, that this supplement should consist of sixty thousand men, not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and gradually trained, so as to be fit for service at a moment of danger. It would be expedient to regulate the future levy, not by the proportions then existing, but by a general estimate of the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. The next consideration was the manner in which the troops were to be furnished, which he thought ought to be generally from all parts of the kingdom, and that an obligation should be imposed upon those who should be balloted either to serve in person, or to find a substitute; and the better to preserve the general proportion, that this substitute should be provided either from the parish in which the person balloted should reside, or from a parish immediately adjoining. He proposed to train only one-sixth part of the whole at one time, by which only ten thousand at a time would be drawn from their usual occupations; consequently, it would not much infringe upon the general order of the community. Of course they were to be provided with some sort of uniform, but it might be of the coarsest kind, and such as might be purchased at a small expence. A sufficient number of arms were also to be in readiness, for supplying each man in the moment of danger.

The next measure which Mr. Pitt suggested to the committee, was to provide a considerable force of irregular cavalry. He observed, that the regular cavalry on the

establishment was by no means inconsiderable, and that the yeomanry cavalry, which, from their numbers, were sufficiently respectable, had been proved to be highly useful in securing the quiet and maintaining the internal tranquillity of the country. But with a view to repelling an invasion, the farther this species of force was extended, the greater advantage was likely to accrue from it. Besides, it was a species of force which might be provided in a mode that would be attended with little expence to the public, and with small inconvenience to individuals. He estimated the extent of the irregular cavalry by the number of horses which were kept for pleasure throughout the kingdom. By pursuing this mode, the burden would fall upon those only who had a considerable stake in the country to defend. By the produce of the horse-tax, the number of horses kept for pleasure in England, Scotland, and Wales, appeared to be about two hundred thousand. He therefore proposed, that every person who kept ten horses should be obliged to provide one horse and one horseman, to serve in a corps of cavalry; that those who kept more than ten should provide in the same proportion; and that those who kept fewer than ten should form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot who, at the common expence, should provide the horse and the horseman. These troops to be provided with a uniform and accoutrements, formed into corps, and put under proper officers.

The next class of men which the minister regarded as proper subjects for defending the country in case of invasion, was the gamekeepers. He therefore proposed, that

that those persons who had taken out licences to shoot game, or deputations for gamekeepers, should, within a certain period, be at liberty to return the same if they thought proper; but if after that period they should continue their licences, or deputations for gamekeepers, then they should be obliged to find substitutes. He observed that gentlemen might smile at the idea of raising a force by such means: but that smile would be converted into surprize when they heard that the number of persons who had taken out those licences was 7000. The whole number of cavalry which he proposed to raise by the means he had mentioned, was 20,000.

"Thus," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "have I pointed out the means by which I propose to raise 15,000 men, to be divided between the land and the sea service; to raise a supplemental levy of 60,000 for the militia, and 20,000 cavalry." He concluded with moving "that a bill be brought in for raising a certain number of men in the several counties of Great Britain for the service of his majesty."

Mr. Sheridan said, that he expected some explanation would have been given to the house by his majesty's ministers, of the actual necessity of adopting the measure just proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. The house was called upon to impose heavy burdens upon the people, and to suspend the labour of a large part of the community, without being convinced of the necessity of either. If this parliament, he said, were not disposed to imitate the conduct of the last, to vote the money of the people, and to invest ministers with unbounded powers upon their

bare assertions, instead of examining the measures of the executive government with extreme jealousy, a jealousy warranted and sanctioned by the constitution, they would demand some further satisfaction before they gave their unqualified assent to a project so new and unprecedented. He contended, that the house ought to know that the belief of ministers of the danger of an invasion was well founded; and that the members who had been in the last parliament must remember how often ministers had in other cases, and under different pretences, created alarms merely to increase their own power; alarms which had been proved to have been groundless. If ministers considered the idle rant and rhodomantade speeches of any member of the legislature of France, as a sufficient manifestation of the project of an invasion, such grounds were too light and unsubstantial to found upon them measures of such importance, and replete with such inconveniences as the present. The idea of invasion was by no means new in that house; all had heard of invading France, and marching to Paris; a design expressed by a gentleman of great weight, and intimately connected with his majesty's ministers, and not contradicted by any member of administration, but even received with applause. Though this was openly asserted, yet the government of France did not regard the assertion as a manifestation of an intention to invade France, or adopt any measures in consequence of it. Mr. Sheridan thought it extraordinary, that, while reports prevailed out of doors that the French had experienced defeats in Germany, that they were likely to experience the same in Italy, and that their resources were nearly ex-

hausted, that at such a period ministers should come forward to propose means for augmenting the internal force of the nation as preparatory to repel an invasion from France while in such a state of weakness. He would not oppose the mode which the minister had proposed of raising 20,000 cavalry; he had no objection to see the gentlemen who amuse themselves in Hyde-Park, take an active part in the war; not that he was blind to the inconveniences that would attend the execution of the plan. There was another part of the measure to which he had a greater objection — he alluded to that part which related to game-keepers. — Why these men should be singled out, he knew not; they were dispersed through the country, and it would not be easy to collect them together. “Why,” said he, “because they may be expert in killing a partridge, are we to suppose that they are better calculated than others to kill a Frenchman?” He saw many difficulties, but in this choice of difficulties he for the present gave his assent to the proposition.

Mr. Dundas, after observing (in contradiction to some hints thrown out by Mr. Sheridan) that the last parliament would ever be held in the highest estimation for its glorious exertions in rescuing this country and all Europe from destruction, spoke to the explanation which that gentleman had demanded of his majesty’s ministers respecting the propositions then before the house. He contended, that, whether the preparations then making in France would end in a descent upon this country or not, was impossible to determine; still the appearances of a disposition to make the attempt were sufficient to justify ministers in putting the nation

into a posture of defence. He gave it as his private opinion, that upon these means of defence it depended whether the projected invasion would be carried into execution or not. By shewing that every thing had been done to secure our internal safety, we demonstrated to the enemy the ruin with which their enterprize would be attended, and might induce them to abandon a design which presented no hopes of success.

Mr. Fox said, that in this stage of the business it was not the duty of any man to make opposition to the measure proposed; but from the sense he had of the general plan, there were many parts of it to the adoption of which no eloquence was likely to reconcile him. He contended, that if this measure was necessary to be adopted under our present circumstances, it was also necessary to have been adopted in 1756, in 1778, in 1794, and had been fit in every period in which this country had been engaged in a war. But for the necessity of this step the house had only the authority of the king’s ministers, on whom he did not choose to rely. With respect to the panegyric pronounced upon the last parliament by the ministerial side of the house, Mr. Fox openly declared, that *it had done more mischief to the interests of this country than any other that had ever sitten in it.* He considered it as a *curse* to this nation. The leading principle upon which it acted was that which led directly to complete despotism. If the measure then before the house was necessary to our safety, it was the conduct of ministers, and of a confiding parliament, which had rendered it so.

That part of the plan which referred to game-keepers, appeared to him

him to be a violent and unjust measure, acting upon a class of persons who contributed considerably towards the support of the state. He concluded with observing, that he should oppose some parts of the plan when it came before the house in detail.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied to the arguments made use of by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox. He was supported in his proposition by Sir William Pulteney, Mr. Elford, and by Mr. serjeant Adair; he was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Fox, and by Mr. Curwen.

The first resolution was agreed to: the second resolution respecting the augmentation of the militia was also agreed to, and a bill ordered to be prepared and brought in for that purpose. The third resolution for raising a provisional force of cavalry was also ordered to be thrown into the form of a bill and introduced into the house.

This measure came again before the commons on the 25th of October, when the bill for raising a certain number of men in the several counties of the kingdom for the service of the army and navy, passed a committee of the whole house, and was ordered to be printed.

The bill for encreasing the militia, &c. for the defence of the kingdom, was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole house immediately. Mr. Rose moved, that it be an instruction to the committee that they might have power to make provision in the bill for enrolling in the militia all persons who were game-keepers. He observed also, that it was proposed, that all persons who had deputations for keeping game should be enrolled in case of necessity, unless they

should at a given day give up their deputations; but they should not be called upon unless the militia should be embodied. He then brought up a clause respecting game-keepers. He said it was meant to affect only game-keepers who were really and actually serving as such; for that gentlemen taking out their licence to sport, should have power to find a substitute, to be approved of by the lord lieutenant. The clause proposed by Mr. Rose was then read, and made part of the bill, which then passed the committee.

On the 31st of October, upon a motion for re-committing the militia bill, a debate of considerable length took place, when Mr. Curwen opposed it with great strength of argument and elegance of expression. He regarded the measure then before the house as a scheme to perpetuate that system of delusion which administration had so successfully practised for their own purposes of innovation and oppression. It seemed strange that such steps should be proposed at the moment a negotiation was on foot, the favourable termination of which he hoped nothing would occur on the part of this country to obstruct. He was convinced that the exertions which the country was then called upon to make, were designed by ministers for other purposes than those they had avowed. The state of the continent was certainly not so alarming as it had been at some former periods, and our navy was represented in his majesty's speech as having blocked up the enemy's fleets in their own ports for a considerable part of the year. Upon what then did our fears of invasion rest?

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that every member of that house must feel a disposition

to act upon that pledge which they had so solemnly given on a former night in the address, to neglect no measure to repel the danger to which the country was exposed from the threatened invasion. The members had been told by those in a responsible situation, that ministers knew enough from intelligence to which they gave credit, to render it necessary for them to apprize the country of its danger, and to call upon it to exert its means of defence.

Mr. Fox and sir James Pulteney spoke against the bill. The former gentleman observed, that there was room to doubt the assertions of ministers upon that occasion, because there had been no ground for the original alarm which they had raised in 1792. The chancellor of the exchequer rose again and observed, that if the house agreed to the measure by adopting the present bill, he thought not a moment should be lost, but that this and the other bills should be passed as speedily as possible. For this purpose he proposed to pass them merely in the outline, with a clause in each, empowering the house to amend any part or parts of them at any time during the present session. He said a few words at the same time on the bill for embodying gamekeepers, which had been much misunderstood. It had been supposed that they were to be embodied and called out to be trained as the other parts of the militia were; but the case was otherwise, for, as they were already very expert at the use of the firelock, there would be no occasion to call them out till an invasion should actually take place, when they would be found a very useful body of men.

On the 1st of November, on the report of the supplementary militia

bill, several amendments were proposed and adopted. The chancellor of the exchequer, upon this occasion, introduced a clause to exempt persons belonging to the artillery company and the cinquant port corps from the operation of the bill, together with several other associated corps.

On the clause proposing that the operation of the bill should continue during the war, and three months after, Mr. Sheridan observed, that it was probable that the war might still be protracted long after any alarm of invasion had ceased. This bill was only intended to secure the country from the dangers of invasion. He therefore proposed, that the bill should continue only two months in force after the meeting of the next session of parliament. To this Mr. Pitt replied, that when once the men had been trained for twenty days, the hardships with respect to them ceased; it could therefore be no inconvenience to retain them on the footing proposed by the bills. To keep them, when once balloted, in readiness to be called out in case of emergency during the war, might be a source of additional strength and confidence to the country. The amendment of one month after the war was adopted.

Mr. Sheridan proposed an amendment in the bill, for the purpose of doing away a distinction in consequence of a difference of religion. In the oath taken by those who served in the militia, they were required to swear that they were protestants. This was an exclusion of Roman catholics, inconsistent with the liberality of the age. We ought to recollect how many of that description were in Ireland, whom it was policy in ministers to conciliate. He then moved an amendment

ment to that purpose; but he was informed by the speaker that it was then too late to introduce an amendment, but that he would have an opportunity on the third reading. The bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day, if engrossed. Accordingly, on the 2d of November it was brought up; and the chancellor of the exchequer moved a clause to allow a provision to be made, at the discretion of the magistrates, for the families of those who served under this bill, for the twenty days during which they were called out to be disciplined. After some discussion upon an amendment proposed by Sir William Young, which was negatived, that of Mr. Pitt was adopted, which, together with one or two more alterations, were included in a rider, which was annexed to the bill, and the bill, in its amended state, sent to the lords for their concurrence.

As the bill, however, after it had passed, was found not capable of being understood, so as to be carried into execution, on the 13th of December Mr. Pitt again moved, "That leave be given to explain and amend the supplementary militia bill." Mr. Fox said, that instead of "explain and amend," he should move to have inserted the word "repeal." He conceived the bill to be so objectionable, that he had no difficulty in saying, that it would be wasting the time of the house to enter into a detail upon the subject. He appealed to the house, whether, after what they had heard of what took place in Northamptonshire, and various other places, they were not convinced it was a measure which had excited a general discontent in the country. He concluded with moving the repeal, and was seconded by Mr. M. A. Taylor. General Tarleton said, that the situation of

the country was then very different from what it had been some months before; that the defeats which the French had received had deranged every plan of invasion. The real mode of securing the country was to render the people contented, happy and free, instead of harassing them with unnecessary burdens. Sir William Pulteney and Sir William Geary spoke in favour of Mr. Pitt's motion; and that of Mr. Fox was negatived without a division. On the 22d of December the report of the amended bill was taken into further consideration by the house, and the different amendments agreed to. Mr. Wilberforce brought up a similar clause to that which Mr. Sheridan had proposed in the original bill, namely, that the words "I swear that I am a protestant," should be erased from the form of oaths administered to those who should be balloted to serve in the supplementary militia. This clause was then read and made part of the bill, which was read a third time the following day.

On the 1st of November the chancellor of the exchequer rose, for the purpose of suggesting, before the order of the day for going into a committee on the cavalry bill was read, that it might be convenient to discuss separately the two questions that arose on this bill, namely, on the raising of the cavalry in general, and on the clause for embodying the game-keepers. Though he had by no means relinquished either of those objects, yet, as they might be opposed, and as they were not in their essence necessarily connected, it might possibly answer the purpose of convenience to divide them. Therefore, after the order of the day for the recommitment had been read, he moved, "That it be an instruction

to the committee to divide the consideration of the bill into two separate parts, if they should think proper." The cavalry bill then passed through the committee. The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it having been the sense of the committee, that that part of the bill relating to game-keepers should be formed into a separate bill, he should then move for leave to bring it in, and he hoped there would be no objection to its being read a first and second time, and committed the next day. Leave was given to prepare and bring in the same.

On the 3d of November, when the report of the cavalry bill was brought up and the first part of it read, general Tarleton said, that he was decidedly against the measure. He entered into an historical detail of the conduct of our ancestors upon similar occasions, and compared their measures with those which were now intended. He noticed the preparations which were made when the nation was menaced in the years 1688, 1715, 1718, 1743, 1756, and 1759. He desired the house to look to the situation of the country in 1796. At the present moment there were 100,000 men in arms well affected to their country, and a navy equal to our utmost naval strength at any period in the annals of England. He gave his opinion respecting the danger of invasion; there were three points on the coast of France from whence a descent might be made; from Dunkirk to Brest there was no opportunity of collecting troops, and the coast was unfavourable. From Brest to the western coasts, the situation was advantageous for a descent upon Ireland, or an expedition against our possessions in the West Indies, but was not calculated for an invasion of England. From Dunkirk to the Texel there were

great conveniences for the collecting and embarkation of troops, especially since Holland had become the ally of France; but, instead of pouring troops into this quarter, the troops in Holland, formerly under Bournonville, had been detached to re-inforce their different armies, so that any apprehension of invasion, from a proper consideration of the circumstances, would be in a great measure done away.

Mr. Fox urged the same arguments against the cavalry bill as he had done against the supplementary militia bill. He contended, that ministers might expend millions after millions in preparing against threats, which were never intended to be executed; and should the enemy discover this to be their disposition, they might complete our ruin without much danger or expence to themselves. Mr. Sheridan joined with Mr. Fox in the same train of argument which had been made use of before. They were opposed on the ministerial side by Mr. Ryder and Mr. Wilberforce, who contended for the necessity of the measure.

The house divided on the question,

Ayes (for receiving the report) 104
Noes (against it) - - - 30

The report and amendments being agreed to, the bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day. On the 4th of November Mr. Bidolph proposed a rider to be added to the bill; but his clause was negatived, and one proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer was adopted. The bill was then passed.

The game-keepers' bill, which at first was a part of the cavalry bill, was brought into the commons by Mr. Pitt on the 2d of November, and went, in substance, to enable his majesty to require the personal service of 15,000 men, of the

the description therein mentioned.

Mr. Sheridan objected wholly to the principle of the bill, as being one totally unknown to the constitution of the country, and of the most dangerous tendency. It was ordered to be printed and read a second time the next day. But on the 2d of December, the chancellor of the exchequer said he did not mean to trouble the house further with this bill at present; and it was therefore postponed for six months.

The army and navy augmentation bill, another branch of the minister's plan, was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house on the 3d of November, and was afterwards divided into two bills. It was proposed in them, among other things, that the number of men to be raised should be for the navy 6,000, for the army 9,000. On the next day, when the report was brought up, some clauses were proposed by the lord advocate of Scotland. Mr. Frazer said, he wished that some principle of proportion should be adopted, that the burden might fall fairly upon the respective counties. The *quotas* bore no proportion to the land-tax and the population of the counties. Sir John Sinclair had made statistical accounts of nine-tenths of the parishes of Scotland; and from those it appeared, that the general population of that kingdom had increased 300,000. He wished a clause to be introduced relative to the Highlanders, a brave, hardy, and serviceable race, who were much attached to their chiefs, and would therefore be much hurt in being forced to serve under other commanders; hence he wished a provision might be made for permitting them to serve under their particular chieftains. The lord advocate of Scotland thought it would be almost

impossible to make a legislative provision to that purpose, but was assured that his majesty's servants would grant every possible indulgence.

The bill was then read a third time and passed, and then ordered to be carried to the lords by the secretary at war.

On the 13th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the cavalry act; leave was given, and the bill brought in accordingly.

These bills for augmenting the internal force of the kingdom were respectively carried up to the house of lords, where the discussions upon them were neither long nor interesting.

On the 2d of November the supplementary militia bill was brought from the commons and read a first time; and on the 8th of the same month it was read a third time and passed, and a message was sent to the commons to acquaint them therewith. On the same day the cavalry bill was read a second time, and the bill for raising a certain number of men for the service of the army and navy of England, and the bill for raising men for the like service in Scotland, went through a committee of the whole house, lord Walsingham in the chair.

The upper house made some amendments in the supplementary militia bill, which were agreed to by the commons on the 29th of December.

On the 30th of December the royal assent was given by commission to the county quota, provisional cavalry, and militia augmentation explanatory bills. Near the end of the session a bill was introduced for allowing Roman catholics, and protestant dissenters, to serve

serve as officers in the supplementary militia, but was thrown out by the house of lords upon the second reading, on the 11th of July.

On that day lord Kenyon rose and wished their lordships not to pass a bill which tended in a great measure to alter the common laws of the land, and trench upon the *test act*: he moved, that the bill should be read that day three months.

The bishop of Rochester contended for the motion, and expressed his surprize that a bill should be introduced during the dog-days which affected the bulwarks of the constitution, and which the experience of above one hundred years

had proved to be serviceable to guard against the designs of the various sectaries and dissenters from the established church of England.

The duke of Norfolk spoke in favour of the bill; but, upon a division of the house, it was rejected by 23 against 6.

On the 2d of June a bill was introduced into the house of commons by Mr. secretary Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia in Scotland, which was soon afterwards passed into a law; a law which was found afterwards by the magistrates to be exceedingly obnoxious to the people of Scotland, and which they were compelled to enforce by the musket and bayonet.

CHAP. II.

The Financial Proceedings of the Session. Army and Navy Estimates. Debates upon these Subjects. Sums voted. Extraordinaries of the Army. The first Budget. Supplies, and Ways and Means. LOYALTY LOAN. The Sums for which Interest was to be provided. New Taxes. Money sent to the Emperor. Debates upon that Subject. Declared to be unconstitutional when sent without the Consent of Parliament. The Members for the City of London instructed by their Constituents to oppose the Minister upon this Subject. A Vote of Censure proposed and negatived. Account of the second Budget. Supplies, and Ways and Means, according to the two Budgets, for the Year 1797. Terms of the second Loan of Eighteen Millions. Summary of the New Taxes. Debates upon the second Budget. Substitutes for some proposed Taxes. Sums proposed to be sent to Ireland and to the Emperor. Debates upon that Subject. The House informed that no further Sums were to be sent to the Emperor on account of the Preliminaries of Peace, &c. Loan Bill read a second Time in the House of Lords. Portion given with the Princess Royal. Relief proposed to the Subscribers to the LOYALTY LOAN. Navy and Exchequer Bills. India Budget.

AFTER providing for the defence of the nation, the subject which of necessity next occupied the attention of ministers was the raising of the supplies.

On the 21st of October, 1796, the army estimates were, upon the

motion of the secretary at war, referred to the house of commons in a committee of supply. The honourable secretary observed, that the papers on the table contained all that was necessary to enable the committee to judge of the army expenses

expences for this year. He observed, that as it would be recollected that a diminution in the number of troops on the establishment had taken place last year, from which a saving of 800,000l. arose, it would not be expected that any considerable diminution would take place in the amount of the present estimates.

The whole force of this country, consisting of the common-distribution of guards and garrisons, and colonies and plantations, amounted to 195,674 men, the expence of which would amount to 5,190,000l. so that it would appear that the expence of this year would not exceed that of the last, but, on the contrary, would fall short of it by the sum of 168,426l. The home army, and the army abroad, were to be understood by the general division of guards and garrisons, colonies and plantations. The army at home amounted to 60,765 men, from which arose an excess, above last year, of 11,546 men. The army abroad, excepting those in the East Indies, which came under a separate description, amounted to 64,276 men; of course there was a diminution of about 13,641 men on this head since last year, which upon the whole force was but a trifling diminution. There was a small augmentation of the invalids, from the circumstance of calling upon, and drafting the out-pensioners who were capable of serving. He then proceeded to move his first resolution "That there be employed for the land service of this year the number of 195,000 men.

General Tarleton said, he had expected that the honourable secretary at war would have gone more into detail. Last year the troops in pay amounted to 119,000. The expences of the present year were

stated for these troops at 5 millions and upwards. Considering the disproportion between these statements, a house of commons ought to be watchful over the acts of ministers, but especially a new parliament. He should add the result of the articles omitted, amounting to 580,000l. to the sum of the estimates of this year, arising from the articles on the table. He was happy to find, that, at a period when fears of an invasion were entertained, we had such a force as 60,000 men at home, and that the army in the colonies amounted to so large a body. He thought the article of 360,000l. stated as the charge for the recruiting service, was superfluous, when ministers, upon the alarm of invasion which they held out, were to abandon the old mode of raising men by beat of drum, and to have recourse to the mode of requisition for the troops which were to be raised. He spoke of the militia with the highest respect, but thought that the custom which had been adopted by the officers of each corps employing a man as their servant, and engaging of batmen in menial capacities, were obstructions to his majesty's service, and ought to be abolished. He contended, that if the extraordinaries, such as barracks, &c. were added, the whole expence of the army this year would not fall short of that of last year, which amounted to as much as the whole revenue of this country did in the year previous to the war. This was a fact which ought to be attended to, especially by a new parliament. If the army cost so much, how were the other expences to be paid. With these facts before them, surely the representatives of the people ought to abandon the idea of raising such an additional force as 103,000 men, with-
out

out the existence of any danger being even remotely proved. General Tarleton then made some observations relative to the achievements, mentioned in his majesty's speech, by our troops in different parts of the world. Considering the expence with which the armament for the West Indies had been attended, and also the present state of our islands there, he saw no great cause for exultation; we had rather borrowed from our allies than conquered from the enemy,

Mr. Fox having made some remarks relative to the treaty with the Maroons, Mr. Bryan Edwards rose, and gave to the house an historical account of the late war between those people and the inhabitants of Jamaica. The Maroon negroes, he said, were descendants of the Spanish negroes, who, when the island

surrendered to the English in 1655, took to the woods. In the account which general Venables transmitted to government of these people, they were represented as wild and lawless savages, who had no moral sense; on whom neither persuasions nor gentleness could make any impression, and with whom it was impossible to come to any treaty. They were therefore left in possession of the interior country, and continued masters of it for near a century, murdering, without mercy, all such white persons as attempted to make any settlements near them.

He then entered into a history of the late war with these people, nearly as it was stated in our preceding volume.

After this digression, the house voted the following sums:

	£.	s.	d.
For the charge of 60,765 effective men for guards } and garrisons	1,505,905	1	0
For forces in the plantations, &c.	1,411,231	19	5
For difference between British and Irish pay of } forces for service abroad	40,096	9	9
For recruiting regiments in India - - -	13,335	18	0
For contingencies for land forces - - -	360,000	0	0
For charge of general and staff officers - - -	94,195	14	0
For charge of embodied militia and fencible infantry	950,441	3	6
For contingencies for ditto - - -	210,000	0	0
For clothing for ditto - - -	112,811	0	0
For charge of fencible cavalry - - -	397,734	4	2
For allowance to ditto - - -	95,000	0	0

The house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received on the Monday following. On that day the report was brought up accordingly, and agreed to.

On the 2d of December the house resolved itself into a committee of supply, when the secretary at war observed, that the estimates upon the table were so much matter of course, and so little different from

those of last year, that he did not conceive it was necessary for him to say more than to move the different resolutions meant to be founded upon them. The first of which was, that the sum of 70,000l. be granted for horses' furniture, &c. for the year 1797.

General Tarleton said, that, when the army estimates were first brought forward, he had remarked that the articles

articles which had been omitted would amount to 580,000*l.* but, in justice to his own moderation in that statement, he was bound now

to observe, that they amounted to 707,000*l.*

The whole sums granted this day were as follows:

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For horses' furniture and clothing for the augmentation	70,000	0	0
For allowance to reduced American officers	7,500	0	0
Upon account of ditto	52,500	0	0
For Scotch roads	4500	0	0
For allowance to reduced horse-guards	125	3	4
For reduced officers of land forces and marines	118,874	16	1
For increased rates of subsistence for quartering soldiers	180,000	0	0
For full pay to supernumerary officers	136,675	0	0
For officers late in the service of the States-General	1000	0	0
For allowance to paymaster-general, secretary at war, &c.	136,779	17	1
For ordinary of the navy	653,573	1	7
For building and re-building ships of war	768,100	0	0
For ordnance land service not provided for in 1795	114,553	19	9
For ordnance sea service not provided in 1795	74,830	0	3
For ordnance land service not provided for in 1796	425,366	10	6
For the civil establishment of the province of Upper Canada	7000	0	0
For the civil establishment of Nova Scotia	5,915	0	0
For the civil establishment of New Brunswick	4,550	0	0
For the civil establishment of the island of St. John in America	1,900	0	0
For the civil establishment of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
For ditto of the Bahama islands	4,100	0	0
For ditto of Newfoundland	1,232	10	0
For ditto of New South Wales	5,523	10	0
For the salary of the chief justice of Bermudas	580	0	0
For ditto of Dominica	600	0	0

In order to give our readers the whole of this subject at one view, we shall trespass a little on the chronological order, and mention the whole of the extraordinaries of the army previous to the account of the budget.

The secretary at war, on the 5th of April, 1797, moved a resolution "That a sum, not exceeding 3,280,513*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* be granted for the purpose of defraying the extraordinaries of the army, from the 6th of December, 1795, to the 6th of December, 1796, voted, and not provided for by parliament."

General Tarleton said, that he was under a necessity of noticing two particular objects of expence; the advances to the emperor, and the campaign in the West Indies. He blamed the conduct of administration in both these points, and insisted, that the emperor had continually lost ground, and that the war in the West Indies, particularly in St. Domingo, was to be considered as the bane and destruction of the British military, who perished ignobly, and who were sent to a grave in that charnel-house, as it had proved to them; and though the

the island had cost so much money and the lives of 14,000 gallant men, to this country, there was not a single post in our possession that could not be taken by three hundred fresh troops: on these grounds he opposed the motion. The resolution, however, was agreed to by the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the 7th of December, introduced into the house of commons his first budget for the year 1797 (we say

first, for in the June following he brought up a *second*). He proceeded to state the resources upon which the people might confidently rely to defray the expences which they had to incur. He premised that, great as the demand was, the nation was fully equal to the emergency, and prepared to meet it.

The amount of the supply which had been then voted, and which it might be necessary to vote during the session, was as follows:

SUPPLIES FOR THE YEAR 1797.

N A V Y.

For the ordinary of the navy for 120,000 seamen and marines	£. 6,240,000
Extraordinaries for the same	1,420,000
To which might be added for this favourite service the further sum of	2,500,000
* Total for the service of the navy	£. 10,160,000

A R M Y.

The amount of the sums which had been then voted for the army was	6,613,000
The account of the extraordinaries was not then complete, but Mr. Pitt estimated them at	4,300,000
Total for the army	£. 10,913,000
Sum for the diminution of the national debt	200,000
The amount of the ordnance	1,623,000
Miscellaneous services, including the relief to emigrant priests, &c.	378,000
Deficiency of land and malt	350,000
The deficiency of taxes, after deducting the surplus of grants for 1796, which amounted to 420,000l. was	1,023,000
Total of the supply	£. 27,647,000

* Mr. Pitt, in his statement, omitted fractions, and computed the navy expences at the round sum of 10,160,000l. whereas the real sum was 10,161,000l. for the navy.

For

For raising this sum, the minister proposed the following

WAYS AND MEANS:

	£.
Land and malt	2,750,000
Produce of the consolidated fund	1,075,000
Surplus of grants of 1796	420,000
Surplus of the lottery, after deducting the sum due upon it to the loyalists	200,000
A voluntary loan	18,000,000
Exchequer bills to be issued	5,500,000
Total of Ways and Means	£. 27,945,000
Total of the ways and means	27,945,000
Total of the supplies	27,647,000
Surplus of ways and means	£. 298,000

The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to state the terms of the voluntary loan of 18 millions, so creditable and glorious to the country. The interest then to be provided for that loan was no more than 5*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per cent. per annum; he said he should not think himself justifiable if he were to provide a less sum than for the whole as a permanent annuity; and also to add the usual sum of one per cent. to the sinking fund, as if the loan was not to be paid off. In this view, taking the interest at 5*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and adding one per cent. on account of the sinking

fund, would make the whole of the interest to be provided, about 6*l.* 15*s.* for every 100*l.*; hence the interest on the 18,000,000 would be 1,215,000*l.* He proposed that exchequer bills should be issued to the amount of 5,500,000*l.* because he was convinced that so many might be circulated both with economy and advantage. Other species of floating debt had been found to be injurious, from the enormity of the discount to which they fell on account of the length of time they had to run. The interest on these exchequer bills would be 275,000*l.*

The total excess of the navy debt beyond the estimate of 1796, was	£.	8,250,000
Of this sum, a provision had been made for		4,000,000

Therefore interest must be provided for the difference, viz. 4,250,000

Having taken 2,500,000*l.* in the estimate of supply, he was confident he should cover every possible demand under the head of navy debt, if he provided interest for 3,000,000*l.* more.

The items of the different sums for which interest was to be provided, and for which new burdens were to be laid upon the people, when recapitulated, stood as follows:

For

For the interest of 18,000,000 <i>l.</i> of loan	1,215,000
For interest on 5,500,000 <i>l.</i> of exchequer bills	275,000
For ditto of excess of navy 8,250,000 <i>l.</i>	315,000
For interest of future excess of navy 5,702,000 <i>l.</i>	277,000
Substitute for abandoning the collateral succession bill	140,000

l. 2,222,000

From this was to be deducted the interest upon the subscription to the loan of 2,000,000 by the East-India company	112,000
Therefore the sum of interest to be provided for by new taxes would be	1,110,000

The following is the recapitulation of the new taxes which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed for raising the interest of the several sums above stated.

EXCISE.

Ten per cent. on teas	240,000
Ten per cent. on coffee	30,000
Additional duty on sales by auction, 2 <i>d.</i> in the pound on estates, and 3 <i>d.</i> on goods	40,000
On bricks, 1 <i>s.</i> per thousand	36,000
Spirits, 1 <i>d.</i> per gallon	210,000
Licences on Scots distillery	300,000

Total excise *l.* 856,000

CUSTOMS.

Sugar, 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per cwt.	280,000
Pepper	10,000
Ten per cent. on brimstone, iron, oil olive, and staves	43,000
Five per cent. on all other customs, prize goods, coals, and wine excepted	110,000
Other articles on import, such as starch, bricks, &c.	23,000

Total of customs *l.* 466,000

Addition to the assessed taxes and new house tax, 10 per cent.	200,000
Regulation of stamps	30,000
Additional postage, and regulation of the post-office	250,000
Stage coaches, additional	60,000
Stamps on parcels (given up afterwards)	60,000
Canal navigation	120,000

Total amount of new taxes *l.* 2,132,000

Amount of the annuity or interest to be raised	2,110,000
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Excess of taxes *l.* 22,000

Such

Such were the resources from which he proposed to draw the necessary sums to provide for the interest of the enormous expence of the year. The new duties, he said, were diffused over so many articles

that they would operate with equality, and yet would not bear hard on the poor. By the production of the taxes it might be inferred, that the war had not materially injured the sources of our prosperity.

The permanent revenue for the year, ending 10th of } £.
October, 1796, amounted to } 14,012,000

And notwithstanding the operation of the new duties, }
the average produce of those duties for the last three years } 13,855,000
was - - - - -

On the side of supply he had taken year 1797, though they amounted but the sum of 3,000,000*l.* to meet to a much larger sum the preceding the further extraordinaries for the year.

The amount of the navy debt, according to the papers }
furnished by the board, was - - - - - } 15,171,000

And by adding for the increase of debt to the 30th of }
December - - - - - } 1,000,000

The total up to that time would then be £. 16,171,000

Mr. Pitt then alluded to an expence of a particular nature which had been incurred during the interval of parliament; the assistance which ministers had thought proper to grant to the emperor without a public discussion: the reasons which he gave for this conduct were, that in the critical situation of the country, it might have been matter of extreme delicacy to have brought forward a public discussion on the propriety of advancing a sum to a foreign court; and the consequences might have been to have suggested a grant too small for the wants of our ally, or too large for the means of the country. A sum of about twelve hundred thousand pounds had, he believed, been allotted to his imperial majesty; a future opportunity would be afforded for the discussion of this topic, which he only mentioned, that no circumstance connected with the national expenditure might be kept

1797.

back on this occasion. He should propose a sum of three millions, with a view of enabling ministers to make advances to our allies, if we were compelled to persevere in the war; at the same time we were not to consider such sums as lost to the country; we had seen too many of those qualities, the inherent companions of good faith and honour, in his imperial majesty, to entertain any suspicions with respect to his conduct: he should therefore propose (he said) the vote of three millions.

Mr. Fox reprobated, with his usual energy, this unconstitutional mode of proceeding. The minister now, he said, had spoken out plainly; he had acknowledged that he had given to the emperor, without the consent of parliament, twelve hundred thousand pounds, and that he was to continue to do it if he thought it necessary! Those who were members of the last parliament

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liament

liament could not have forgotten, that for the last three months of that parliament, not a week had elapsed in which some question was not put to the minister, in which he was called to declare, whether he intended to grant any pecuniary assistance to the emperor. Did he mean to say, that he intended to give it, but that his own authority for that purpose was sufficient? that it was superfluous to submit such a subject to parliament, and that he could issue the money of his own authority? Perhaps he did: he might borrow an example from his own conduct to keep the measure in countenance. It was of a piece with his advice to his majesty to continue him as his minister against the declared opinion of the house of commons in the year 1784. Now he had gone one step farther, and shewn to the people of Great Britain that he was a better judge than the parliament of Great Britain, to whom their money, and how much of it also, should be given. "If," said Mr. Fox, "these are the sentiments to be acted upon in this country; if the minister be permitted to carry them into effect, I declare, for myself, that the constitution is not worth fighting for. On the 27th of December, 1795, you met: did he give you any intimation of his having advanced the money before you were called together? did he give you any intimation before this very night? Not a word. For this conduct he ought to be impeached. He has had it in his power to consult you long ago upon this subject, as it was his duty. He has neglected to do so, by which he has manifested a determination to dispose of the money of the people without consulting their representatives. What reason can be assigned for

this, but that he thinks his judgment better than the judgment of the representatives of the people of Great Britain? The minister says, that we should feel the utmost confidence in lending our money to the emperor, because we have seen in the emperor those heroic qualities which usually accompany good faith. Now, supposing heroism to be a just criterion of good faith in pecuniary concerns, I should like to try the effect of this mode of reasoning. Suppose for a moment that we were in a state of neutrality with the French republic, and it was proposed that we should lend money to the French, would the minister say we should lend them money? certainly he would not; and yet, if good faith in pecuniary engagements was to be measured by heroic qualities, there are none to whom we ought to be more ready to lend; for of their valour they have given abundant proofs." Mr. Fox then proceeded to state the situation of the emperor and the French at this moment; in which he maintained, that, with all the successes of the Austrians in the latter part of the present campaign, another could not be opened under circumstances of more advantage to the emperor than those in which he had been placed at the commencement of the last. He here took notice of the successes of the French in Italy, and, by way of answering the praises bestowed on the good qualities of the house of Austria, he instanced the cruelties that had been exercised on La Fayette, which he said had excited horror all over Europe.

He then observed the minister's calculations of events: year after year he had calculated upon the events of the war, and year after

year the public had been misled by his calculations. At one time he was sure the navy debt would only be a million and a half; after that, he calculated the same debt at four millions; then at six or seven millions, and now it was stated to be above sixteen millions. What security had the house and the public that the minister would not miscalculate in future as he had already done in the course of the present war? By his miscalculations he had added to the debt of this country one hundred and fifty millions, and rivers of human blood had been made to flow all over the world.

The minister now talked of peace; but as he was so fond of his own calculations, he wished he would some day sit down in his closet and calculate what a sum of human happiness he had destroyed already; what a waste of human life he had occasioned, because he could not sooner discover that the French were capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other powers. Here Mr. Fox took notice of the difference between the ministers of the elector of Hanover and those of the king of Great Britain, with respect to the prudence of making peace with the French republic. He had heard it said, that the spirit of the people of this country was great; he believed it to be so; he gloried in that spirit; but if the system on which this war was carried on, was to be continued much longer, he had his doubts, he said, of the continuance of that spirit.

A great people, who saw hundreds of thousands of their fellow-creatures fall, their national debt increased above one hundred and fifty millions, their credit sinking, the necessaries of life becoming, by their price, almost entirely out of the reach of the labouring class (and

all this because one man, or a few men, in the country, made false calculations), were not likely to preserve their ancient spirit.

The national debt was now above four hundred millions; he had not calculated exactly what portion of it was owing to this war altogether; but he was now ready to declare what he often had declared, and still oftener felt, that it was unjust at its commencement, impolitic in its progress, and he believed there was not one man of sense who had any wishes for his country's welfare, who did not from his heart wish it at an end. Perhaps the minister might think the case of Good Hope an equivalent for all we had suffered; if he did, neither his humanity nor his judgment was to be envied. Mr. Fox said he was afraid that no question would be stated that night on the propriety of lending money to the emperor without the consent of parliament; and therefore he could not manifest by his vote his opinion upon the subject: however, whenever it came before the house he should meet it with his direct negative; for it was "a violent and daring attack upon the British constitution."

The resolutions were then put and carried.

On the 8th of December Mr. Hobart brought up the report of the committee of ways and means, which was read a first time; and on the question being put for its being read a second,

Mr. Fox rose. He said it was his ardent wish that every member of the house might pay the most serious attention to the subject, under a strong conviction that the greatest exertions would be necessary to put the finances of this country in a proper situation; but this was not the point to which he proposed to call the attention of the house: it

was to the degraded state in which the commons of Great Britain stood relative to the executive government. He alluded, he said, to the 1,200,000*l.* granted to the emperor without the consent of parliament; a grant contrary to positive laws, and a flagrant violation of the constitution of parliament. From the mode in which the money had been given, it was evident that the whole affair had been conducted for the purpose of setting a precedent in the annals of the constitution, that it might be understood the public money was not at the disposal of the representatives of the people, but of the ministers of the crown. But he would consider the nature of the transaction. Had ministers, when parliament was not sitting, found themselves called upon by an imperious sense of duty, dictated by urgent and unforeseen circumstances, to grant a certain pecuniary aid to the emperor, and had they taken the earliest opportunity upon the meeting of parliament to submit the whole of the business to their consideration; then would have been the time for the house to have passed a decision upon their conduct; but the present case was wholly different. In the course of the last three months of the last parliament, repeated applications were made to them respecting their intentions of granting or withholding pecuniary assistance to the emperor; and from the silence which they persevered in preserving on the subject, it was natural to infer, that they would not grant it without the previous concurrence of parliament. But we now find a great part of the money had been granted to his imperial majesty without that concurrence, not during the parliamentary recess, but when parliament was

actually sitting. Why was not proper application made to the house? It was, because the right honourable gentleman fancied himself better qualified to judge of the propriety of the time, and the extent of the assistance, than the house of commons.

The constitution says he was not; it says, that the public money is at the disposal, not of the crown, but of the parliament; and therefore he had no right to dispose of it without its consent. The question now was, not whether the constitution be good or bad, whether this be a wise or unwise arrangement, but it was his duty, as the minister of a free constitution, to adhere to the principles which it had laid down, and to the rules which it had prescribed; the first, and most important of which was, that the disposal of the public money is vested not in the king, but in the people. Something, indeed, we heard like an apology from the right honourable gentleman; but it was as unsatisfactory, as the conduct it was brought forward to justify was unconstitutional. It consisted of two parts: first, that parliament was not so good a judge as himself; and, secondly, that from the discussions to which the publicity would lead, considerable mischief might have taken place. With respect to the first, it takes the point for granted, by supposing that an absolute is preferable to a limited monarchy, and that our free constitution would be much better were it transformed into a despotism; and as to the other, of danger from its publicity, this pretence may be used till we come to the old exploded argument, that the granting of money ought to be vested in the king's ministers, not in the people's representatives. In short, con-

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tinued Mr. Fox, the right honourable gentleman tells us, that he did not think it worth while to acknowledge you at all in the matter, because you were not fit judges of the propriety of the *quantum*, nor of the period for granting the money: he takes care, however, that you shall be finally informed of it: but when? *when it comes to be paid.*

But from what fund had this loan been raised? one part of it from a vote of credit, and another had been taken from the money voted for defraying the extraordinary of the year, and of course certain services, of which parliament had approved, and for which it had made provision, must remain unpaid. In what situation then was the house of commons placed? If they refused to make good the debt, which he hoped and trusted they would, part of the public service would continue in arrears. They were reduced then to this dilemma, either to discharge a debt, in contracting which they were not acknowledged, and for which they were not responsible; or, by refusing to discharge it, to leave services which were sanctioned by their approbation, unpaid. Should the question be put to any man at all acquainted with the constitution of this country, when expences are to be incurred, who are the best judges of the propriety of incurring them, he would answer, the commons of Great Britain. Who are the best judges of the extent to which they ought to be incurred? He would not hesitate also to reply, the commons of Great Britain. When these two strong holds were given up, the constitution was lost. What then would posterity think of that minister who had wrested them out of our possession, or of

that parliament which had tamely given them up without one syllable of remonstrance, without one threat of defiance? It was true, the house had so far relaxed from the rigorous exercise of their privilege, as to give a vote of credit to the minister that he might be enabled to meet unforeseen emergencies; this, however, was always to a limited extent; but, in the present instance, the right honourable gentleman had thought the commons were as little qualified to judge of the extent of the assistance to be given to the emperor, as of the propriety of giving it. With regard to this parliament, Mr. Fox hoped, that it would vindicate its own dignity and importance at the onset, and shew the ministers of the country, that if they be the advisers of the measures of the crown, the house of commons are the guardians of the public purse. But if, on the other hand, they patiently acquiesced in the most daring encroachments on their rights, how would they answer to their country for those liberties which they had wantonly sacrificed at the shrine of unprincipled ambition? He considered it as a more serious attack upon the constitution than what was conveyed through the writings of Paine, or of any man whatever. Were I (said Mr. Fox) upon a jury, deciding upon the speech of the right honourable gentleman last night, I should pronounce it a libel upon the constitution; for if the doctrines laid down in it are constitutional, ours is a most vile and detestable constitution. Even after all the attacks which have been made upon it, we would still shed our blood in its defence; but if this new defalcation is to be added to what we formerly were robbed of, what is there left to interest our feelings,

feelings, or to stimulate our exertions? This will be an incalculable addition to all the woes and calamities which the war has induced; and if, after all that we have lost in money, in reputation, and in blood, we are also to submit to this oppression, the house of commons is no longer to be considered as a branch of the constitution, and there will be little in our government to distinguish it from that of absolute monarchies.

Mr. Pitt replied, that those people who had never before had an opportunity of hearing the speeches which the right honourable gentleman had been accustomed to pronounce, the cry of alarm which he often had been pleased to raise, and the destruction of our liberties which he had often affected to see, would suppose this had been the first time in his life that he had felt real apprehension for the constitution of his country.

Mr. Pitt wished it to be observed, that the right honourable gentleman did not merely propose a reprobation of the particular measure, nor the punishment of the guilty minister, but a suspension of those supplies which were calculated to give confidence to the negotiations of peace, or energy to the operations of war; and by giving a negative to the whole resolution, to tell the enemy, by the very next post by which the unanimous determination of parliament would be conveyed, that the house of commons had interfered to stop the effects of their former decision, had suspended the means which were to add weight to the exertions of the executive government, and at so critical a moment of the negotiation had committed the interests of this country and her allies, and flattered the hopes, and raised the pretensions of the enemy,

Although the general principle which the right honourable gentleman stated as the essence of the freedom of the constitution were admitted, it was subject to limitation; at every period since the commencement of those times to which we refer for the pure practice of the constitution, in the best and most glorious eras of it, the principle of extraordinaries had been received; not merely for individual expenses, but recognized upon general views. Did it never occur to the right honourable gentleman that parliament had sometimes committed to his majesty not new but special powers, which superseded all general questions? Mr. Pitt said, that he intended to move that his majesty's message of the 8th of December last year should be read, and likewise the act granting a vote of credit: from this it would appear, that a power was given to his majesty to apply the sum contained in the vote of credit as the exigencies of the state might require. Suppose that powers had been conferred to give that assistance to the allies of our country, which our own interest and the circumstances of the state required. Could any man doubt that the minister who should have hesitated to issue the sum, which, granted, would have defended the safety of Europe; could any man doubt that he would have been a traitor to his country, and merited the severest punishment? The vote of credit did actually invest the executive government with a discretionary power of applying the sums granted in a manner best suited to the public exigencies; and the money applied to the service of the emperor was within that grant. He did not mean to say, that the discretion thus vested in the crown was absolute, and independent of the

the controul of parliament, or that the minister who exercised it improperly was to be exempt from censure; but in what manner he understood this limitation, he would state when called upon to make his defence.

The question, however, now, was not whether ministers had acted properly, or improperly; it was, whether the house should announce to France, that the supplies of the year were to be stopped, and the exertions of the executive power suspended.

Mr. Fox stated, in explanation, that he had only said that extraordinaries were, in some measure, inevitable, but were an evil not to be extended beyond the necessity, and that it was criminal to resort to this expedient when other means might be employed.

Sir William Pulteney declared, that it was with much concern and astonishment he heard, that the minister had taken upon him to appropriate so large a sum of the public money without the consent of parliament. The controul of the house of commons over the public purse was the main point upon which rested the whole of the constitution of Great Britain; and though Mr. Fox might be accustomed to use strong language, yet this was a case which every man must feel to be of the last importance. The justification offered by the chancellor of the exchequer was chiefly grounded on two arguments, drawn from the words in which the vote of credit must be granted in every year of a war. First, that it was meant to defray the extraordinary expences of the year. Undoubtedly it was, and unfortunately it happened, that extraordinaries and a vote of credit must be granted in every year of a

war: but, surely it never was intended that subsidies to foreign powers should be supplied by a vote of credit. New circumstances might occur to render it proper for ministers to exercise their discretion; but here the circumstances were foreseen, and had been laid before parliament: the discovery that this sum had been advanced came out in a very suspicious manner indeed; it could no longer be concealed; there seemed to have been a desire of concealing it as long as possible, and a disclosure was only compelled by necessity. He could not however go to the length of stopping the supplies, though he was of opinion that a very strong mark of censure ought to be inflicted by the house. As to the influence a parliamentary sanction to this measure might have had upon public credit at an earlier period, he thought it too trifling a consideration to weigh against the fundamental principles of the constitution, and with regard to the credit which the minister assumed for acting advantageously when he concealed from the enemy the intention of affording supplies to our ally, he considered that concealment as having a very different effect; for it was, in a great measure, on the supposition that this country refused all pecuniary supplies to the emperor, that the French were emboldened to make redoubled efforts, and advance so far into the heart of Germany. The right honourable gentleman had asked, whether, in order to pass a previous censure on this conduct, the house would adopt the proposition of Mr. Fox, and, in this critical emergency, stop the supplies of the nation? It was this dilemma which aggravated the misconduct of the minister, who put the house in that situation,

situation, that it must either acquiesce in an expenditure made in so blameable a manner, or bring danger on the country by stopping the supplies, and afford some room for a charge against national faith.

He trusted that this proceeding would not pass the house without receiving strong marks of disapprobation; and he hoped it would never witness in future a similar violation of the principles of the constitution.

Mr. Grey expressed his surprise and indignation at what he termed the desperate measures of the minister, in an animated speech. Had the house, he said, perceived sooner the danger which threatened the constitution, the present measure would never have been attempted; and if their obsequiousness and servility had not encouraged the design of ministers, they never would have seen this bold and daring invasion of their rights.

How must the astonishment and displeasure of the house be encreased when they found, that, when parliament had been sitting, when the embarrassment government had felt for money was so great, these advances had been made! nay, at the very time when he himself had asked Mr. Pitt, what he intended as to an Austrian loan, *very considerable* advances had been made, and only 77,000*l.* had been given during the recess of parliament. Such was the fact proved by the dates in the account on the table.

"I am aware (continued Mr. Grey) that the right honourable gentleman will rest his defence on the general principle of army extraordinaries; that he will tell us a case of real exigency must and ought to supersede the inferior demands of economical, or even legislative, prudence. But I reply, that no financial exigency can be pa-

ramount to the constitution; that no duty is so sacred as its support: true, its most vital parts have been attacked, and their vigour essentially crippled and destroyed, but it is nevertheless incumbent on the friends of order to uphold what remains of it, and struggle for the restoration of such of its fundamental elementary attributes as have been either subverted or abused. The existence of the constitution, in fact, depends on the vigilance of a discerning house of commons respecting the acts of ministers. Such a house will not be satisfied on great constitutional questions with pompous declamatory denunciations of the opposers of ministerial arrogance, or the foes of ministerial profusion: it will not be satisfied with retrospective and unconstitutional measures of any kind, but will in every situation evince, by the conduct of its members, that there is still a barrier to encroachments, a line beyond which not even his majesty's ministers can extend their predatory efforts. In the present case, it cannot for a moment be argued, that it was not the duty of ministers to come forward with a specific proposition, soliciting the advice and concurrence of the representatives of the people before the money of the people was applied in a way that must subject them to be assessed with new and extraordinary burdens. That the public money was thus applied, is evident; that the constitution was infringed, is equally so; but the right honourable gentleman has told us, that the sum advanced to the emperor was advanced under circumstances, and at a time, when it was necessary that the exception should be adopted.

"Thus he takes the exception, and argues from the necessity of the case. We might in the same way give

give an unlimited vote of credit to ministers; perhaps we shall be told next, that any account of the disbursement of the army extraordinaries might thus be avoided; so it might. There was a time, however, when he would have called such an exception paltry; a time when he was an enthusiast in the cause of liberty; an economist; a reformer. In the year 1782 this circumstance of extraordinaries would have been reprobated as an evil by the right honourable gentleman, which could not be too jealously watched; a principle that could not be too severely condemned; an infringement ever to be resisted. These avowedly were then his sentiments of that species of ministerial chicanery, inasmuch that, immediately after he was made minister, the house was called upon by a speech from the throne, to watch with jealousy, and repel with dignity, every such attempt to dilapidate and infringe the constitution. The extraordinaries being thus formally and solemnly made the subject of a speech from the throne, it is not a little remarkable that the minister himself has adopted the exception instead of the principle; has frittered away the laws, and attempted, by a sort of special pleading, to deprive us of our liberties."

Mr. Grey then mentioned the act of parliament, whereby a certain sum was given to his majesty for the service of the year 1796. The application of this sum was restricted to certain purposes: it was to be applied in such a way as the exigencies of affairs might require; but it was meant prospectively, not retrospectively. He could prove, he said, to the house, that the sum then granted had been used retrospectively instead of prospectively. On the 31st of Decem-

ber, 1795, £150,000. was given to colonel Crauford. He was certain that the right honourable gentleman was abstractedly of opinion that any appropriation, such as he had made of that vote of credit, was unconstitutional, nor did Mr. Grey think that the last parliament, servile and obsequious as it was, could have intended, could have considered that vote of credit as conveying unlimited power to ministers. He asked, if there now were present any gentlemen who were members of that parliament, whether, if it had been stated to them at the time the vote was passed, that two millions and a half were to be given as a subsidy to the emperor, at the discretion of his majesty's ministers, whether they would have agreed to place such extraordinary power in the hands of the executive government? Many apprehensions had arisen from the danger of an invasion: he ventured to affirm, that no invasion or attack would go more decidedly to the destruction of all that was valuable; namely, the liberty of the country.

Viewing the subject in this light, it was his duty to oppose, or, at least, vote for suspending the supplies. If he were asked, were those supplies to be suspended which would afford to government so much weight and vigour? he would answer yes, and he was certain that we should not negotiate less favourably if the French saw that the house was determined to maintain its rights; the firmness with which they asserted their own dignity would be a pledge of the spirit with which they would resist the enemy. Assuming that exalted state on which a free people ought to stand, they would negotiate more advantageously with a free people; a people that he hoped would remain

main free; a people whom the right honourable gentleman now considered as capable of maintaining peace and amity, who had now snorted away the undigested fumes of the blood of their sovereign, and with whom he had now condescended to treat.

But the proposition did not go to negative the supplies; it was intended to suspend them till the wound given to the constitution was made whole. He moved an amendment, that the second reading should be postponed till the next day, and he would then move the house to resolve that the minister had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor.

Mr. Wilberforce was averse to postponing the passing of the resolution, even till the morrow, on the score of propriety and policy. The nature of the vote of credit, he said, had not been sufficiently commented upon; it would be found to convey an impression that ministers were authorised in employing it in such a manner, or on such measures, as the state might require. This construction was so literally obvious on the face of the bill that it could not be contested.

Upon this a question arose, whether the mode in which ministers had applied the money was, or was not, necessary to the cause in which the nation was embarked.

He thought that the mode in which the money had been applied was a proper one; the representatives of a generous nation would not make the saving of the Germanic empire the subject of censure. At the time the money was remitted the emperor was on the verge of a great precipice; and all Europe in danger of being ruined by his fall. To that seasonable supply might be attributed, in a considerable degree, the good reception lord

Malmesbury met with from the directory of France: and had that transaction been publicly known at the time of its completion, it might have injured our public credit. Gentlemen, he said, might rant about the excellencies, the wounds, and the death of the constitution; but it ought to be remembered, that those to whom they addressed their medley effusions, were more sincere supporters of freedom than they.

Mr. York contended, that the assistance given to the emperor was out of a sum of money granted by a vote of credit to defray any extraordinary expences which might accrue; and as those extraordinary were not then voted, it was consequently a separate consideration. Yet the opposition side of the house had proposed a negative to the resolutions of the committee of ways and means, on the principle that the money granted by the vote of credit in a former year was misapplied, and thereby to postpone the supplies necessary for the current year.

Mr. Curwen declared, that the safety of the British constitution was involved in the question then before the house. The commons were always considered as the guardians of the public purse, and in that view this question was more important to them than if the threatened invasion had been put in execution, and the French actually at our doors. Supposing the assistance given to the emperor to have been instrumental in saving Germany, still the British constitution was not to be destroyed on that account; the minister had various opportunities of pleading some necessity to parliament for informality in granting that assistance, or he might have applied for a bill of indemnity.

The master of the rolls and lord Hawkesbury defended the conduct of administration

administration in remitting the money to the emperor, and contended, that an attempt to delay the supplies for the year on that account was not defensible upon rational grounds.

Mr. Fox, in his reply, said, that the real question was, whether the conduct of the minister with regard to this money sent to the emperor, was, or was not, an infraction of the constitution: if it was an infraction of the constitution (which he thought no one could deny), then it was an actual invasion and usurpation of the powers of the representatives of the people, in the most important of all their privileges, that of granting money.

At length the house divided on the question, that the word "to-morrow" be inserted, instead of "now." Ayes 58 — Noes 164. The resolutions were then agreed to.

The same subject was discussed again in the house of commons on the 14th of December, after Mr. Long had brought up some papers from the treasury, containing the correspondence which passed between Mr. Long and Mr. Boyd, concerning the money advanced to the emperor; together with an account of the interest paid by his imperial majesty upon the loan of four millions and a half.

Mr. Fox, upon this occasion, retraced with some additional energy all the arguments which he had enforced on a former day, against the unconstitutional measure which the minister had adopted of remitting money to the emperor without the knowledge or permission of parliament. He supported his arguments by an appropriate quotation from Mr. Hatfield's *Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons*, by which it appeared, that

formerly those sums of money which had been expended, but not specified, commonly called *extraordinaries*, were confined within some limits, as appeared from the account entered in the journals during the war of the succession, and even in the war which terminated in 1748. In what was commonly called the German war, these sums first became very large; but in the American war they exceeded all bounds; these *extraordinaries* very often amounted to almost as much as the whole sums voted by parliament upon the estimates; nay, in the year 1782, they appear to have actually exceeded them. It was therefore incumbent upon the house of commons, not only to make this supply as small as possible, but, in a subsequent session, to enquire into the particular expenditure of this sum. Mr. Fox concluded a speech of great length, by a motion to the following purport: "That his majesty's ministers, having at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, directed the issue of various sums of money for the service of his imperial majesty, and also for the service of the army under the prince of Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this house."

Mr. alderman Combe seconded the motion; he said, in obedience to the instructions of his constituents, who had met that day in a common hall of the city of London, and had desired their representatives to censure the conduct of ministers, in granting away the public money without the consent of parliament. He also observed, that the discounting of the bills

drawn for the purpose of remitting money to the imperial troops, had swallowed up so much of the cash of the bank, as to compel that great body to narrow their discounts; and the British merchants were made to suffer, that the German soldiers might be supplied.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it was no small satisfaction to him, that the full review of former precedents, with respect to the motion then before the house, formed the chief ground of the argument, and that those precedents concurred in justifying the measure at that moment so severely condemned. Respecting what had fallen from alderman Combe, he contended, that it was impossible for his constituents to decide, in a just and candid manner, on the propriety of giving a vote on a motion with the particulars of which they must have been unacquainted, and also ignorant of the defence which his majesty's ministers meant to set up. Mr. Pitt then went at considerable length into a defence of the measure in question, in which he followed the same train of arguments as on the 8th of December; and concluded with quoting a number of precedents both before and after the date of the revolution, on which he appeared to rest his principal defence. In 1701, he said, parliament had voted an extra sum for the payment of foreign forces, not regularly as a vote of credit, but subsequent to such a vote. In the reign of Anne, in 1704-5, both subsidies and grants had been employed in paying foreign forces without the authority of parliament. In 1706, he added, a transaction similar to that under discussion was publicly avowed. In 1718, an instance also occurred, which, however, he admitted was not so analagous to the late trans-

action as the preceding. In the years 1734 and 1735, votes of credit were granted, and applied according to the exigencies of the times. An advance to the duke of Arenberg in 1742 was noticed in debate, and censured in the administration of Mr. Pelham; but the enquiry was avoided by the previous question. Lastly, he appealed to his own administration in 1787, when the expences incurred in protecting Holland were recognized under the head of secret services.

Mr. Bragge followed the minister in order, and in a great degree also in argument, and concluded by proposing an amendment to the motion, purporting "That advancing the several sums of money in the account then before the house, for the service of his imperial majesty (though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasions of special necessity), was a justifiable exercise, under the circumstances of the case, of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers by the vote of credit."

Mr. alderman Lushington declared, that he should not have risen but for the meeting of his constituents, alluded to by Mr. Combe; but he could never consent to receive instructions to support a motion for censuring ministers before he had heard their defence. It had been said, that the constitution had been violated; the papers on the table would prove the contrary. In times of difficulty he thought the hands of government ought to be strengthened; and, in this instance, he was first inclined to think a bill of indemnity would have been proper; but he had since heard enough to convince him that it was not necessary.

Alderman Curtis and alderman Anderson, the other city members, coincided with the last speaker, and supported

supported the minister in contradiction to the resolutions of their constituents.

Mr. Sheridan, in a long and energetic speech, supported the motion for censuring the ministers. Mr. Bragge, he said, the mover of the amendment, appeared to have formed a determination to turn every expression of censure into a testimony of approbation. His motion did not at all refer to the sums sent abroad to the army of Condé; if it exempted that part of the measure which concerned the emperor from censure, it left the other to stand upon the journals with the brand which was implied from its being passed over without notice, while the other was held up to approbation. He would not enter into the enquiry, whether or not the power of granting supplies, and controuling their application, was as ancient as the government itself, and coeval with the existence of the constitution. This salutary power arose from the abuses of government, from the misconduct of ministers, from tyranny, and from corruption. The reign of Charles the Second abounded with examples of this corruption; at the revolution the right of the parliament to grant supplies, and controul their application, was solemnly recognized, and since that period interwoven with its usage. In this review he wondered at the stress which had been laid upon the precedents which had been quoted; it was arguing from the exception against the rule; it was erecting the deviation into the guide. Here Mr. Sheridan contended, that even these precedents did not apply to the present case. The first which had the remotest similarity to it, was that in 1706, of the advance to the duke of Savoy, to the amount of

47,000*l.* This sum was granted, during the recess of parliament, to an ally of this country, placed in perilous circumstances, when his capital of Turin was actually in a state of siege. A demand was made for 50,000*l.* and the letter which Mr. secretary Harley sent in answer to the ambassador of Savoy, stated, *that it was not practicable according to the custom of the constitution while parliament was not sitting*, to comply with the request; yet the pressing circumstances of the case induced her majesty to grant a certain sum to be deducted out of the subsidy that was to be paid to the duke of Savoy. He contended, that from circumstances like these, when there was a certainty that the money was employed in a manner to which parliament had consented, when it was to be deducted from a subsidy that had regularly been granted, a precedent could not be drawn to justify the measure then in discussion. In 1742, the engagement which ministers had then contracted, took place when parliament was not sitting, though a session intervened before it was communicated to the house; but a motion was made, that it was dangerous, and the necessity of the circumstance was stated in the resolution which the house adopted. He admitted the necessity of the measure, if it could be made out as the ground of the justification of ministers. The third precedent adduced in defence was equally inapplicable to the point. The assistance which ministers gave to Holland in 1787, was given when parliament was not sitting. This assistance, however, which parliament afterwards approved of, was given from the secret service money, which completely removed every enquiry and every argument which the case might have suggested,

ed, as, upon Mr. Burke's bill, the oath of a secretary of state, that the money issued was for secret services, effectually secured the minister from all responsibility, and precluded all investigation. Here Mr. Sheridan repeated what had been observed before, that the last parliament was not a meritorious parliament. He asked the minister what he himself must have thought of that parliament, when out of the alarmists who had seceded from the ranks of opposition, he had sent so many to shelter themselves from danger upon the higher ground, and to hide their heads in coronets from the storm which they affected to dread? Surely, if he had entertained a very high opinion of those gentlemen, he would not have removed so many of them from the scene of action.

Mr. Wilberforce defended the measure of sending money to the emperor as advantageous and justifiable. Sir William Pulteney, on the contrary, contended, that the conduct of the minister ought to be marked with the distinct disapprobation of the house. Mr. Fox closed this debate with an animated and forcible reply to all the arguments which had been advanced on the ministerial side of the house. He took the imputation of hostility to government, and to the parliament that had supported that government, as a compliment paid to himself. He gloried in having been hostile to a parliament that spent above one hundred millions of money in subjugating America, and in being hostile to the last parliament, who supported the ministers in undertaking a war unnecessary and unprovoked.

The house divided on Mr. Bragge's amendment—Ayes 285—Noes 81.

For the purpose of giving a concentrated view of the financial proceedings of the whole year, we shall once more deviate from the order of time, and state the contents of the second budget, which was brought forward in the spring of 1797.

On the 24th of April, when the house had resolved itself into a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that on that day he had barely to state, that the heads of supply which were then to be voted were three: first, an additional sum towards defraying the expences of the navy; next, a sum to make good the charge on the growing produce of the consolidated fund for 1796; and, lastly, to make good the exchequer bills which had been advanced on the vote of credit of 1796. The largest of these sums was for the navy. The money then voted for that service already amounted to 7,600,000l.; besides which, the house would recollect, he had laid before them an estimate of two millions and a half more which was not then voted; the sum then which he had to call for, was not all to be considered as a new demand, since those two millions and a half were to make a part of it, and circumstances required a larger sum than had been estimated. The sum therefore which he proposed to be voted was five millions, which, added to the 7,600,000l. already granted, would make the sum of 12,600,000l. This supply was voted, also 1,110,000l. to discharge the exchequer bills advanced on the vote of credit of the preceding year, and the sum of 2,177,000l. to make good the 3,000,000l. charged in the preceding sessions on the consolidated fund.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt, on the 26th of April, brought forward his second budget. While he regretted, he said, the calamities and expences with which the present just and unavoidable war had been attended, he thought it his first duty to come forward with a firm and manly spirit, in which he trusted the house and the country would concur with him, to convince the enemy that however great our pressure might be, we were determined to contend with them as long as we were able, rather than submit to haughty and dishonourable terms. He observed, that the very able and impartial statements of the first report of the select committee of finance had greatly diminished the labour of arranging the plan which he was about to submit to the consideration of the house.

He then proceeded to state, with his usual precision, the amount of the sums already voted, and the sums remaining to be voted. The aggregate of his two budgets made the whole supplies for the year amount to the enormous sum of 42,786,000*l.*; an annual expence unprecedented in the annals of finance.

For the navy service of the current year there had already been voted 7,661,000*l.* in addition to which the committee of supply had, a few days before, voted 5,000,000*l.* more. Although he estimated the expences of the navy department at 7,661,000*l.* he had at the same time stated his intention of proposing a further provision of 2,500,000*l.* in order to remedy an inconvenience which had arisen before, that he might thereby have 10,161,000*l.* in cash, towards defraying any excess of navy debt. Such however had been the extraordinary expences of the war, that there then remained an unfunded debt

of the navy unprovided for, to the amount of four millions. The select committee had estimated the navy services at 12,900,000*l.* which was short of what he had stated them to be. He had estimated a floating navy debt of 1,500,000*l.* the select committee had supposed one of 3,000,000*l.*

The next head of service was the army, for the service of which there had been voted the sum of 10,913,000*l.* but on account of some army expences being incurred in 1796, which then remained unprovided for, it became necessary to require the further sum of 3,387,000*l.* for the outstanding army debt. It is here to be observed, that the extraordinaries of the army were now, for the first time, brought forward by way of estimate; at least, they were never done so fully till the present war, but they were paid out of the money granted for other services, leaving the provision for those services deficient for another year. In addition to this, there had been advanced to the emperor, by way of loan (and which would be due from his imperial majesty to the public) 1,200,000*l.* and the sum of 900,000*l.* advanced to the merchants of Grenada and St. Vincents, which would also be returned.

To the expences of ordnance he made no addition to those stated in the first budget. Under the head of miscellaneous service there had been voted already the sum of 378,000*l.* and if he proceeded, he said, by the estimate of the select committee, the sum of 929,000*l.* would be required instead.

The head of national debt was not augmented by the second budget. The sum to supply the further deficiencies of land and malt was 900,000*l.* above what was stated in the first budget.

Under

Under the head of repayments to the bank, he proposed the sum of 1,054,000*l.* and the sum of 1,370,000*l.* to discharge exchequer bills issued on the credit of the consolidated fund for 1796, and paid also by the bank.

The next sum was 1,110,000*l.* for the discharge of navy and exchequer bills, raised by an act of the preceding session, upon a vote of credit in 1796.

The deficiency of the consolidated fund required the sum of 2,177,000*l.*

The last sum he alluded to was the vote of credit to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* As 500,000*l.* had been paid to the emperor, he wished to be provided with the further sum of 2,500,000*l.* in order that further advances might be made to him as exigencies might require.

Thus the minister went through the whole of the supply, all the particular articles of which he observed it was not possible to calculate soon enough to insert them in the budget which he had opened before Christmas.

For the sake of perspicuity the following recapitulation of the whole supplies for the year 1797 is inserted.

	£.
Navy	12,661,000
Army	6,600,000
Army extraordinaries	3,387,000
Treasury bills and army warrants	2,088,000
Army extraordinaries for 1797	4,000,000
Ordnance	1,623,000
Ordnance, extraordinaries, and barracks	737,000
Miscellaneous service	929,000
Advances to the merchants of Grenada	600,000
Imperial loan	500,000
Annual addition to the sinking fund	200,000
Deficiency of land and malt	350,000
Repayment to the bank for advances to the consolidated fund	1,054,000
of 1795	
Ditto for 1796	1,370,000
Further deficiencies of land and malt	900,000
Deficiency of the consolidated fund	2,177,000
To discharge exchequer bills issued on the credit of the consolidated fund for 1796	1,110,000
Vote of credit for 1797	2,500,000
Total of supplies	£. 42,786,000

Mr. Pitt next stated the ways and means by which this large sum was to be raised. A loan of 18 millions had already been voted, 2,750,000*l.* for the land and malt, and 420,000*l.* for the surplus of grants for the year 1796. He observed, that of the 18 millions to

be borrowed, one million and a half was for the sister kingdom of Ireland, of which the interest was to be provided by the Irish parliament; another million and a half was to be lent to the emperor, to enable him to repay the million and a half advanced by this country.

try. He proposed a further loan of his present struggle. The aggregate of the ways and means in the two budgets was as follows:

The land and malt	2,750,000
Surplus of grants	420,000
Loyalty loan, according to the first budget	18,000,000
Lottery	200,000
Exchequer bills	3,000,000
Growing produce of the consolidated fund, by estimation	2,000,000
The part of the loan applied to Great Britain only	16,500,000

Total of ways and means for the year 1797. £. 42,870,000

He then stated the terms of the new loan of 18 millions as follows:

For every 100l. subscribed, the subscriber was to have

125 of the 3 per cents. consols	value	62	10
50 of the 3 per cents. reduced	-	25	0
20 of the 4 per cents.	-	12	16
ol. 6s. 6d. of the long annuities	-	4	11

Every 100l. subscribed, to have the value of £. 104 17

From hence, he said, there would be a profit of 4l. 17s. for every subscription of 100l. which, except in a period of such difficulty as the present, was larger than he should be willing to allow; but this was not the whole of the profit; there was a discount to be added, which he had felt it his duty to make higher than usual. The common rate was three per cent.; he proposed to make it four per cent. in order to encourage the prompt

payments upon the loan; the whole bonus, therefore, would be 6l. 17s. per cent. to every subscriber when the discounts for prompt payments were taken in.

The chancellor of the exchequer next proceeded to what he called the unpleasant task of enumerating the new taxes he had to propose for raising the interest upon the several sums borrowed, of which the following is a summary statement.

The consolidated duties on stamps in general, doubled	320,000
Tax on property transferred by private contract, at 4d. per pound	170,000
Copies of deeds to be given in evidence to be stampd	40,000
On the probates of wills above the sum of 300l.	40,000
An additional duty of 1½d. upon the stamps of each newspaper	114,000
Increased duty on advertisements	20,000
On attorneys' certificates	15,000
On ornamented plate	30,000
Duty equal to the tolls on all carriages passing turnpikes	450,000
	£. 1,199,000

Here the minister omitted three articles which he supplied the next day upon a suggestion of Mr. Fox, namely,

On bills of exchange	40,000
Insurance from fire	35,000
Omitted in the sums mentioned on the produce of the stamps on copies of deeds	10,000
These sums, being added, the whole produce of the new taxes made the sum of	1,284,000

Mr. Fox rose, and observed, that however unfounded the financial calculations of the chancellor of the exchequer had formerly been, they were even exceeded in delusion by his statements that day, which were altogether unprecedented in the history of finance. He came forward in December last, and having succeeded in obtaining a supply of 18 millions, he came forwards again in April, and repeated the experiment by calling upon parliament for the same sum. The minister ought to be reminded, that, on the 7th of December, he told the house, that the 18 millions then advanced were given not so much with an idea of prosecuting the war, as with an earnest hope of enabling him to forward the desirable work of peace, and that he stated that sum to be an ample supply for the exigencies of the state. After making some observations upon the statements given in, of the produce of the taxes, Mr. Fox contended, that there still remained a deficiency of 357,000l. though he did not from thence argue, that, because the minister was *minus* for that sum, he should have immediately proceeded to provide for it; but he would contend, that for him to maintain that he had a surplus when he was actually deficient, was an illusion of too gross and palpable a nature to impose upon the understanding. But if the taxes of 1796 produced the sum it was intended they should, there would then be a deficiency of 88,000l. and that, according to the report of the select committee, at the beginning of the session there was a deficiency of 357,000l. and in October the right honourable gentleman came forward and funded his navy bills, and in December he made his loan; he ought then to have announced that the produce of the taxes was not equal to meet the public exigencies. Instead of the taxes which had been proposed, it appeared that the sum of 1,800,000l. in taxes, would not have been too much for the various exigencies of the moment. The report of the select committee, he said, did not deserve the eulogium which had been passed upon it: according to their account, the deficiency amounted to 210,000l. whereas he (Mr. Fox) calculated it at 470,000l. He next examined the estimates for the navy service. In December the minister stated, that the probable increase of the navy debt would be two millions and a half, and this he called a very ample estimate; next he raised it to four millions; and, lastly, in April, when he brought forward his second budget, he called for 8,764,000l. more. The number of men voted for the service of 1795 was 110,000, the vote for the current year was for 120,000 men. Instead, therefore, of making the increase less than it had been in the preceding year, the

chancellor

chancellor of the exchequer should have made it proportionably greater; it ought to have been 6 or 700,000*l.* more than his estimate. "Notwithstanding all the heavy burdens," said Mr. Fox, "and all the dreadful taxes we are about to impose this day, we have still one million more to provide for the exigencies of the public service."

With respect to the proposed loan of 200,000*l.* to the emperor, to enable him to pay the interest of a sum which he had formerly borrowed of this country, Mr. Fox observed, that this was very different language from that held out by the minister when he applied to the people to be security for the house of Austria, and when he extolled the good faith of the bank of Vienna. The loan was made to him in critical circumstances, and he was not to pay the interest then due because he still remained in critical circumstances. The house was called upon near the end of April to provide 18 millions additional. Three payments only had then been made good upon the loyalty loan, and there were still seven-tenths to be paid, which amounted to 12,600,000*l.*; so that, between then and the first day of the next January, the enormous sum of 30,600,000*l.* was to be collected for the public exigencies. In 1796 the subjects were burdened with new taxes which produced the annual sum of three millions; but the taxes imposed for 1797 amounted, by estimate, to seven millions and a half. What arguments were used to reconcile them to bear quietly such a load? Indeed, they had been told very rhetorically, that "they had not been scratched by the war," but he feared these new impositions would lead them to conclude that they should be desperately wounded by it.

Mr. Grey said, there was an article in the report of the select committee which he wished to have explained. There was a sum of 1,500,000*l.* stated to be unfunded debt, unprovided for. He wished to know, whether certain sums had not been specifically granted last session of parliament for the payment of this charge, the money for which had however been diverted to other purposes? If this were the case, the right honourable gentleman had violated the acts of appropriation, and diverted the money granted to parliament in a manner highly criminal.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the objection which had just been made, was founded entirely in misconception. The sum alluded to had not been granted by parliament for that specific purpose, nor had there been any violation of the appropriation act. When the loan was made for the purpose of paying off the debt on the exchequer bills, the bank had not availed themselves of the opportunity to subscribe, and there was power by the act of appropriation to pay them in cash. This, at the end of the year, made the grant exceed the supplies, and the sum of 1,500,000*l.* mentioned by Mr. Grey, so far from being concealed, was comprehended in the last budget, and was paid out of the supplies of the year 1797.

The resolutions were then put, and all agreed to without a division, except that which imposed an additional tax of 1*d.* on newspapers. On this head the house divided — Ayes 151 — Noes 43.

The several bills for imposing the new taxes proposed by Mr. Pitt in his statements in the two budgets for the current year, were regularly and successively brought into both houses of parliament, and most of them were passed with few altera-

tions; but near the close of the session, on the 30th of June, the house of commons having resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and stated to the consideration of the committee, certain substitutes for the deficiencies which had taken place in the estimated products of the late taxes. In the first place, it would be necessary to find a substitute for the proposed toll duty, which had been estimated at 450,000l. but which,

Toll duty
Inland navigation duty, by some new regulations, would cause a deficiency of
Newspaper advertisements
Transfer of property

These deficiencies Mr. Pitt proposed to supply by the following new taxes:

Surplus on Scotch spirits
On horses employed in agriculture
On pepper imported
On coals exported
Watches and clocks

Mr. Sheridan strongly opposed the tax on horses used in husbandry. Mr. Burdon contended for the necessity there was of the landed interest coming forward, and shewing they were willing to take their share of the burden. He wished to see an additional land-tax upon a more equal scale, in which he was seconded by Mr. Dent. The committee divided on the horse-tax, for the resolution 89 against it 8. The other resolutions were carried, and the bills passed with little variation.

On the 20th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer presented:

from some strong objections to the mode of collecting, had been given up. The tax upon the transfer of property had been estimated at 170,000l. but he now took it at no more than 80,000l. The proposed duty upon advertisements had been given up, which created a further deficiency of 40,000l. The whole deficiency, therefore, for which he then proposed a new provision, stood as follows:

450,000
 90,000
 40,000
 80,000
Total deficiency £ 660,000

to the house of commons a message from his majesty, recommending it to them to enable his majesty to make remittances from time to time; to be applied to his service in Ireland, in such manner as should be approved by the parliament of that kingdom, to amount not exceeding 1,500,000l. and provision being made by them for discharging the interest and charges of a loan to that amount; and also to consider of guaranteeing a loan on the account of his ally the emperor, to be applied in making good the advances to that amount of 1,600,000l. which had been

been made to his imperial majesty, and to defray the charge of such further advances as might be made to him in the course of the current year, to an amount not exceeding 2,000,000*l*.

The house, in a committee of supply, took this message into consideration on the 1st of May, when the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that he thought it unnecessary to make any observations upon that part of the message which respected the proposed aid to Ireland. Respecting the remittances to the emperor, much had been said before; but feeling it to be almost the general opinion of the house, and of the country at large, that it was desirable that we should have the vigorous co-operation of the emperor in the war, and knowing we could not expect that co-operation unless we afforded pecuniary aid to his imperial majesty, he should move a resolution, to enable his majesty to make advances, from time to time, to the emperor, to the amount of three millions and a half, to be repaid by his imperial majesty, so that the sum then proposed to be advanced, was about 1,880,000*l*. and this sum was moved for accordingly.

Mr. Fox observed, upon this occasion, that it was impossible for any man who had examined the matter, to entertain a doubt that the sending of money to the emperor had been one great cause of the scarcity of cash which then prevailed. He contended, that we were about granting money to be sent to the emperor at the very moment when it was doubtful whether he had concluded a peace with the French, or not. It was notorious, that an armistice for six days had been agreed upon between the contending armies, and the empe-

ror, in alluding to his hopes of peace, had said "he trusted that the enemy would at length consent to accept equitable conditions." From hence Mr. Fox pointed out the probability there was of the emperor's making peace without consulting the interest of Great Britain. We ought to wait the consequences of the impending negotiation, at least, and not vote away the money of the people in the dark. Suppose the war should be continued, it would be necessary to know the grounds upon which the negotiation had been broken off, and whether the war was continued for points which might be considered as material to the interests of Great Britain, before the money was granted. For any thing the house knew to the contrary, those two millions which they were called upon to vote to the emperor might be for the attainment of objects which might be detrimental to the general interests of Europe. He strongly urged the necessity of waiting three or four days to know the issue of the negotiation between France and the emperor, before the money was voted; the armistice terminated on the 16th of April, and there were letters in town from Vienna, of the 15th of the same month.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, on the other side, that a mail might reach Vienna in ten or twelve days, with the account of the vote which he then proposed to the committee to pass, and that if the negotiation was then pending, it might materially affect the terms in discussion. In reply to what Mr. Fox stated, that the committee might perhaps be voting a sum to enable the emperor to conclude a separate peace, he recommended a discretionary power to be vested in government to stop the

the supplies upon the supposition of such an event taking place. Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan supported the arguments of Mr. Fox. When the house divided there appeared for the original resolution 193—against it 50.

A resolution also passed the committee that a discount of 5 per cent. be allowed to such subscribers to the new loan as should anticipate a part only of their payments, as before the discount was allowed only to those who completed their whole payments.

During the intervals between the several stages of the loan bill, intelligence had been received by the minister that preliminaries of peace between the French republic and the emperor, were either signed, or in great forwardness; this induced him to state to the committee of supply, on the 5th of May, that he should move for provision to be made for the repayment of the advances which had then been made to the emperor; but that it was not his intention then to make any provision for further advances to be made to his imperial majesty, according to the ground which he had for forming his opinion at that moment.

Having stated the arguments made use of in the commons, for and against granting a further loan to the emperor, we proceed to state what passed upon the subject of the Irish loan in the house of lords; but the arguments enforced in both houses being very similar, a brief account of the latter may suffice.

On the 9th of May, on the motion for the second reading of the bill for granting to his majesty *fourteen millions, five hundred thousand pounds*, by way of loan, the earl of Suffolk begged leave to ask a question of the secretary of state (lord Grenville), which was, whe-

ther any part of the money to be raised by that bill was intended to be sent to Ireland? Lord Grenville said, that the sum of one million and a half was intended for the service of the sister kingdom. In the course of the debate several arguments were urged by the lords on the opposition side of the house on the impropriety of sending so much money out of the kingdom at a time when its scarcity was so much complained of; however, so far as it went to the protection of Ireland, it was not altogether unexceptionable. Earl Moira, however, contended, on the contrary, that so far as the money went to aid the system of coercion then established in that kingdom, it would be attended with pernicious consequences. He had no hesitation in declaring, that, if that system was persisted in, a dismemberment of the British empire was to be feared; whereas, had conciliatory measures been adopted, which he had proposed sometime before, things in that quarter would have worn a much more promising aspect. He begged their lordships to recollect the dreadful consequences which had resulted from a similar system of coercion pursued against America. In the beginning of that fatal system Great Britain had begun by stigmatizing them as rebels, and thence compelled them to become so.

At the end of a desultory debate the loan bill was read a second time.

The next subject of finance was the portion given with the princess royal on her marriage with the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg. On the 3d of May, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced into the house of commons a message from his majesty, announcing his royal consent to a marriage between his

his eldest daughter and his serene highness the prince of Wirtemberg, and that he did not doubt but the house would concur in making the usual provision for the marriage of the eldest daughter of the royal family of England. The address was agreed to *nem. con.*

The message was taken into consideration on the 5th of May, when the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the sum of 800,000*l.* be granted as a portion to the princess royal on her marriage.

Mr. Curwen said, he would not oppose the resolution; but could not help observing, that, considering the heavy burdens which had been lately imposed upon the people, he should have been happy if the king had provided for this marriage himself. He was as willing as any other man to express all necessary affection for the throne and for the different branches of the royal family, but at a moment like the present it would have had a good effect if his majesty had come forward and defrayed that expence himself. The resolution was then put and carried.

The subscribers to the loan which Mr. Pitt obtained near the beginning of the session, commonly called the *loyalty loan*, having discovered that they were liable to incur a considerable loss from the subsequent depression of the funds, notwithstanding their former pretensions to disinterestedness, prevailed upon the minister to apply to parliament to make them a recompence.

The chancellor of the exchequer accordingly, on the 31st of May, moved the house to that effect. He said the persons in whose behalf he applied, could not fail to be regarded by the house with a favourable eye, because it was obvious that they had been actuated in a great degree by a zeal for the public service, and by that zeal had

incurred the losses which it was his wish the house should make good. He confessed, at the same time, that the subscribers looked forward for some chance of advantage from a favourable turn of affairs. He did not wish to keep from the view of the committee, that the subscribers had no strict ground of right to reparation, but contended, that they could not have looked forward for such a heavy loss as that which they had sustained since the period of their second deposit. He stated, that, previous to the subscribers having made their first deposit, they suffered a loss by the fall of the funds, of full 3 per cent. and, after that, the loss they sustained amounted to 8, 14, and 15 per cent. At that time they stood at a loss of 14. The circumstances which led to these losses were the unfortunate events which had taken place on the continent, &c. all of which had a share in depressing the stocks far beyond the natural expectations of any one at the time that loan was made.

On these grounds he thought it would be proper to alleviate the pressure upon the subscribers. He proposed to allow them 5*l.* in every 100*l.* in the shape of a long annuity of 7*s.* 6*d.* on every 100*l.* On mature consideration he found it impossible to frame any distinction in the allowance between the subscriber and holder; the only way, therefore, was to settle the general amount, and to leave it to the holder and the subscriber to settle their respective claims, and this could only be done by allowing this sum to those only who produced the original receipts. The amount of the whole he stated to be an annuity of between sixty and seventy thousand pounds a year. He concluded with moving the resolution "That 7*s.* 6*d.* per cent. long annuity, be granted on the said loan."

D 4

Mr.

Mr. Pitt contended, that no man could calculate the evil which such a precedent might bring upon the public. In 1779, and 1780, there was a loan, the subscribers to which lost very considerably, the discount upon their stock being very high before the first deposit was made; he thought the stockholders then were equal friends to their country as those who subscribed to the loyalty loan. That loan was a speculation, in which the subscribers entered with the usual expectation of gain or loss, like any other speculation. Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Tierney, and Mr. Baskard, urged the evil tendency of such a precedent, and conjured the committee to reflect upon the state of the country before they gave sanction to a measure so unprecedented and shameful in its nature, and so ruinous in its consequences.

When the committee divided on the question, there appeared Ayes 40—Noes 26.

This business was discussed again by the house of commons on the 1st of June, when the injustice of it was so strongly urged by the members who opposed it, that the chancellor of the exchequer carried the resolution by a majority of a single vote, namely, 36 to 35. This question was therefore not resumed during the session.

A subject immediately connected with the two budgets, and materially affecting the finances of the year, was the funding of the navy and exchequer bills.

This subject was submitted to the house by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 28th of October; the object, he said, was to remove out of the market a large mass of floating debt, which, in conse-

quence of having fallen to a considerable discount, tended materially to injure public credit, to obstruct the intercourse of commerce, and impede the sources of the national prosperity. At the commencement of the war regulations had been adopted, that navy bills which had been issued before for an indefinite period, should become payable at the expiration of fifteen months, bearing in the mean time an interest of 4 per cent. In consequence of this new arrangement, there was necessarily a certain proportion of outstanding navy bills, payable at different periods, at the end of each month, and all these were payable either in 1797, or early in the next year. Such being the case, Mr. Pitt came forward to offer, what he termed fair and equitable terms, to the holders of these bills, viz. to take stock for their amount, and thereby to convert them into funded debt. If, as he proposed, they were funded down to the latest period, the whole number of navy bills amounted to almost twelve millions, of which the earliest would be due within a month from the present time, and the latest within fifteen months. As they would become due at periods thus disproportionate, it was reasonable to divide them into different classes, and to offer different terms to the respective holders, calculated according to the time at which the bills were payable. It was to be considered, that the house were giving, to the holders of navy bills, funds which were immediately disposable for money, according to the rate at which they stood in the market, in lieu of bills subject to a certain discount, and at the same time bearing an interest of

* See the policy of this measure most ably discussed in a pamphlet published by the Earl of Lauderdale, entitled "Thoughts on the Finances of Great Britain," &c.

4 per cent. In adjusting therefore the amount of the *bonds* to be given, the point to be considered was, the difference between the value of those bills, thus burdened with a discount, and drawing an interest, and the value of those funds which were to be transferred to the respective holders. It had been deemed advisable to fund the bills in the

different stocks, leaving the choice of the particular stock to the option of the holders. In consequence, according to the rate of the different stocks, the smallest *bonus* would be given in the 3 per cents; a larger *bonus* in the 4 per cents; and still a greater in the 5 per cents. Mr Pitt divided the holders into four classes.

First class, comprehending the months of } 1795.
October, November, December.

Second class, comprehending the months of } 1796.
January, February, March, April.

Third class, comprehending the months of } 1796.
May, June, July.

Fourth class, comprehending the months of } 1796.
August, September, October.

He rated the 3 per cents. at 58,
the 4 per cents. at 75;
the 5 per cents. at 88.

He proposed that the holders of navy bills should have their option of three kinds of stocks, with the following abatements on the present prices:

For the first class } of 2 per cent. in the 3 per cents.
of 3 per cent. in the 4 per cents.
of 4 per cent. in the 5 per cents.

For the second class } of 1½ per cent. in the 3 per cents.
of 2½ per cent. in the 4 per cents.
of 3½ per cent. in the 5 per cents.

For the third class } of 1 per cent. in the 3 per cents.
of 2 per cent. in the 4 per cents.
of 3 per cent. in the 5 per cents.

For the fourth class } of ½ per cent. in the 3 per cents.
of 1½ per cent. in the 4 per cents.
of 2½ per cent. in the 5 per cents.

The

The bills to bear interest till the 12th of December, and the dividends to commence with the respective funds, viz.

The 3 per cent. consols	} from November last.
The 5 per cents.	
The 4 per cents. - -	

According to this scale the average of the *bonus* upon all the classes of bills stood as follows:

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the 3 per cents.
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in the 4 per cents.
3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in the 5 per cents.

The chancellor of the exchequer then stated, that, in addition to the outstanding navy bills, there were also exchequer bills unfunded to the amount of two millions and a half. These exchequer bills did not become due till the 5th of July, but he thought it advisable to put them on the same footing as the navy bills. He therefore proposed to fund them at the rate of one and a half per cent. interest, which corresponded nearly with the terms allowed for the different classes of navy bills.

He concluded with moving for provision to be made for satisfying all the bills payable at the navy office which had been made out, on or before the 27th of October, 1796, amounting to the sum of 11,993,167l. 19s. 9d.

Mr. Hussey strongly contended that the terms offered to the billholders were extravagant in the extreme, as the man who took government bills at 14 per cent. discount, purchased into the 3 per cents. at 49. He thought that the conduct of ministers was highly reprehensible in incurring debts which they had not the means of paying off.

Mr. Fox rose, and observed, that in the first budget of the preceding session the house had heard of a million and a half of navy bills; in

the next they heard of four millions, and now they were told of a sum exceeding ten millions. He contended, that the house had a right to know in the first place what interest those who received government bills in the month of September at 14 per cent. discount would receive if they chose to fund them in the 5 per cents. He took 14 as the medium of the discount. Those who about sixty days before had advanced 86l. had now a claim of 100l. In the first instance then, they gained the whole 14 per cent. discount; in the next place they received 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for they were to be allowed 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the then market price, which was 88, besides the 4 per cent. interest, which they had during the sixty days. With the discount and interest, therefore, they actually had at the rate of 103l. per cent. per annum interest for their money!

Before he agreed to a measure so extraordinary and expensive, he wished to have some stronger reasons than those he had heard; by the plan then before the house an addition of 1l. 18s. per cent. was to be paid upon the securities of government. Taking this extraordinary allowance as applying to the whole sum to be funded, it would make an additional charge to the public of 240,000l.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt, in his reply, defended the measure as the best which could be adopted under the *existing circumstances*. He then produced several criterions of the general prosperity of the country, notwithstanding the pressure of temporary embarrassment; first, that while the funds were sensibly affected from the scarcity of money, the revenue still continued high, and, during a period of war, approached very nearly to what it had been in the most flourishing æra of peace. Secondly, the credit of British merchants remained on the most respectable footing, and this reputation was supported not by confining themselves to a contracted scale of trade, but by launching into the most extensive operations of commerce. But it was evident, that in proportion to the extension of trade, and the increase of capital, the expenditure became greater.

When the first question had been put and carried, the second question was proposed, that provision be made for satisfying all the exchequer bills made out by virtue of an act of the preceding session of parliament for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 2,500,000*l.* for the uses therein mentioned. This was also carried, and bills were soon afterwards introduced into the house of commons conformable to these resolutions.

Mr. Hussey, on the 21st of December, while the house was in a committee on the bill for the more speedy payment of navy, transport, and victualling bills, objected to the regulations therein mentioned, which, in his opinion, would not enable the public to go to the market with advantage, but would, on the contrary, have the effect of encouraging injurious speculation.

The chancellor of the exchequer

said, that all the bill enacted was, that a navy bill should not run more than three months. The interest was calculated as nearly as possible at the rate of 5 per cent. He contended, that the mode of payment proposed by the bill would be perfectly agreeable to the parties concerned. The bill was then read a first and second time, and agreed to.

The first India budget was introduced into the house of commons by Mr. secretary Dundas, on the 20th of December. He said the accounts which he had to state would not take up a considerable portion of time, because they were comprised in a narrower compass than upon former occasions, in consequence of some regulations which he had introduced into the accounts of estimates from the presidencies abroad. The papers were upon the table for the information of the committee; and for the sake of elucidation he brought forward the results of the accounts applicable to each settlement, separately; and then he introduced the accounts of all the settlements combined; afterwards the separate accounts of the East India company at home were brought forward; and, lastly, an enumeration of them all, the foreign and domestic being combined in order to deduce the general result. He proceeded to enter into the necessary details, observing that he had divided his statements into three classes. The first class, according to his usual practice, consisted of the average statements of the three last years, with a view of enabling the committee to judge of the past. The other account was to lay before the committee a comparison of the estimates, and actual amounts of the charges and revenues of the last year; and the third class

class contained the account of what-
ever expences or disbursements
might arise in a future year.

He wished the members to recol-
lect that the accounts he then laid
before them came over in the
course of the preceding spring, and
observed that if they desired to have
an accurate account of the whole
revenues to the latest period of the

year to which these accounts be-
longed, he should produce another
statement in the course of the en-
suing spring, by which time he
hoped to have them transmitted.

The statements of the India bud-
gets being in general exceedingly
prolix, we have confined ourselves
to a review of the general results in
the several presidencies,

General State of the Revenue and Charges in India for the Year 1794-5.

Revenues.		Charges.	
No. 3, Bengal	- - - - -	No. 3, Bengal	- - - - -
No. 6, Madras	- - - - -	No. 6, Madras	- - - - -
No. 9, Bombay	- - - - -	No. 9, Bombay	- - - - -
		Total Charge	- - - - -
		Total Revenue	- - - - -
		Net Revenue of the Three Presidencies	- - - - -
		No. 18, Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	- - - - -
		Surplus Revenues 1794-5	- - - - -
		Which were more than the estimates by	- - - - -

This sum, he said, might be considered as a free disposable sum
for the purchase of investments, or for any other purpose; but previous
to such an application a deduction was to be made of different items, as
follow.

Deduct interest on debts to be paid from the surplus.	
No. 18, Bengal	- - - - -
No. 19, Madras	- - - - -
No. 20, Bombay	- - - - -
Total interest	- - - - -

Hence the net surplus from the territorial revenues would be 1,522,590
To which it was proper to add the amount of the sales of }
imports, certificates, &c. (No. 15.) - - - - - } 562,177
And

And the amount which would be applicable to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c. } 2,084,767

The sum of 3,084,676l. remained applicable then to the purposes which he had stated, and accordingly it was his duty then to add the disposition of that sum, the accounts of which he understood had been made out with the utmost accuracy, and which he believed appeared thus:

Disposition of the surplus from the territorial revenues.

No. 18, At Bengal, investments, including charges, &c.	1,108,449
No. 19, Madras, ditto	536,808
No. 20, Bombay, ditto	186,638
No. 22, Bencoolen, ditto	26,552
	1,838,445

This total was short of the amount applicable to the purchase of investments in the sum of - } 246,322

The committee, he observed, would perceive that the sum of 1,838,445l. was payable partly from the produce of the territorial revenues, and partly from the proceeds of the estimates, but that there still remained a sum of 246,322l. applicable to any other purpose. This sum he understood had been applied to the purchase of rice, and to the profit and loss account upon internal trade. He said that the committee had not yet a full account of the investments, for it was perfectly obvious that part had been taken from the assets, which were comprehended in a paper (No. 22) under the title of cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1794-5, to the amount of 2,178,118l. He had now stated what the amount of the receipts and disbursements of the presidencies were in detail; he next proceeded to state them in a general view.

General view of the result of the estimates for 1795-6 collectively.

Net revenue of the three presidencies for the year 1795-6	1,852,573
Amount estimated to be applicable to the purchase of investments, &c.	1,795,166
Which was less than the actual amount of last year by	289,601

DEBTS IN INDIA.

No. 16 amounted last year to	2,305,462
amount this year to	8,873,737

Decrease in the territorial revenues from the net surplus from the territorial revenues, which it was proper to add the amount of the sale of the territorial revenues, &c. (No. 17) } 491,715

Debts bearing interest in India in 1794-5 amounted to	£. 5,597,299
Ditto in 1795-6 amounted to	5,328,868
Decrease of debt bearing interest	268,431
No. 21, Assets in India, consisting of cash, goods, &c. last year	8,807,601
Ditto by the present statements	8,867,266
Increase of assets	59,665
Adding the increase of assets to the decrease of debts, the company's affairs in India were better by	551,390

Having stated the affairs of the company abroad, which was the only part for which he was responsible, he proceeded to give the state of their affairs at home, which were more immediately under the charge of the directors. Since the renewal of the company's charter, in 1793, it became necessary to know from the nature of their estates abroad, how much they could allow to government for the renewal of that charter. The result of the accounts was prepared under the inspection of Sir Francis Baring. With respect to the participation of government in the profits of the company, it would appear, from the combined state of the accounts at home and abroad, that the fairest expectations might be formed.

HOME ACCOUNTS.

The produce of the sales, up to the first of March, had far exceeded expectation; the whole amount was	£. 8,158,495
The sales of the company's goods were estimated at	5,517,500
And actually amounted, after proper deduction, to	6,588,969
The actual excess therefore was	1,071,469
The charges and profits on private trade were estimated at	60,000
The actual amount was	148,417
Being more than the estimate	88,417

GENERAL RESULT.

Balance of cash estimated to be deficient last year	371,838
Actual balance remaining this year after paying off 498,225l. of the bonded debt, and having borrowed 150,000l. from the bank	459,398

The

THE DEBTS AT HOME,

In March, 1795, were	6,946,323
No. 23, in March, 1796	7,474,700
Increase	528,377

ASSETS.

At home and abroad, 1st March, 1795	10,413,254
No. 23, 1st March, 1796	12,024,312
Increase this year	1,610,958

Deducting increase of debts above, from increase of assets, }
 the state of affairs at home appeared better in 1796, by } 1,082,581

Upon a general comparison of debts and assets, Mr. Dundas concluded, that the company's affairs were better, as to debts and assets, than last year, by } 1,240,490

Mr. Dundas next alluded to the plan which he had laid before parliament last year for redressing the grievances complained of by the officers in the company's service.

These meritorious men had laboured under many hardships; they had not the same chance with his majesty's officers of being put upon the staff. They could not return to their own country for the benefit of their health without giving up their commissions and losing their pay. They had not often the means to enable them to return, nor any half pay if they should quit the service. These were the grievances they complained of, and he certainly thought that their complaints were just. These complaints had been completely remedied, and the regulations to that effect had been sent to India, where they were highly approved of by the great bulk of the officers. The enforcing of these regulations would be attended with an expence of about four millions. He represented the affairs in India

to be in a state of progressive improvement. He stated, however, that the expences to be accounted for in the next budget would be greater on account of the armaments that had been fitted out against the island of Ceylon, the spice islands, and the other possessions which had been captured from the Dutch. He then presented a series of resolutions pursuant to his statements.

Mr. Hufsey contended, that the revenue of India, after the necessary deductions, fell short of the appropriation of a million; nor could he look upon the revenues of the company as increasing, because the estimates of the present year were less than the former. He insisted that the company was now insolvent, as it would turn out; that were all its effects turned into money, it would not have enough to pay all demands; the former he calculated at 6,734,000*l.* and the latter would amount to 7,780,000*l.* The resolutions were agreed to.

Mr. secretary Dundas, on the 14th

14th of July, brought forward a second India budget; the accounts he then submitted to the committee had been made out to the latest period, and so far as related to the explanation of their statements, he followed the same plan which he had done in the former accounts.

He entered into an examination of the house accounts, and, lastly, shewed the flourishing state of the company's finances, by giving a comparative view of the accounts presented this year with the estimate on which the arrangement of 1793 was formed.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE RESULT OF THE ESTIMATES.

REVENUES.		
Bengal		5,710,511
Madras		2,159,402
Bombay		284,959

Total amount of revenues - 8,154,872

CHARGES.		
Bengal		3,733,859
Madras		2,005,225
Bombay		777,973

Total charges - 6,517,057

The net revenue of the three presidencies was - 1,637,815

THE DEBTS IN INDIA.

The amount stated last year was	-	-	-	-	6,813,736
The amount this year was	-	-	-	-	7,146,083
So that there was an increase of	-	-	-	-	232,347

ASSETS IN INDIA.

The assets in India, consisting of cash, goods, &c. last year, amounted to	-	-	-	-	8,867,266
By the present statements	-	-	-	-	8,958,669
Increase of assets in India	-	-	-	-	91,403

Upon

FOREIGN HISTORY.

95

Upon a comparison of accounts presented this year, with the estimates on which the arrangements of 1793 were formed, the estimated surplus of 1796-7 was 1,584,008l. which exceeded the estimate of 1793 by 70,431l.

The total of the estimate of receipts and sales of 1793 was 5,185,987
The total of the actual ditto in 1796-7 was 7,316,976

He made the net excess of payments over the actual receipts for 1796-7 amount to } 1,882,965

He next begged the committee to observe, that though there appeared to be a decrease in the state of the company's affairs, they were, notwithstanding, as favourable and as flourishing as the most sanguine person could wish. Some causes of a diminution of revenue he had pointed out last year, one of which was a diminution in the sale of various articles, particularly that of opium, during war; and the other, was the increased amount of charges, on account of increased military arrangements in the various settlements abroad. He wished the present state of the company's affairs might be compared with their former condition, when their solvency was a matter of public disputation. In 1783, on account of the height to which party had run, every thing relating to their affairs was delusive.

In 1786 the debts of the company amounted to four millions beyond the assets; since that time they had indeed increased their capital 3,746,000l. but against that was to be placed the sum of 3,130,000l. as the expences of carrying on the war with Tippoo, and in the capture of the French and Dutch settlements in the East Indies. In 1796, it would be found that the affairs of the company had been made better by the sum of eleven millions than they were in 1786.

It appeared from the statements that the company's assets abroad exceeded the debts to the amount of 660,000l. and that if their whole affairs were wound up, they would receive an annual interest of 950,000l. He concluded with moving a series of resolutions pursuant to his statements, which were agreed to.

CHAP. III.

Review of the Negotiation at Paris in 1796.—His Majesty's Declaration on that Subject.—Debates in Parliament on the Negotiation.—In the House of Lords.—In the House of Commons.—Endeavours of the Opposition Party to remove the Obstacles to Peace.—Motion to that effect in the House of Lords.—Further Discussion on the Subject of Peace in the same House.—Motion for Peace in the House of Commons.

IN our preceding volume, in relating the political transactions in France, a short account was introduced of the negotiation for peace, which was attempted at Paris, in the latter end of the year 1796. The subject was brought before the British parliament, soon after the return of Lord Malmesbury, and underwent a spirited and interesting discussion in both houses. The sincerity of ministers was questioned by some of the speakers on the side of opposition, and the extravagant terms (as they were deemed by that side of the house) proposed to the French were vehemently censured; while, on the other hand, the ministers defended themselves, by appealing to the abrupt and violent conduct of the French in hastily dismissing the ambassador, as a proof of their indisposition to peace, which they confirmed by a general review of the late politics of France.

His Majesty's declaration on this subject was laid before the house of lords, on the 27th of Dec. by lord Grenville, wherein he acquainted them, "That the negotiation, which an anxious desire of peace had induced him to open at Paris, had been abruptly terminated by the French government.

"That his majesty had directed an overture to be made, in his name, by his minister in Switzerland, to ascertain the dispositions of the French

government respecting peace; the answer which he received was at once haughty and evasive; it affected to question the sincerity of which his majesty's conduct had afforded so unequivocal a proof; it objected to the mode of negotiation proposed (that of a general congress, by which peace had so often been restored to Europe); but it studiously passed over in silence his majesty's desire to know what other mode would be preferred by France; it asserted a principle, as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation under which the terms of peace must have been regulated; not by the usual considerations of justice, but by an implicit submission on the part of all other powers to a claim founded on the internal laws and separate constitution of France, and having full authority to supersede the treaties entered into by independent states, to govern their interests, controul their engagements and dispose of their dominions.

"A pretension so extravagant could in no instance be admitted in the present, it led to nothing less than that France should, as a preliminary to all discussion, retain nearly all her conquests, and particularly those in which his majesty was most concerned; that she should recover back all that had been conquered from her; and that she should bring forward such farther demands, as

back

such unqualified submission, on the part of those with whom she treated, could not fail to produce. On such ground no negotiation could be established; neither did the answers of the French give any opening for continuing the discussion, since the mode offered by his majesty had been rejected, and no other been stated in which they were willing to concur.

“Not discouraged by this result, and in order to deprive his enemies of all subterfuge or evasion, his majesty renewed in another form, and through the intervention of a friendly power, a proposal for opening negotiations for peace: the repeated overtures were of such a nature that the French government found it impossible to reject them, without avowing to all Europe an absolute determination to refuse all hope of the restoration of tranquillity. A channel was therefore at length indicated, through which the government of France professed itself willing to negotiate, and a readiness was expressed to receive a minister authorized by his majesty to proceed to Paris for that purpose. The repeated endeavours of the French government to defeat this mission in its outset, and to break off the intercourse thus opened; but above all, the abrupt termination of the negotiation, afforded the most conclusive proof, that at no period of it was any real wish for peace entertained by the French government.

“It had been agreed, that compensation should be made to France by proportionable restitutions from his majesty’s conquests—on that power, for those arrangements to which she should be called upon to consent, to satisfy his allies, and to preserve the balance of Europe: at the desire of the French govern-

ment, memorials were presented by his majesty’s minister, containing the outlines of peace; the delivery of these papers was accompanied by a declaration, expressly and repeatedly made, both verbally and in writing; that his minister was willing to enter into the discussion of the points therein contained, or that of any other scheme of peace which the government might wish to substitute in its stead.

“In reply, he received a demand, in form the most offensive, and in substance the most extravagant, that ever was made in the course of any negotiation. It was peremptorily required of him, that he should, in twenty-four hours, deliver in a statement of the final terms to which his court would in any case accede. Having declined compliance with this demand, and explained the reasons which rendered it inadmissible, but at the same time expressed his readiness to discuss the proposal he had conveyed, he received no other answer but an abrupt command to quit Paris within forty-eight hours.

“It was therefore necessary that all Europe should understand, that the rupture of the negotiation did not arise from the failure of any sincere attempt on the part of France; but from the determination of that government to reject all means of peace, by the obstinate adherence to a claim which never could be admitted; a claim which that government rested on the constitution of its own country, to be received by all nations, as paramount to every principle and law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, the ties of common interest, and the most urgent considerations of general security.

“On these motives it was, that the further effusion of blood, the conti-

nued calamities of war, the prolonged distresses of Europe, and the accumulated distresses of France itself, were by the government of this country justified to the world. His majesty, who had entered into this negotiation with good faith, had now only to lament its abrupt termination; and to declare, in the face of all Europe, that whenever his enemies should be disposed to enter on the work of general pacification, nothing should be wanting on his part to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, which was only retarded by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies."

Lord Grenville said, he lamented, as much as any man in the country could do, the sudden failure of this negotiation: it was unnecessary for him to state at length the repeated endeavours of the French directory to defeat it in its beginning, and to break it off after an intercourse had been opened.

It had been agreed, that compensation should be made to France, by proportionable restitutions, for the cessions which she in her turn should be called upon to make to his majesty's allies. After this, his majesty's minister at Paris delivered to the French minister a memorial containing proposals: there was a note accompanying the memorial, stating, that he would enter with the utmost readiness, with M. Delacroix, into every explanation which the negotiation would allow; or, should they be rejected *in toto*, into any counter-project which the directory itself might be pleased to bring forth. In answer to this communication, it was peremptorily required of him, before any answer had been given by the directory to his propositions, that he should within twenty-four hours deliver in the *ultimatum* of his court..

No such instance was to be found in the whole history of treaties, nor could such a demand have been made, but for the purpose of shutting the doors against all negotiation.

Why did not the directory state their objections to his majesty's minister? Why did they not tell him on what terms they would have been ready to make peace? Not a word was said in return; and the British minister was ordered to leave the territories of the republic in twice the space of four and twenty hours. The directory now said, as they had formerly done, that they could not treat on the principle of mutual restitution, because it was contrary to their constitution. This could never be admitted by our country, or any other independent nation: it was in fact, to admit, that the French republic possessed the only supreme power in Europe; and that all other countries might be parcelled out by them at pleasure into what they were pleased to call republics, but which had not the least resemblance to that form of government. According to this principle, his majesty and his allies were bound to restore to France the greatest part of their conquests, whilst the French republic was to retain all that she had made.

His lordship said, that every candid man must see where the fault lay: his majesty and his ministers had entered into the negotiation with good faith, and it was retarded only by the exorbitant demands of France. He concluded, with moving an address to his majesty, with assurances that he might place the fullest reliance on the firmness of his parliament; the valour of his forces; the resources of his kingdoms, for vigorous support in a contest which it did not depend upon his majesty to terminate, and which involved in

at the security and interests of this country, and of Europe.

The lord chancellor having read the motion, was about to put the question upon it, when the earl of Guildford said, that the present was, in his opinion, the most unfortunate day this country had ever experienced; that day only excepted, which had plunged us into the calamities of the present war. He could not have believed it possible, that the ministers could have so far disgraced themselves, as to have laid on the table such papers as were only a mass of absurdities and nonsense. He did not believe that what had been advanced by the noble secretary was supported by facts. If the *status ante bellum* had been the principle agreed upon, he would admit that the French had departed from it; but that was by no means the case.

The principle that was to form the basis of negotiation, was that of proportional restitution, and no one could say what we had offered to France was an equivalent for what we asked of her to restore to our allies. It was notorious, from the papers produced, that his majesty's servants had not been sincere in the business: their first proposal was such; that they could not reasonably hope it would be agreed to: the restoration of the Austrian Netherlands was a *sine qua non* on the part of his majesty; and the British minister was to insist on the restoration of every town in those provinces. His lordship admitted the importance of the Netherlands; but could never consent that this exhausted country should go on with the war till they should be reconquered from France, because he did not think such an event probable.

He requested the house to consider the unprecedented expence of

another campaign, when they could not borrow money at 12 per cent. He could by no means agree to the address, and proposed an amendment, stating the misconduct of his majesty's ministers through the whole of the war, charging them with insincerity in every part of the negotiation, and moving that a committee might be appointed to enquire into the calamitous state of the country.

The earl of Derby rose, and declared, he had been an avowed enemy to the war, since its commencement: we were under no necessity of engaging in it, and this opinion had indeed been strongly confirmed. Was the noble secretary acquainted with the state of the labouring poor in the various counties of England? With that of trade, commerce, and manufactures throughout the kingdom? In many of our manufacturing towns the people had only half the wages which they formerly received. In Birmingham, there was no fewer than four thousand uninhabited houses, and one-fourth of the remainder were unable to pay the assessed taxes.

The nature of the loan by which the supplies of the present year were to be raised, ought to be well considered; we should then find we had no pressing temptation to go on with the war.

His lordship thought there was insincerity in the conduct of the ministers, and therefore seconded the amendment. Pondicherry in the East-Indies, Martinico, St. Lucia, and Tobago in the West-Indies, could never be considered as an equivalent for the Milanese and the Austrian Netherlands, which the French were required to give our allies!

The earl of Liverpool entered into a defence of the ministers; thought that we had offered an equivalent

to what we had required France to give up! and asked why the directory had not brought forward some counter project of their own when they were dissatisfied with our proposals?

Lord Auckland expressed satisfaction that the experiment had been made, though the result was such as he expected. He was so far from thinking the ministers to blame, that he thought the country was under very great obligations to them, for *their able and upright conduct throughout the whole transaction*. He was happy to believe we were able to go through another campaign, and that France was by no means in such a situation! The defenders of the republic were in the utmost distress; exposed to all the horrors of want and nakedness; their hospitals were destitute of every necessary; they were without fire, medicines, &c. &c. the public creditors, administrators, &c. from one end of the country to the other, were in the depth of wretchedness; and the only thing organized in the republic was assassination.

Earl Fitzwilliam insisted, that the enemy had given no encouragement for opening the negotiation; asserted, that there could be no safety in fraternizing with such a people, and intimated, that as he objected both to the original motion and the amendment, he should, after these were disposed of, propose an amendment of his own.

The earl of Kinnoul avowed his independency, and disclaimed all bias or prejudice on the question. He said, he considered the conduct of the enemy as insolent in the extreme, and such as ought to be resisted. The terms which France insisted on formerly were inadmissible, in answer to Mr. Wickham's note; but, notwithstanding this,

lord Malmesbury, without returning invective for invective, succeeded in establishing a principle for mutual compensation; yet, almost as soon as this principle was admitted, it was rejected by what he might call the *ultimatum* of the enemy. No sooner was the relinquishing of the Netherlands introduced, than the government of France refused to enter into discussion, and broke off all further negotiation. Nothing therefore remained in his lordship's opinion, but for this country to exert its vigour and prosecute the war.

The duke of Bedford insisted, that the ministers had substituted assertions instead of arguments; and even these were contradictory. By one, the attempt at negotiation was mentioned in a manner suited to its importance; by another, treated as a mere experiment, designed to amuse the people of this country. This minister lamented the unsuccessful issue of the measures taken towards obtaining peace; that, asserted that danger arose from the negotiation itself; whilst a third affirmed, that the republic was determined, at all events, to continue the war. The noble secretary had reflected on the directory for refusing to treat in a manner contrary to the constitution and treaties which they had formed, whilst he, himself, confidently asks, would we have this country violate its treaties?

His grace then animadverted on the conversation of lord Malmesbury and M. Delacroix, and inferred, that his lordship, by hinting at an equivalent for the Netherlands, had admitted the plea of the directory, and that in contradiction to the treaties subsisting between Britain and her allies. The French minister, by conversing about an equivalent, proved that he virtually admitted

mitted some equivalent might be given.

Lord Malmesbury had requested *contre-projet*, whilst he refused to enter upon any treaty, by which the French were to retain the possession of the Netherlands. From these circumstances, as well as that of his being left without a discretionary power in any matter of importance, his grace inferred, that ministers were not sincere in the proposed negotiation for peace. They had acted on a principle of augmenting the power of great states, at the expense of those which were weaker. Such were their ideas of remunerative justice! By consenting to such a principle, Europe would sink into a miserable labyrinth of despotic arrogance; "a principle on which," said his grace, "I shall make no comment; but leave it to your conscience to decide."

Lord Auckland denied having used the word "experiment" in the sense his grace had thought fit to apply it.

Earl Spencer asserted, that the charge of insincerity in the conduct of ministers was unjust: they had persevered, he said, in their attempts to restore peace, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown by the enemy in their way.

From the commencement of his acting with ministers, his lordship declared, that he had acted upon one uniform principle. He considered that the objects for which the war had been begun and carried on, were to secure the important interests of this country; to restore, and to secure tranquillity throughout Europe. He denied, that lord Malmesbury had proposed any *ultimatum*: the directory, he said, had; and what was their proposal? "You shall accept the basis of our new formed constitution, which engrafts

a conquered country into an integral part of our territories." The only question to be considered was now, whether, by relinquishing the war, we would give up every thing valuable to the interest of this country, every principle of good faith with its allies, and all which had hitherto been esteemed the public law of Europe.

The lord chancellor objected to the assumption of the amendment, that the negotiation was not broken off by the directory. He expressed his surprise; he doubted whether any similar instance could be produced of a negotiation with an enemy being broken off, no matter how, and that circumstance being communicated from the throne to the parliament; that the two houses of parliament, instead of supporting the king, when he threw himself upon them for support, had put a negative on such an application. The inference to be drawn was, that this country must submit to whatever terms the enemy chose to impose; to humble the nation before the directory; and to invite them to put their feet upon their necks.

He affirmed, that the memorial presented to the directory was not of a sophistical nature; that nothing could be more ingenuous than the declaration of what England was willing to surrender, and what she would demand in behalf of her allies. But whatever might be the value of the compensations proposed, they had never been brought under discussion. The proposals on our part had been generous and liberal, and the government of France had barred the door of negotiation against us. His lordship proceeded to remark, that a noble earl had spoken of the encreasing number of bankruptcies; he took upon himself to contradict the statement: un-

til the beginning of December, this year, the number was 724, and there might be 40 or 50 more since; in all, not more than 800; whereas, the average number of the last twelve years was about 1000. His lordship observed, the wealth of this country was also increasing. The surplus of monies brought into chancery amounted to 960,000*l.* of which, he computed about a clear surplus of 800,000*l.* saved during the current year. At no period were the manufactories more flourishing, nor there was any year in which the quantity of English goods exported was greater than in the present. Subscriptions to the loan of eighteen millions were sent up to a large amount, from various country towns, even after the loan was filled up. His lordship wished this statement contrasted with that of France, as given by the directory themselves, and concluded, by insisting that at no period of English history, when negotiations were broken off, did those who then opposed the ministry ever think of bringing forward a motion like "that thing" which he then held in his hand.

The earl of Abingdon condemned ministers for not having sooner consulted the assembly of the nation; avowed his own predilection for monarchy; and declared himself an anti-gallican; but thought the answer of the directory manly, and voted for the amendment. — A division took place—Majority against the amendment, 79.

The duke of Bedford then rose, and declared his conviction, that this country could neither enjoy peace nor prosperity without a change of men and measures.—His intention was to make a motion to this effect; but previous to it, he should move for an inquiry into the state of the nation, on Monday fortnight, and

moved, that the lords be summoned for that day.

Lord Grenville did not object to the inquiry, but to the time proposed. The motion was put, and negatived.

On Dec^r the 30th, Mr. chancellor Pitt moved the taking into consideration his majesty's message in the house of commons: it being read, he addressed the house, he said, with the deepest regret, on viewing the sudden stop which had been put to the negotiation. He had fondly hoped we should have been relieved from the contest into which we had been forced against our will; a contest produced by the repeated aggressions of an imperious enemy; a contest undertaken from motives of inevitable necessity; undertaken to preserve our constitution, to defend the general security of Europe, and from a sacred regard to that good faith which we had pledged to our allies: from these causes we were forced into a state of warfare; and whilst they continued to operate, we were also determined to persevere. Whilst he expressed much disappointment and regret at the failure of the negotiation, he acknowledged, it was regret without despondency, and disappointment without despair.

We had not (he said) ourselves to blame for the misfortune; it arose from the exorbitant pretensions of our enemies. Nothing had been wanting on the part of this country to restore peace, on the grounds on which alone it was desirable; for when we wished for peace, it was for a secure and permanent peace. We had proved to all Europe to what party ambitious and unmeasurable pretensions ought to be ascribed; and we might expect, from such conduct, to see England united and France divided. It would not be

necessary

necessary to state particularly the steps which had been taken by his majesty and his ally, the emperor, at an early period of the contest.

In March, 1796, an offer had been made to treat in that way which had been sanctioned by usage, and the general experience of nations. The offer was met on the part of the enemy, by advancing a preliminary of such a nature that no man could seriously justify and support it. The answer to Mr. Wickham was founded upon what France chose to call the law by which she was bound. — What law? A law of their own making, a mere internal regulation, a principle, annulling all treaties, in open defiance of the rights of Europe, and the received maxims of nations.

It is stated (continued Mr. Pitt) that his majesty the emperor, in spite of that answer, shewed himself ready to co-operate with his Britannic majesty in the same desirable pursuit. This offer was made immediately after the armistice in the beginning of this eventful year. — How was this offer received? In the same manner as our own was treated; and the result was, that the directory gave no credit to his sincerity; but stated, that if he was serious, he might send a plenipotentiary to Paris, to treat with them in a manner consistent with the laws in France.

His majesty has told the world, that notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances, yet, in hopes that the calamities of war might at last create a disposition in the enemy which might lead to peace, he again renewed his proposal for opening a negotiation in another form. The next mode which was adopted, was an application through the medium of a neutral minister, — the minister of the court of Denmark

made this application in the name of his Britannic majesty, sincerely to know if they would send passports for a plenipotentiary to be sent by his majesty to Paris. — How was this application received? For some time no answer was made. At last, the Danish minister was informed, not by a written answer to a written note, but verbally, that if a minister arrived, they might send him passports when he arrived at their frontiers. If there had been the most remote desire on the part of his majesty and his ministers to retard the negotiation, was not this (said Mr. Pitt) enough to justify them in abandoning their attempt? But so anxious were they to obtain the blessing of peace, that they resolved to surmount these difficulties, and a flag of truce was sent over, charged with a commission similar to what had been given to the Danish minister. After a time, the request was granted by the French government, not willingly, but of necessity. The first object of the plenipotentiary was, to do what was conformable to common sense and established usage; to fix some acknowledged basis, upon which each party might come forward with some degree of certainty of obtaining the desired object: the basis proposed was, — That compensation should be made to France for proportionable, restitutions from his majesty's conquests on that power, for those arrangements to which she should be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just pretensions of allies, and to preserve the political balance in Europe. — Was there any thing to be found (said Mr. Pitt) of low or did interest in this? — We proposed to give up what the valour of England had acquired; not to aggrandise ourselves in any other manner, but to preserve your good faith to who

who had a right to rely upon it! Here an additional proof was given of the inveterate disposition of the enemy: before it could be understood that this was meant to be rejected, they make a call on his majesty's plenipotentiary for his *ultimatum* in twenty-four hours; this, however, from some unknown prudential reason, was not insisted on; still this basis was not agreed to. His majesty's ministers nevertheless persevered: at last the French unequivocally acknowledged and received it, and thus afforded the strongest proof of the basis being fair and reasonable. It being accepted, the next question was, what should be the particular terms? According to the established usage of negotiation, particular terms are never mentioned by either party at the onset: yet, notwithstanding, all the advantages that had been given up, and all the concessions that had been made, what was the demand of the enemy? That the plenipotentiary should specifically bring forward the terms of the British cabinet. It was needless to state how great the difficulties in bringing forward terms were in all cases; and in all times it had been usual to divide them, and each party had offered them as nearly at the time as possible. There was in any other mode a material advantage conceded, especially when one party was thus called upon to give the value at which he estimated the conquests he had made; and how much more was this advantage augmented, when no real individual benefit was to be derived to the party making the proposition, and when he had to struggle against a rooted animosity on the part of the enemy. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, the plenipotentiary, in conformity to the established basis, delivered in two

confidential notes, one signed and the other not, but enclosed in that which was signed; the first, relating to the terms of peace between this country and France; the other, comprehending the interests of his majesty's allies. In the first paper, mutual cessions were proposed and demanded. By a tide of adverse fortune on the continent, which afterwards indeed was in a considerable degree reversed, a great part of the emperor's dominions, and some German principalities, remained in the possession of the French. On the other hand, by a similar run of success on the part of this country, the valour of his majesty's forces gave us almost all the colonial possessions of the enemy, a success of which there are but two instances in the history of this country. In such circumstances what was this country to do? The ministers, sensible of the temporary evils arising from the war, the occasional stagnation of commerce, and the embarrassments attending public and private credit, still felt that these distresses did not proceed from the cause to which they had been so often attributed: they were sensible also of the truth of what some gentlemen had been pleased to esteem a paradox, that accidental embarrassments produced no permanent distress, and perceived that when these were removed, the situation of the country gave us some well-grounded intimation of the real source, and that a spirit had been shewn which never had been exceeded. Mr. Pitt assured the house, that he did not state these circumstances to give any one an idea that he did not wish for peace, but to shew that we were not fallen into so deplorable a state of wretchedness as to be compelled to make any dishonourable

honourable compromise. What, on the other hand, said he, was the situation of the enemy? at first they were enabled to employ gigantic means, which from their nature could not be permanent; they found also the expedient of disseminating new and destructive principles. It was unnecessary to recur to the subject of French finance: he might, however, suppose that the admissions of the executive directory were true, when officially conveyed in the form of a message to one of their councils. We were told by themselves that the only pay of their troops were the horrors of nakedness and famine; that their state-contractors, their judges, and all other public functionaries received no part of their salaries; that the roads were impassable, and the hospitals neglected; and nothing in short remained in a state of organization but murder and assassination. Was this a true picture drawn by themselves, and could this be a time for Europe to prostrate itself at the foot of France?

He then proceeded to consider what we had demanded under the above circumstances;—not the return of ancient possessions, not for liberty to maintain our independence, to reject the fraternal embrace, and prevent the organization of treason; these did not rest upon the permission of the enemy, they depended upon the patriotism of the people of England: we only desired to preserve our good faith inviolate, and were ready to sacrifice all our own advantages to obtain what we could not honourably give away without the consent of the emperor. Whatever might have been his disposition to peace, would he have been content to agree to inferior terms when the campaign was not yet closed, when the enemy was

struck with the effects of the glorious success with which the imperial arms had lately been attended on the Rhine, when the exertions in Italy might have been expected to communicate to the affairs of Austria, in that quarter, the same tide of victory by which the frontiers of Germany were distinguished? By the terms proposed, all the territory between the Rhine and the Moselle was to be ceded by France, subject to future modification. When the French conquests in Italy were stated as objects of restitution, it was not inferred that Savoy and Nice were included, for in no geographical view could they be considered as component parts of that country. All the propositions underwent discussion between the plenipotentiary and the minister. Only as to the Netherlands, his majesty could on no account retract any part of his propositions! but every thing else was subject to modification. As to the value of the French possessions which we offered to give up, it must be confessed that the same evils with which France had been afflicted extended to the colonial possessions; but after all they were of infinite importance to France: the most valuable part of St. Domingo, the military and commercial advantages of Martinique, the favorable situation of St. Lucia, the importance of Tobago to this country, when we combined them together, it might be doubted, whether there was not some degree of boldness on the part of ministers to make such overtures; we might suspect the wisdom of the measure rather than cavil at the insincerity of the offer.

Mr. Pitt requested the further attention of the house on the subject of Holland: it had been (he said) our ally, and its protection was one of the causes of our entering into the

the war: yet as circumstances had occurred which had compelled Holland to become our enemy, he must consider her in the relation to which she stood respecting France; not that he forgot she formerly had been an ally whose friendship was attended with reciprocal advantages to herself and to this country; and if it were possible to replace Holland in the situation in which she formerly had stood, and to restore her legitimate government permanently, such a restitution would redound to our advantage.

But with respect to the principle of compensation to Holland, nothing better could have been adopted than not to give Holland a part of the foreign possessions we had taken from her, which she had no right to ask for herself, nor France to demand for her. These possessions were to be retained, that they might not become acquisitions to the French government, nor afford them means of carrying into effect the plan they had conceived of undermining our Indian empire, and destroying our Indian commerce, by wresting out of our hands the bulwark of the wealth of this country and the security of the eastern nations. At the same time our offers were liberal when we consented to give up all that we had taken, reserving one subject only for consideration which depended on a treaty, and we asked no more than we were bound by justice and honour to demand. All that he wished parliament to pronounce, was, that they would add their testimony to the sincerity with which his majesty had endeavoured to restore peace to Europe, and their approbation of the steps employed for its attainment.

Mr. Pitt then reverted to the studied perverseness of the French government. When a courier (he said)

had been dispatched to Paris, at the instance of a minister of a neutral power, to get a passport, it was denied; the request of the Danish minister was not enough; nothing would satisfy them but a British minister; a British minister was sent; at the commencement of the negotiation, he had occasion frequently to send dispatches to his court, because it is well known that there are a great number of difficulties attending the opening of every negotiation, and because lord Malmesbury had been sent to Paris before the preliminaries were arranged.

Whilst they were settling, lord Malmesbury's presence was barely endured, but no sooner were they settled, and the minister delivered in a *projet*, no sooner was the period for discussion arrived, when the presence of an ambassador was particularly necessary, and when the king's ministers announced that he was prepared to enter into the discussion, than he was ordered to leave Paris, and the negotiation to be carried on by the means of couriers.

Such was the precise form in which a studied insult was offered to his Britannic majesty!

The plain ground on which the question rested was this; after an *ultimatum* had been demanded; after the minister had been ordered to leave the territories of France; after a retraction by the directory of the original basis of negotiation, and the substitution of a new one in its place, they demanded, not as an *ultimatum*, but as a preliminary, to retain all those territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which, they thought proper, (contrary to the laws of nations) to pass a constitutional law, declaring that these should not be alienated from the republic. After expatiating

ing much upon what he called "a perverse and monstrous claim," he remarked, that the annexation of territory to any state by the government of that state during the continuance of the war in which it had been acquired, could never convey a claim, superseding the treaties of other powers, and the known and public obligations of the different nations of Europe. It was impossible that the separate act of a separate government could dissolve the ties subsisting between other governments, or extend to the abrogation of treaties previously concluded; yet this had been the pretension to which the French government had claim, and the acknowledgment of which they had held out as a preliminary of negotiation to the king of Great Britain and his allies.

There was no principle of the law of nations clearer than this; that when, in the course of war, any nation acquired new possessions, that such nation had only temporary right to them, and that they do not become property till the end of the war; for, supposing the conqueror to insist upon retaining them because he had passed a law that they should not be alienated, might not the neighbouring powers, or even the hostile power, ask who gave him the right to pass it? or what authority had he, as a separate state, by any annexation of territory, to cancel existing treaties, and destroy the equilibrium established amongst nations? Were this pretension tolerated, it would be a source of eternal hostility, and a perpetual bar to negotiation between the contending parties, because the pretensions of the one would be totally irreconcilable with those of the other: this, in the instance of France, had been as inconsistent in its operations, as it had been unfounded in its origin.

the possessions which they had lost in the war in the West Indies they had made dependent parts of the republic. Tobago, which was still retained by British arms, and had also been lost in the course of the war, was made a part of indivisible France; nor should he be surprized to hear that Ireland, in consequence of their intention to invade it, was constitutionally annexed to the republic.

He acknowledged there was a distinction between the Netherlands and the West-India islands; but it happened that this principle of law was least applicable to those possessions upon which it was held out as operating upon the government, and that the Austrian Netherlands, even by the letter of their own constitution, ought to be exempted. He recommended it to gentlemen to read the report upon which the decree was founded, in which they would find it had been passed for the avowed purpose of obtaining for France an indisputable ascendancy in Europe, and of suppressing the trade and commerce of rival nations.

Overlooking, however, the principle of the decree, if it were found inapplicable to the possessions of the French in the Indies, it was certainly much more so to the Netherlands; and in holding out the principle as operating upon the latter, and not the former, it was applied to that part of their territory to which it was least applicable. Allowing, however, that it was a principle of their constitution, was it an evil without remedy? No. M. Delacroix confessed it might be remedied, but not without the inconvenience of calling the primary assemblies.

And were we then, after all our exertions to obtain peace, after being

ing baffled in all our efforts by the pride and obstinacy of the French government, our propositions slighted, and our ambassador insulted, were we now to consent to sacrifice our engagements, and to violate our treaties, because forsooth, it would be some inconvenience to call their assemblies, in order to cancel a law incompatible with the principle of fair negotiation? Shall we (said Mr. Pitt) so far forget our honour, our dignity, and our duty, as to acquiesce in such conditions? But this is not all the degradation to which they would have us submit: we must engage, and as a preliminary too, to make no propositions contrary to their constitution, and the *treaties* which bind the republic.

This restriction is more unreasonable than the other: the republic may have made secret treaties, which we know nothing about; and yet that government expects that we are not to permit our propositions to interfere with these treaties. How can we know what the Dutch may have ceded to France, or whether France may not have an oath never to give up the territories ceded to her by Holland; what secret article may be contained in her treaty with Spain, guaranteeing the restitution of Gibraltar, or some important possession belonging to his Majesty? And after accepting terms of which we are entirely ignorant, in what situation do we stand? We at last arrive at a discussion of the government which France may chuse to give to Italy, and of the fate which she may be pleased to assign to Germany; in fact, the point is not how much you will give for peace, but how much you will suffer of disgrace?

In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war with an

energy worthy of the British name, or, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to do what they require, and to submit to what they impose?

He hoped "there was not a *band* in his majesty's councils who would sign the proposals, a *beast* in that house which would sanction the measure, or an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier." Mr. Pitt concluded with moving an address to his majesty, which was, as usual, an echo of the message.

The Hon. Thomas Erskine said, that when the right honourable gentleman rose to move the address, he had hoped it would have been very different from what he found it was; and instead of binding the house to prosecute the war, it would have borne a resemblance to the right honourable gentleman's speech, in an early stage of it, wherein he affirmed, "that he did not wish to pledge the house to any period to which the war ought to be protracted, or to any terms which ought to be insisted on by the allies." It now appeared, by this address, that he would precisely draw the house into that very situation, to which he had said he would not wish to pledge them. There were two propositions in the speech which he particularly wished to controvert: the first was, that "France was the aggressor in this bloody and expensive war." The right honourable gentleman had gone farther, and declared also, that the obstacles which had been thrown in the way of the late negotiations were entirely to be attributed to the arrogant demands of the present government of France. How did the matter stand at the commencement of the war? Ministers then advised

his majesty, that it was incompatible with the interests of this country, that Belgium should be permitted to be united with France. This was immediately communicated to the French, and they unequivocally disavowed every thing which ministers pretended to fix upon them.

In all disputes between individuals, between neighbours, (said Mr. Erskine) it has always been found necessary by those who were to adjust their differences, to enquire into the particular circumstances which were the original causes of those differences. Where negotiations were to be entered into between two contending powers, it must be more necessary to look back to ascertain precisely what had been the situation of the parties at the commencement of their quarrel, what was the aggression, what was the extent of it, and by whom made? Let us then (he continued) look back; let us refer to the period alluded to, and see how matters actually were circumstanced. On the 21st of December, 1792, his majesty met the parliament: at that time, M. Chauvelin, the ambassador of the French government, was in England: his majesty, in his speech to both houses of parliament, complained of three things: first, that the French had sent seditious missionaries into this country; secondly, that they meditated an invasion of Holland; and thirdly, that they had opened the Scheldt. Mr. Erskine begged the house to recollect, that Belgium was then in the possession of the French; though not as now; it was not, at that time, ingrafted by the constitution into the territory of France, as an integral part of it.

All the correspondence between lord Grenville and the French ambassador was concealed from the house, though M. Chauvelin had

given separate and satisfactory answers to all the complaints of our court. He entreated that the king would bring to condign punishment those who disseminated sedition in his dominions; announced the determination of France to keep within her own limits, and to respect the rights of other nations. Notwithstanding this plain and specific avowal of all the grounds of hostility, war was declared upon France. He asked, therefore, if France could be considered as the aggressor, who offered peace to this country on terms which the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) would be worshipped, if he could now procure. [Here Mr. Erskine stopped, and sat down under evident symptoms of indisposition.]

Mr. Fox rose, and said he was extremely sorry, on account of his learned friend, as well as for the house, whose information was thus unpleasantly interrupted, sorry for the cause of peace and of Great-Britain, which ministers, by their rash and infatuated policy seemed determined to precipitate to the verge of ruin, that he was obliged to address the house on the present occasion. He felt it however incumbent upon him to come forward, knowing that his opinion entirely coincided with that of his honourable friend, and lamenting, that in consequence of his indisposition, the argument would suffer considerably from the want of that ability with which it would have been enforced by his superior powers. Mr. Fox observed, that the subject demanded the deepest consideration; after a war of four years, which was stated to have been attended with many occurrences highly honorable and advantageous to the British arms, and to have been accompanied with no disgrace, after the immense expenditure incurred

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in the prosecution of hostilities; after an addition of a sum of no less than two hundred millions to the national debt, and of nine millions to the permanent taxes of the country; after an enormous effusion of human blood, after an incalculable addition to the details of human wretchedness, so far from having gained any object for which we set out in the war, so far were we from having achieved any advantage, that the minister had this night come forward, in an elaborate speech, which had lasted for a considerable space of time, to endeavour to prove, that the only effect had been, that the enemy was become more unreasonable than ever in their pretensions, and that all hopes of peace were removed to a still greater distance.

In this speech the right hon. gentleman had affirmed that he formerly had given a representation of the deplorable situation of the French finances from uncertain documents, but now he had been enabled to confirm the same from indubitable authority,—the statement of the directory: he, for his own part, was inclined to believe that the documents in both instances were equally authentic.

It had been found from experience, that in proportion as the finances of the French had been acknowledged, even by themselves, to be reduced to the lowest ebb, in the same proportion had their exertions been found to be wonderful and unparalleled. The certain ruin of the French finance is confirmed by an immediate statement from the directory, we are told; Mr. Fox expressed surprise that the right honourable gentleman did not go farther, and quote the ingenious letter of Lord Malmesbury, in which he reported the conversation which took

place between him and M. Delacroix. In this conversation the French minister was represented as having paid the highest compliments to the extensive means possessed by this country, as having described it, from its internal sources of wealth, and from its colonies in the Indies, to be mistress of almost boundless resources. Thus, whilst the directory admitted that Great Britain was distinguished by her wealth and her resources, they had no hesitation to acknowledge their own poverty and embarrassments: they acknowledged to all Europe, that from the want of money the army was considerably in arrears, and every branch of the internal administration under circumstances of the greatest embarrassment and distress. But whilst they admitted the ruined state of their own finances, what a striking contrast did their exertions in the present contest, and the success which had followed them afford, to the conduct and fate of those who had been entrusted with the management of the war on our side!

Whilst we, in every quarter which it was deemed most important to defend, had been losing city after city: whilst we had been actually driven from the possessions which we conceived to be necessary to the security of our commerce, or to the balance of power, France, resourceless and dispirited, all the while avowing its own distressed situation, and speaking in the most respectful terms of our wealth and resources, had constantly been adding to its acquisitions, and aggrandizing its empire. France, at the present moment, appeared as the conqueror of most important and extensive territories! Belgium was annexed to her empire! great part of Italy had yielded to the force of her arms, and Holland

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was now united to the republic by ties of strictest alliance. If, indeed, these acquisitions were to be retained to the cause of Great-Britain and her allies by a lofty tone of argument; if the tide of victory was to be turned by the dexterity of debate, and the efficacy of our exertions bore any proportion to the influence of our boasting, we need not be afraid to claim a decided superiority.

Mr. Fox said, that, previous to the commencement of the contest, he had used the utmost of his little powers to persuade the government to send an ambassador to Paris, when undoubtedly he would not have met with the treatment which an ambassador of Great-Britain was now alleged to have experienced: but when it is asserted that this ambassador was dismissed in a way exemplified in the history of civilized nations, they surely must have forgotten the manner in which Mr. Chauvelin was sent from this country. At a subsequent period, when the whole of Belgium was regained, when the French were not possessed of one foot of ground in that territory, did I then (continued Mr. Fox) neglect my duty to this country? No. I then renewed my motion for peace: and I now ask, if an attempt had then been made to negotiate, whether we might not have expected to obtain peace on terms equally honourable and advantageous with any which we can now possibly claim. This was at the period before the powers combined against France had gained the fortrefs of Valenciennes: but when it was certain that it must be all. I contended, then, was the period to make peace. In order to show how greatly ministers misestimated the nature of the contest, when I thus argued, it was said, "What! make peace before you

have achieved a single conquest, and when you are just beginning to make advances in the country of the enemy?" Such was the style of reasoning brought forward in opposition to my repeated motions for an end of carnage.

The right hon. gentleman (said Mr. Fox), in talking formerly of the contest, made use of a memorable expression; he intimated that it was such, that our exertions ought to know no bounds, except so far as they were limited by our resources; that our efforts must be extended to the utmost pitch before we could hope for an honourable termination of the struggle, or the permanent enjoyment of peace; that we ought not to cease till we could be able to say,

non Potuit que plurima virtus

Esse; fuit: toto certatum est corpore regna.

The difficulties attendant upon negotiation had been stated as arising from two circumstances: first, the difficulty in all cases of proposing overtures, without being able to ascertain what reception they were likely to experience; secondly, the particular obstacles, from the relative situation of the two countries. Mr. Fox said, he could state a third, more weighty than either:—In every negotiation, the difficulty of coming to any definitive arrangement must be infinitely increased, in proportion to the degree of distrust entertained by the parties respecting their mutual intentions. If we had some reason to suspect the sincerity of the directory, had not they at least equal grounds to suspect our views in negotiation? After every epithet had been exhausted by ministers to vilify their characters, was it to be expected that they would readily listen to terms of peace dictated by those ministers, except they were brought

into a state of necessity which precluded them from any alternative, and compelled them to an unconditional compliance with any proposition that might be presented to their acceptance? When lord Malmesbury, in addressing the French minister, so often brought forward his profession of high consideration (Mr. Fox said), he could not but smile, when he recollected that lord Auckland was made a peer merely because he declared that the men whom he now addressed in such respectful terms, "ought to be put under the sword of the law," and because he denounced them as miscreants and traitors to all Europe. By this declaration, brought forward in a public capacity, he showed, that, acting on the part of Great-Britain, he was not slow to be their executioner and their judge.

There was one part of the address omitted to be noticed, but to which he could by no means subscribe: that his majesty had neglected no proper opportunity to conclude the war. A few years ago, when he earnestly pressed the propriety of negotiation, the right honourable gentleman had contended that the French were not capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. In what respect were they now become more capable? Will the minister affirm, that then there was only a provisional government, and that there now exists a permanent constitution? Surely he would not venture to press that argument, aware of the extent to which it must lead him; and if such was the case, Mr. Fox declared he had no hesitation to state, that the assertion in the address was false, and as such must meet his decided negative.

The result of the negotiation had proved to be what was not difficult to have been foreseen, both from its

commencement, and the mode in which it had been conducted. If the country, indeed, considered the administration of the right honourable gentleman to be a blessing, they must take their choice between the continuance of that blessing and the restoration of peace. It was evident that those individuals who had conducted the war with such notorious incapacity, and entailed so many mischiefs on the country, must of all others be the most unfit to repair them, and secure the enjoyment of permanent peace.

But in order to ascertain the sincerity of ministers on this point, and the fairness of the means employed towards the attainment of this object, it was necessary to enter a little more minutely into the history of the negotiation.

The first step which was taken was, the communication at Basle, in which Mr. Wickham had been engaged as the agent for the British government. As he was not authorized to take any definitive measure, or to make any declaration binding on the government, but little stress could be laid on the circumstance. Those who attended to the details of that transaction, would not be disposed to draw any inference very favorable to the sincerity of ministers. The mission of lord Malmesbury was unquestionably what they wished to be considered as the grand effort for peace, and as affording an unequivocal proof of their sincere wishes for its attainment. Of the details of that negotiation we were able to judge, from the papers which had been laid before the house.

Till the publication of his majesty's manifesto, he said he was only acquainted with the circumstances of that transaction from the statement of the public prints: nor was he a little surprized when the mani-

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manifesto reached him in the country, to think he had been completely misled by the previous information: that surprise increased, on finding that the public prints had been more accurate in their representation of facts than his majesty's declaration. Never had any paper been brought forward, with the stamp of official authority so little connected with the documents on which it was professedly founded: it entirely concealed the most important facts of the negotiation, and stated the others so loosely, as not to exhibit them in any precise or distinct shape.

The right honourable gentleman had stated that disrespect had been shown to a foreign court by the French directory, and an inference drawn of a disposition thus manifested to throw contempt on all established usages. It was asserted, as an apology for bringing forward the manifesto, previous to the publication of the papers, that much mechanical labour was necessary for preparing them for the inspection of the house; but for his own part, he could not but suspect, it was thought expedient to give a bias to their sentiments by the publication of the manifesto, before the facts were submitted to their cool and sober investigation; and the delay which was imputed to mechanical labour was purposely designed to afford ministers an opportunity of revising the papers, and of deciding what part of their contents might be prudent to suppress, and what might be submitted to the public eye. Lord Malmesbury was sent to negotiate for peace, and furnished with full powers to conclude, but not to treat: he had no instructions with respect to the terms he should propose, and no direction upon which to act concerning the propositions he might receive. When he was asked if he came to treat for the

king of Great-Britain separately? he answered, No; but for the king of Great Britain, jointly with his allies. When he was asked if he was furnished with any powers from those allies? he again replied, No. Had he any terms to propose? He answered, he would send for instructions. Thus it appeared, that he was empowered to conclude for the king of Great Britain, but not qualified to treat; and that for the allies, for whom he came to treat, he had not power to conclude. Could there be a more palpable mockery of the forms of negotiation?

We next come to the basis: in the present instance it was laid so wide, as to comprehend no distinct object, and to be reducible to no precise meaning: the French stated, that they had agreed to your principle, and only disputed its application. The principle of mutual compensations is substantially recognized in every negotiation, and did not require to be specified. The general objects of dispute have been; in fixing a basis, whether it should be regulated by the *status quo ante bellum*, or the *uti possidetis*?

The minister had stated, as a proof of reluctance on the part of the French, that they for some time hesitated to admit our proposed basis; but in fact they virtually recognized the principle when they entered into the discussion of terms. He who asks, what will you give, or states what he is willing to receive, at once admits the basis of mutual compensation.

When the French asked lord Malmesbury what terms he was prepared to propose, he was unprovided with any answer, and obliged to send to this country for instructions.

What inference can be drawn from this conduct on the part of ministers, but that, by thus bringing

forward a futile, illusory, and unmeaning basis, they expected to disgust the French in the first instance, and so get rid of the negotiation; and if the French, who must have felt themselves mocked by this treatment, and have been more and more assured of the insincerity of our ministers, had stopped all further proceedings, would they not have been fully justified? Undoubtedly ministers expected that they would have resented the insult, and have broken off the negotiation at the onset. They thus hoped to have obtained an easy credit for their pacific intentions, and to have thrown upon the enemy the odium of a determined purpose of hostility, and an unreasonable rejection of the preliminary basis of negotiation. Unfortunately, however, for this project, the basis was recognized. The disappointment of ministers was evident: lord Malmesbury was unprepared how to act; and compelled to send for farther instructions. The question then became, "since the French have so unexpectedly accepted the basis we intended to be rejected, what can we find that they must be indispenfably called upon to refuse?" Lord Malmesbury, who had before no terms to propose, was now instructed to bring forward such as *could not be supposed to undergo much discussion*; such as could not readily fail to effect the purpose of being rejected.

Mr. Fox then considered what had been said by the minister respecting the terms offered: it had been urged, by way of apology for those proposed by lord Malmesbury, that it was usual to be somewhat high in our demands in the first instance; that any propositions, in the beginning of negotiations, were never to be regarded as decisive; and that in the progress of treating

we might relax as circumstances should render it expedient. But was the right honourable gentleman so ill qualified to judge of the conduct proper for these times, as seriously to maintain this argument?

He had described it as a negotiation, the ill success of which must tend to divide France, and to unite Great Britain; which must give indubitable confirmation to the justice of our cause, and add double energy to our future efforts. Instead of carrying his pretensions higher than he might be disposed to accept, he should have gone to the other extreme, and have stated them at the lowest point of what he deemed to be fair and equitable; thus securing the end which he professed to have had in view—to render apparent to all Europe the equity and moderation of his own sentiments, and the injustice and ambition of the enemy. Mr. Fox next adverted to the two memorials, and confessed he had never been more struck with the impossibility, even for talents the most splendid, to cover the weakness of a cause, and supply the deficiency of real argument, than in the instance of what the minister had said respecting Holland. Even if Holland should be restored to its pristine situation; if the Stadtholder should be reinstated, and the alliance renewed with this country, he does not say that he would restore to Holland her former possessions; No; he might then perhaps only relax in their favour part of the conditions on which the present state of things obliges him to insist! A right honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) some time since declared in the house, that as we had taken the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, we meant to keep them for ever. This was reasoning very much *à la Française*. It was curious to remark that

that in the very moment when the minister is at such pains to represent the demands of the French as in the highest degree exorbitant, how much he countenances them by his own. He says, "We have taken a great deal from Holland, they have taken nothing from us, therefore we are not bound in justice to make them any restitution: but if Maestricht, or some place, be ceded to the emperor for the security of the Netherlands, we may perhaps be induced to make them some restitution; but on no account to restore Ceylon or the Cape of Good Hope." On the same grounds might the French say, "We have taken much from the emperor; he has gained nothing from us; therefore we are not bound to make him any restitution. But what are the specific proposals to the French? to evacuate Italy, to give up the Milanese, Belgium, and Luxemburg; to negotiate the arrangement of peace for Germany with his Imperial majesty, as constitutional head of the empire; and though they are already at peace with the most considerable Germanic powers, with the king of Prussia, with the electors of Saxony, Hanover, &c. they would thus be placed in a situation in which they would have all their treaties to begin anew.

In return for all these sacrifices, he offers to restore to them Martinique, St. Lucia, Tobago; reserving however one of them as an equivalent, if they are to retain St. Domingo. The restoration of Belgium was a *sine qua non*; and Mr. Fox avowed he should much regret to see Belgium attached to the territories of the republic: but if ministers were sincere in their wishes for peace, if they considered Belgium as an object of so much importance, let them not offer brass for gold. What they had offered was trifling

indeed; and if France complied with their demands, what would be her relative situation amongst the powers of Europe? She would have given up Belgium, Luxemburg, and Italy; and farther, it was required, that something should be ceded to the Emperor, to render him secure on the side of the Austrian Netherlands. The three great powers of Europe would all of them be left with considerable acquisitions. The king of Prussia had gained a third part of Poland; Russia had obtained a considerable extent of territory from that unfortunate country; and, in addition to his share in the division, it was proposed that the emperor of Germany should be put in possession of Maestricht, or some other place. France was only to be left with Savoy, Nice, and Avignon. Was the state of the war such as would justify this proposition? Was it equitable that all the other powers should gain more than France? When Great-Britain acted so unreasonably, France naturally took a step calculated to give confidence to the people in those countries annexed to the Republic, by declaring, that on no account would she consent to give them up.

As to the French minister having asked lord Malmesbury to give in his ultimatum, it evidently meant no more, than that he should make a formal declaration of what he had said respecting Belgium; a demand which surely could not be deemed unreasonable.

After having heard so much stated of the value of Belgium, and such reasons urged why it should be restored to the Emperor, Mr. Fox could not help remarking that it was not very long since the people of that country were in a state of rebellion; and it was surmised at the time, that we were by no means

averse to supporting them in their endeavours to shake off the Austrian yoke. But however great its value might be, was it sufficient to justify the continuance of a destructive war? And if it were, there was another question to be considered; if, in addition to the expence and carnage with which the war had already been attended, it were proper to sacrifice a hundred millions more, and a hundred thousand men, for its attainment, it ought to be very clear, that our object was attainable by these means. It ought also to be recollected, that the emperor, who was a friend to-day, might be an enemy to-morrow. It was not eight months since he was not so much a favourite with ministers; perhaps, indeed, they were cautious in expressing their partiality, lest it should be suspected that money was then going to the court of Vienna. At that time the king of Sardinia was extolled as a pattern of fidelity to all princes: he did not mean to impute to the Sardinian monarch any breach of faith; necessity compelled him to conclude a treaty with the republic; and we had not heard in what situation he was now to be considered, with respect to his country. Ministers had already sent large sums to his Imperial majesty, and were about to make farther advances; and the alliance could not be maintained at an expence less to the country than a sum of two millions annually. If we should not be able to grant him the same assistance, he might be reduced to the same necessity as the king of Sardinia, and compelled to conclude a peace.

When all these circumstances were put together, the sacrifices which must be incurred in attempting to wrest Belgium from the French, and the uncertainty of ob-

taining the object, the minister who on that account only should refuse to make peace had much to answer for on the score of policy and humanity. By the treaty concluded with the emperor, in 1793, we engaged not to lay down our arms without his consent: if we urge the stipulations of a treaty as a reason why we cannot conclude peace but on certain terms, we sanction the argument which is represented as so unjustifiable on the part of France. We had no more right to talk of our treaties, than they of the regulations concerning their boundaries. If an absurd and impracticable condition be introduced into a treaty, is there not reason to suspect it is for the purpose of throwing difficulties in the way of peace? To the French is imputed all the odium and blame of breaking off the negotiation. The minister had asserted, that we were not bound by any thing as a *sine qua non*; for that is impossible, in the nature of a negotiation, until it be concluded. But whatever assertions may be, the world at large will regard the memorial of lord Malmesbury as the *sine qua non* of the court of Great Britain respecting Belgium. The right honourable gentleman says it may be recovered by force of arms; but what security is there that we shall not sink in our prospects upon that event, and that they will not rise in proportion as we sink? Amuse not the people of this country (continued Mr. Fox) by a delusive pretence, as you did by an amendment to get rid of an honourable friend of mine, and in which you stated to Europe that you would negotiate with France when its government was capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity with other powers.

These little artifices had had their ends;

ands; but these were times that required openness and candour. The plain question was, peace or war? However the minister might persuade the majority of the house that his wishes and inclinations bend towards peace; it would not be believed by the people, that the *sine qua non*, with regard to Belgium, would overbalance the assertions of members of parliament. The house had not the credit with the public nor did it deserve that credit, which former houses of commons had.

He then proceeded to make some remarks on the cause of breaking off the negotiation. Was the emperor (said he) a party to it? No; it was a *sine qua non*, made in a matter intended solely for the benefit of the Emperor, to which, nevertheless, he was not a party, and which we did not know whether he himself would insist upon! Surely this might have been known before the negotiation was entered upon; when we were so often sending such immense sums to the emperor, some persons employed in these offices might have asked the question—Had any done so?—No; and let any impartial man answer, if this was not a mockery of negotiation. But said the right honourable gentleman—Why did not the directory present a *contre-projet*?—To whom should they present it? Not to the emperor; for he was not a party, though every thing contained in our *projet* was for his benefit alone.

The people, indeed, (said Mr. Fox) who may come into the power of another people by chance of war, cannot, by the law of nations, be disposed of lawfully, till the definitive treaty of peace is concluded: but this was very different from a people who are left at liberty to choose a government for themselves,

and who voluntarily adopt the step of uniting themselves with their neighbours.

There was one thing very remarkable, that in all this negotiation, where almost every possession of all the parties had been taken notice of, the name of the valuable and important kingdom of Corsica had never appeared. Did ministers say, when they took it, "You may form a government of your own, and be a free people?" No; they sent a viceroy. Sir Gilbert Elliot went as representative of his majesty; cooked them up a constitution, half French, half English, and endeavoured to detach them entirely from any predilections in favour of French principles.

The French were and always have been represented by ministers as a horde of assassins. Suppose the Corsicans had chosen the king of Great Britain as their king, and entreated that they might not be given up to these assassins; would the right honourable gentleman have said, in a negotiation for peace, that Corsica was an object of restoration? Mr. Fox believed he would not; and may not the French use the same arguments respecting Belgium? On former occasions, when the conquests in the West Indies were mentioned as means of negotiation, the idea of *status quo ante bellum* was ridiculed. He particularly alluded to Martinique, which was not to be considered as a conquest in former wars; it was taken at the request of the inhabitants in it, who all desired to be taken under the protection of his Britannic majesty. Martinique was, however, mentioned in this negotiation; and the minister had gone off from his high language.

Peace, Mr. Fox affirmed, could not be obtained by a perseverance

in the present system; it must be changed. He was not one of those who wished to alter the constitution, but to reform it; to restore the voice of the people to that rank which it was entitled to hold in it; to make the opinion of the minister *nothing*; to see that of the people *all*. He was told, that they wished for a removal of the present minister: so did he; the country could not be saved without it; the people must chuse; it was time for them to stand forward, and by constitutional means renovate the constitution, which alone could rescue themselves and their posterity from inevitable ruin. Here he reflected upon the period of the American war; but the contemplation was painful. Men used then to say, —“It is all owing to the unreasonableness of the enemy that we do not obtain peace.” — Infatuated men! They were afterwards most fatally convinced of the folly of their arguments, and obliged to accept of terms far more against them than they might have obtained, had negotiations been offered long before they were. But what were the calamities then to what we have now to struggle with? What the prospect of extricating ourselves then to the present? To America we had little to give but independence, and the trouble of conciliating lost affection; to France, Spain, &c. mutual restitution. Now, we have no prospect but the continuance of the war; and the consequences were too dreadful to anticipate farther than he had done. One part, indeed, of the minister's political conduct he could not forbear to mention; his entrance into parliament: — it was towards the close of the American war. The right honourable gentleman began his career by opposing it most vehemently; and af-

ter the majority which had carried it on was put an end to, he complimented the Rockingham administration, and said, “You have destroyed the majority, but cannot be sure of having completed your purpose if you do not strike at the root of the evil. There must be a radical reform, otherwise ministers may, on future occasions, arise, who will again plunge the country into more bloody and expensive wars than even this.” The forebodings had been very fully and fatally accomplished. He himself had lived to become that very minister, whose anticipated misconduct he had so feelingly deplored; and no sooner became possessed of ministerial influence than he used it more liberally than his predecessors had ever done, not only to prevent reform, but to stab the constitution in every vein, and to plunge us into armaments and wars more prodigal of blood and treasure than ever had been known in history.

Mr. Fox concluded with moving, as an amendment, that this house had learnt, with inexpressible concern, that the negotiation for the restoration of peace had been unhappily frustrated. In so awful and important a crisis, the commons felt it their duty to speak to his majesty with that freedom and earnestness which became men anxious to preserve the honour of the crown and to secure the interests of the people; — they sincerely deplored that they were under the necessity of declaring they had reason to think the ministers were not sincere in their endeavours to restore the blessings of peace to this distressed country; for, on the one hand, they insisted on the restoration of the Netherlands, whilst the directory, with equal pertinacity, claimed that part of their conquests as a condition

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from which they could not depart;—that the house lamented the rashness and injustice of the ministers, whose misconduct had produced this embarrassing situation, by advising his majesty to refuse all negotiation for the adjustment of the then subsisting differences; although, at that time, the Netherlands, so far from being considered as an object of contest, were solemnly renounced, and the peace of Europe offered into his majesty's hands, upon the basis of that renunciation and the independence of Holland, whilst she preserved her neutrality towards France;—that this house had farther to regret, that soon after the commencement of the war, when Holland had been rescued from invasion, and the greater part of the Netherlands recovered for the emperor, when the princes of Europe continued firm in their alliances to Great Britain, the ministers did not avail themselves of this position for the negotiation of an honourable peace; but, on the contrary, refused to set it on foot, upon the arrogant and insulting pretence, that the French republic was not capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity amongst nations; and on this unfounded assumption had advised his majesty to continue the war, when the difficulties of peace had been so much encreased by the defection of most of the confederate powers, and by the conquests and consequent pretensions of the republic;—that this house, having submitted these reflections, felt themselves in duty bound, for the information of his majesty, and the satisfaction of an exhausted people, to proceed with diligence to investigate the causes which had produced their calamities, and to offer such advice as the alarming crisis of the nation now required.

Mr. secretary Dundas said, that this speech was the most mischievous which he ever heard come from an envenomed opposition. There was scarcely one topic contained in it which was not calculated to give encouragement to our enemies. In the good times of our forefathers, it never occurred to the most inflamed patriot to avail himself of his situation, as a member of parliament, to plead the cause of the enemy in the manner the French republic had been applauded that night. The right honourable gentleman's present amendment was a very fair one: he called upon the house to make a declaration, that they believed ministers to have been insincere. For his own part, he was ready to make his appeal to the house; and upon that issue, he would call upon the members, as honest men, to give their opinion, whether they thought ministers had omitted any measures that might have procured peace for the country. He agreed that the expences of this war were very great, but our *success*! was equal to it; and there was not a foreign possession belonging to the enemy that we had not taken, except one island; and all these were offered to be surrendered as a compensation for what was to be restored to our allies. The emperor's and our situation were thrown into one common stock: we were willing to relinquish our acquisitions, to procure him the restitution of the territories he had lost. With respect to Holland and his declaration concerning the Cape of Good Hope, when he urged the retaining of it, he was consulting the dearest interests of the country, without injuring those of any other power; and if Ceylon should be wrested from our hands, he should regret it as the greatest calamity: but it never was his design to take from

from Holland its trade to the Cape, from the actual possession of which she could derive no benefit; for the Dutch East India company was too weak to keep it at that great expence which was necessary.

With respect to the Austrian Netherlands, which had engaged the attention of this country nearly three hundred years, the importance of the subject was recorded in the journals of the house. He would appeal to the old French monarchy for the truth of the assertion, that one acre of land in the Austrian Netherlands was worth a whole province in France. He wished to impress this upon the house before they adopted the propositions of the right honourable gentleman, that they might see how necessary it was for his majesty to demand as a condition, that they should be evacuated by France. He wished also to ask Mr. Fox what other conclusion was France to draw from his proposition, but that the republic had the greatest right to retain the Netherlands with obstinacy? Facts would best show which party had been wanting in a real desire to promote peace. Did the French in any period come forward to negotiate, and were refused by us? No; the contrary was the truth. We had regularly used every means, from the note of Mr. Wickham, at Basle, to the late mission of lord Malmesbury, to bring about so desirable an event; but without success. There was a pertinacity about the French government which precluded, except in appearance only, all overtures for peace, which it is conceived they did not wish, by the obstacles they put in the way of its completion.

Mr. Dundas then requested, that gentlemen would not suffer their opinions to be led away from the real question by the sophistry of Mr.

Fox, which did not merely tend to lead from the question, but in its eventual application to strengthen the hands of our enemies, by giving delusive statements of our real situation; and concluded by solemnly calling upon the house, if they conceived the administration had acted with the duplicity with which they were charged, to pass a vote of censure upon them, and inflict a heavy punishment; but let it be unmixed with any other matter.

Mr. Grey replied to several points mentioned by Mr. Dundas; and after paying some high compliments to Mr. Fox, as to his disinterestedness in his political character, hoped he should one day see him possessing that situation which the present holder had manifested his inability to maintain. He thought it probable that the people of England would one day declare, whether those who regularly had supported every administration, the prosecution of every war, and the accumulation of every tax, were its best friends, or those who opposed those measures, though unfortunately in a minority. He insisted that the fundamental evil from which all our misfortunes flowed, was, that peace never had been the real object of those who carried on the war. They went upon a system of extermination; and by these means our enemies were so irritated, that there was danger we should never come to an amicable conclusion.

Mr. Grey remarked, that the right honourable gentleman had made an erroneous statement, when he informed the house that the British had conquered every foreign possession belonging to the French but one; he must have forgotten the isle of Bourbon, Cayenne, and several others of consequence, still in their possession.

He proceeded to take a review of
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lord Malmesbury's letter to lord Grenville; and contended that M. Delacroix's proposition of offering an equivalent to the emperor for the Netherlands, in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and several bishoprics in Germany and Italy, might be considered as a *contre-projet*, and ought to have been attended to. However we might wish the Netherlands should remain in the possession of the emperor, the most sanguine expectations of ministers could not lead them to hope they could be regained by force.

He considered the proposition of retaining the most important possessions of our former ally, Holland, as a most profligate trait in the late negotiation. The offer of restoring Martinique and Pondicherry only (for St. Lucia and Tobago were to be kept as an equivalent for our supposed claims on St. Domingo) for all the conquests made by France on the emperor was a most extravagant proposition. He called upon the house to reflect on the state of the country, the burden of taxes which must be imposed on the people, the torrents of blood that would flow, and the millions of lives that must be lost, if the war were prosecuted. The house divided: for the amendment 37—against it 212.

Not disheartened by this defeat, but, on the contrary, encouraged by the general clamour for peace which prevailed through every part of the kingdom, the minority still persisted in their endeavours for the restoration of that invaluable blessing. On the 23d of March, the earl of Oxford called the attention of the upper house to a motion of which he had given notice some time before: "Peace (said his lordship) is so imperiously demanded by the circumstances of the country, that every

independent lord must be desirous of contributing to its attainment: the voice of the country demands it; and attainable it is, if sought for with a sincere intention." To prove that the government of France was no less disposed to enter into an amicable negotiation, his lordship proceeded to read a few extracts from the papers which had been submitted to the house at the conclusion of the late negotiation. In note 2 to Mr. Wickham, was this passage: "The directory *ardently desires* to procure for the republic a *just, honourable, and solid peace*. The step taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded the directory a *real satisfaction*, if the declaration which that minister makes, of his not having *any order, any powers to negotiate*, did not give room to *doubt* the sincerity of the pacific intentions of his court." Again, in No. 7, which contained an extract from the register of decrees of the executive directory, were these words: "The executive directory, upon consideration of the note addressed to the minister for foreign affairs, by lord Grenville, dated Westminster, Sept. 24, 1796—*wishing to give a proof of their desire to make peace with England*, decrees, "That the minister is charged to deliver passports to the envoy of England, who shall be furnished with powers, not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for *concluding it between them*." And again: "The directory *sees with pain*, that, at the moment when it had hoped for the *speedy return of peace*, the proposal of lord Malmesbury offers but dilatory or distant means of bringing the negotiation to a conclusion. Nevertheless, the directory, *animated with an ardent desire of putting a stop to the war*, declares, that as soon

as lord Malmesbury shall exhibit sufficient powers from the allies of Great Britain for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise on their part to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their name, the directory will hasten to give an answer to their propositions, and the *difficulties shall be removed*, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the republic."

His lordship concluded from all this, that the directory was disposed to peace, but determined to reserve the Rhine for the boundary of France; it had power to do it, and we none to prevent it. We must, therefore, either make peace on these terms, or persist in war, to our own destruction. He therefore moved, that an address might be presented, to represent to his majesty, that in the present alarming situation of the country the house considered it to be its duty to apprise him of his own danger and of the ruin which threatened the nation.

That the shock which had been given lately to public credit*, must deprive us of those means whereby we were enabled to hold our rank amongst nations, unless we were relieved from our present enormous expenditure, by an *immediate, sincere, and lasting peace*.

That the house saw with concern, that the late negotiation was broken off by the conduct and demands of his majesty's ministers, and not by want of disposition for peace on the part of the French.

That in answer to the note delivered by Mr. Wickham, the directory declared, that, "Yielding to the ardent desire to procure peace, it would not fear to express itself

openly; charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, it could not make or listen to any proposal which would be contrary to them; the constitutional act did not permit it to consent to any alienation of that which, according to the laws, constituted the territory of the republic."

That it was impossible his majesty's ministers could have misunderstood this declaration; for in the note dated Downing-street were these words: "To a demand such as this, is added a declaration, that no proposal contrary to it will be made or listened to."

That six months after the ministers again made overtures for peace, but in so ungracious a manner that their sincerity might reasonably be questioned, and demanded as their *finis qua non* those very terms which, before they began their negotiation, they knew would be refused.

That under all these circumstances, the house humbly and earnestly entreated his majesty to enter into a negotiation, upon such terms as France would be likely to listen and accede to, and in such a manner as would leave no doubt of a pacific intention.

And the house begged leave to assure his majesty, that it would entertain no doubt of the success of such a negotiation, and would feel confidence after the restoration of peace, that such wise regulations might be adopted by the legislature, as would relieve the people from their burdens; remove every complaint of unequal representation; restore their ancient constitution; and ensure to his majesty the affections of his subjects, the glory, prosperity and happiness of his future reign.

* The stoppage of specie at the bank, to be noticed in a succeeding chapter.

On the question being put, lord Grenville observed, that it was quite needless to reply in detail to the very extraordinary string of propositions just now read. He moved, that the address of the 30th of December last might be read, which contained every argument against that part of the motion suggested by his lordship: and it would be seen, that so far from the negotiation for peace being terminated by this country, it had been insolently and abruptly broken off by the government of France. The address above-mentioned was accordingly read by the clerk; on which the duke of Norfolk said, that he wished this address might go to the throne, for without the adoption of such a motion, there was little probability of obtaining peace: he feared the terms of any such treaty would be of a more disadvantageous nature than what might be expected if committed to other hands; considering the manner in which the present ministers had carried on the war, as well as entered into negotiations for peace.

The secretary of state had grounded his opposition to the motion on its inconsistency with the address of December last; but was there any thing to prevent a grave assembly from re-considering its former resolutions, and more especially as new motives had since occurred which respected the commercial credit of the country, and affected its ability to carry on the war. He condemned the conduct of administration in shackling lord Malmesbury, when he was sent to treat, especially considering that France was pre-determined at all events not to part with Belgium. He charged them with indulging a spirit of intrigue, when the welfare not only of this but other nations of Europe was concerned, and thought that it should

be understood on what principles this country was disposed to make peace. Administration was much to blame in risking the events of war, by refusing to treat for peace after the taking of Valenciennes; since which time, those events had turned in favour of the enemy. France had as good a right to retain Belgium, as this country Canada in 1763, or the Cape of Good Hope in any treaty which might now be entered upon.

The earl of Morton deemed it incumbent on himself to resist the motion: it was inconsistent with the dignity of the proceedings of the house for their lordships to agree to the proposed address, after having so recently adopted the resolution just read by the clerk.

The duke of Norfolk replied, that peace was necessary for the existence of the country; but there was no ground of expecting a good one from the present ministers.

The earl of Morton pressed the house to recollect, that the French had not only broken off the negotiation for peace, but originally commenced the war; we were not the aggressors.

The marquis of Lansdowne lamented to see a motion of such importance passed over in the shuffling way in which the ministers seemed inclined to treat it. What a reference (he said) to the 30th of December! as if that were an answer. That address had been hurried through the house with indecent haste, to say no more of it. Time had not been given to noble lords at any distance to come and attend it: he, for one, was so prevented: surely he ought not to be implicated by that address, obtained in such a manner. After the measures of distress to which we had lately been obliged to recur, we ought not to adhere

adhere to the determination of December 30 or of any former period.

What was our actual situation? Every moment encreased our difficulties, and every moment of delay would still encrease them. It was idle, after the shock given to public credit, to talk of half-measures; nothing short of making bank-notes a legal tender, with all the calamities incident to this step, could be effectual: the minister must know this, and only waited perhaps to have the call from the public; if so, he was ready, for one, to make the call, and share in the responsibility of the measure: that alone could give us time to look about us. To retrench from the smallest fee up to the highest emolument; to cut the skirts of every office, and to save in every department; how was this to be done but by peace? He professed himself to have no ambition to be the maker of that peace; ministers had reduced the country to a state which made the office un-enviable to any man: at the same time he did not despair of his country; but the longer the system of war was pursued, the difficulties in the way of peace would be encreased: it was by retrieving the balance of trade, by reviving commerce, by restoring public confidence, and, above all, by peace, that the dangers which threatened us were to be averted. He wished the present ministers might accomplish this point; but if they avowed that they knew not how, it would become them to surrender the task to those who did. He referred to the correspondence of lord Malmesbury, and observed, it was impossible to form a right judgment of the steps taken in that negotiation, when only a part of that correspondence was laid before the house, and the instructions and intentions of ministers

were kept back: without this knowledge, it was impossible to say which was the unreasonable party; but if it could be proved by the documents to be the enemy, it would unite the hearts and hands of the people in this country.

Lord Borringdon declared, he had no doubts of the sincerity of the ministers in the late negotiation; the charge of the want of it, fell upon the directory. He did not at all approve of the motion, which tended to depress the spirit of the people; nor of the words of it, which resembled that of the minutes of the executive directory, more than the language of the British house of peers.

The earl of Guildford said, his majesty's ministers still pertinaciously adhered to the opinion held on the 30th of December; and the public were to understand, that they had resolved not to enter upon any negotiation which should not make Belgium a *sine qua non*, and they had called upon the house to support them in that determination. He, who during the whole course of the war had questioned their sincerity in negotiating, must own that they were consistent in acting upon the address of December; since they had by that method secured themselves from the means of attaining peace, and called upon the house to declare that they would not negotiate for any which they were likely to obtain.

Earl Spencer resented the idea that ministers were not sincere in their wishes for peace. A reference to the papers would show, that the proposals were not given as an *ultimatum*; they gave none whatever, though called upon in a most unprecedented manner by the French government. He thought the adoption of the motion would retard in-

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stead of accelerating peace; it would prove to France, and to Europe, that we were willing to make it upon any terms.

The earl of Guildford replied, that lord Malmesbury, though he desired M. Delacroix to suggest a *contre-projet*, had expressly made the surrender of Belgium a *sine qua non*. Now if he understood diplomatic language, a *sine qua non* was an *ultimatum*.

The earl of Oxford rose, and said, that the only intelligible argument which had been employed against his motion was, that it exposed the distresses of the country to the enemy. He demanded whether his motion was likely to do this in any comparison with the order of the council, which the ministers had recently issued, and the sentence thereby issued against our credit and nation? My lords (said he), I must not be told that this address is improper to be carried to the throne, when there is not a sentiment in it, that I have not taken from the very words of his majesty: and the best reply I can make, will be to read a few passages from his most gracious and admired speech, at the close of the American war.

“ My lords and gentlemen, —

“ Since the close of the last session, I have employed my whole time in the care which the critical conjuncture of public affairs required. I lost no time in prohibiting the farther prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North-America; adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and people: I have pointed all my views, as well in Europe as in America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with these colonies.

“ Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I have offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article in the treaty of peace.

“ In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinions of my people.”

Here my lords (continued his lordship) you see his majesty giving up America, and sacrificing every consideration of his own to the interests of his people: and am I to be told that Belgium is of more importance than America?—To the house of commons his majesty says, —

“ I have endeavoured to diminish the burdens of my people by every measure in my power: I have introduced a better economy into the expenditure of the army: I have carried into execution the reductions in my civil-list expences, directed by an act in the last sessions. I have suppressed several sinecure places in other departments, and so regulated my establishments, that my expences shall not exceed my income.

“ I must recommend to you an immediate attention to the great objects of public receipts and expenditure, and, above all, the public debt.

“ It is to be hoped that such regulations may be established, such savings made, and future loans conducted as to promote its gradual redemption, by a fixed mode of payment. I must distinguish that part of the debt which consists of navy, ordnance, and victualling bills; the enormous discount upon them, shews this mode of payment to be a most ruinous expenditure.

“ I have ordered the several estimates to be laid before you; it is my desire that you should be apprised of every expence before it is incurred, as far as the nature of the service

service will possibly admit. Matters of account can never be made too public. The regulation of a vast territory in Asia opens a large field for your wisdom, prudence, and foresight."

The earl of Oxford then proceeded to declare, he trembled for the fate of India: it would ere long be lost to England. And where was the wisdom of ministers respecting that country? From our blind confidence in them, alas! we should live to see that vast and glorious empire fall into pieces in their hands!

The duke of Bedford said: Before they proceeded to the question, he must advert to two or three things that had been thrown out. The noble marquis was correctly informed respecting the indecent haste with which the address of the house, on the 30th of December, had been obtained. He himself had found reason at the time to complain of the manner in which it was hurried through, and in which the house had been surprised into that address; but under whatever circumstances it had been carried, and however adopted, it was certainly no argument against re-consideration.

The duke went into the examination of the correspondence as laid upon the table, and contended, that when they called for a *contre-projet*, they expressly had declared that the surrender of Belgium was a *sine qua non*. But what demonstrated the insincerity of ministers was, their not investing their ambassador with intelligible powers; he was incessantly dispatching couriers for instructions; when called upon to present his terms, he had none to offer, and at length made a *sine qua non* of a matter which they had previously declared they would not concede as a principle. They proved their insincerity by not adopting an attain-

able ground, and assuming practicable principles: they now declared, that they adhered to the same terms. He believed in his conscience, that they could not negotiate a peace upon so good terms as the nation had a right to expect, and as other persons of more truth and of more capacity were likely to obtain.

The earl of Carlisle lamented the degeneracy of the times, which were now so changed, as to make an address of gratitude and loyalty a matter of charge and suspicion. When he was young, no time was lost in approaching the throne with thanks. He professed upon his honour to believe that ministers were sincere in their wishes for peace, nor could he conceive a reason for them to be otherwise.

The duke of Bedford reminded the noble earl, that this memorable address was voted at a season of the year when the noble lords were in the country, and there were not more peers present than the number of creations during the present administration. With respect to the sincerity of ministers, if he was not convinced from the tenor of the late negotiation, he despaired of convincing him.

The marquis of Lansdowne reminded his lordship, that he had himself been sent on an embassy of peace to America, and doubts were entertained, to this day, of the sincerity of the mission.

Lord Grenville did not know in what diplomatic dictionary noble lords had found that a *sine qua non* was synonymous to an *ultimatum*. He had never found them so in all his researches. The noble duke had asserted, that the ministers could not make so good a peace as others; and his speeches, for the last four years, went to insinuate the incapacity of ministers for their situations, and their

their insincerity. The house, however, thought otherwise; and not only the house, but the kingdom, could never be brought to think that the proper persons to make peace were persons agreeable to the enemy.

The duke of Bedford said, no man who knew him would imagine he had any personal views to himself; the present was not a moment when any wise man would covet office.

The marquis of Lansdowne remarked, that the men proper to make peace were not the men whom the enemy might like, but the men whom they could trust: it was not favour which an enemy demanded, but candour; and in this the ministers of England were notoriously deficient.

The question was then put, and the house divided. Contents 16, non contents 52.

On Thursday, the 30th of March, the house being assembled, the earl of Oxford rose, and complained, that the day after he had made his motion for the address to his majesty in favour of peace, he had gone to the office to enter his protest against the resolution of the house on that motion: that he was there informed that his address had not been entered on the Journals, lord Kenyon having taken it away with him. This he conceived to be a breach of privilege; and would hope, as such, their lordships would notice it. He therefore moved, "That the lord chancellor, in taking away the motion of any lord, so that the same cannot be entered on the journals of the house, is a high breach of privilege; and that lord Kenyon, acting as pro-chancellor, having taken away the motion of the earl of Oxford, made on the 23d of March, 1797, has been guilty of a high breach of privilege, and that he be censured for the same."

1797.

The bishop of Rochester moved, that the standing order of Nov. 1777 should be read, which was done; the purport of which was, "that any lord of that house, publishing the proceedings of the same without leave of their lordships, would be guilty of a high breach of privilege."

The reverend prelate said, that instead of the motion made by the earl of Oxford, he expected one of a totally different nature; he expected him to have moved, that a high breach of privilege had been committed by the printer and publisher of a certain news-paper, containing a miserable publication gone abroad, containing a protest against the resolution of that house, for an address in favour of peace: that he had a paper in his hand, called the *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, which not only contained such protest, but the editor's comments on that proceeding: the reverend prelate considered it to be one of the most audacious and impudent insertions that ever was made, and as such deserved the attention of the noble earl whose name had been attached to so infamous a publication. He then adverted to some parts of the protest, and particularly the following:

"Sixthly, Because, whenever a nation is in the situation we are at present, it requires the united energy and public spirit of the whole nation to re-establish its credit; and energy and public spirit are only to be obtained by the public possessing their ancient free constitution; and according to the true spirit of it, which is founded in wisdom, liberty, and justice, the people of Great Britain have a right and ought to be fairly and equally represented in that which by its very name is *their* house of parliament."

The news-paper editor, who had conveyed this insolent doctrine to the

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view of the public, under the sanction of the noble earl's name, had, speaking of the people of this country, made use of the expression, that they ought to be fairly represented in *that* which is, by its very name, *their* house of parliament.

He conceived it to be the KING's parliament, and not the parliament of the people; and was surprised that the noble earl had, in the course of the second session he had ever sat in parliament, brought forward such a motion.

The marquis of Townsend coincided with the reverend prelate as to the sketches which were daily made in the news-papers, and which he allowed were remarkable for conveying the most barefaced falsehoods. He professed himself to be a friend to the liberty of the press; but these abuses ought to be, if possible, prevented. At the same time he could not agree, "that the parliament was the KING's parliament, and not the parliament of the people." He had derived his seat from a long line of ancestors, and had always been taught to believe that it was the parliament of the nation,

of which the king formed only a component; though certainly the highest, part. His lordship said a few words of a conciliatory nature, respecting the motion.

The bishop of Rochester said it was not his wish to argue the point with the marquis upon the nature and constitution of the parliament; but he could not recede from his opinion of the parliament "was convened at the will and pleasure of the king; it was prorogued at his will; and it was dissolved when, and so often, as he thought proper." Could any thing be more convincing that it was the KING's parliament? As to the motion now before the house, the only reason that he did not move their lordships against the printer of this infamous libel was, because he had reason to think that persons of much higher rank and consequence (looking at lord Oxford) would be found to be implicated in the charge. The house was cleared, but no division took place; the earl of Oxford standing alone*.

A further attempt was made on the 10th of April by Mr. Pollen in the house of commons. After regretting

* ADDRESS TO THE NATION.

Pottman-Square, March 27, 1797.

IT was my intention to have entered my protest on the journals of the house of lords the day after I moved my address to his majesty for peace; and for that purpose I went to the clerk's office, and to my utter surprise I found that my address had never been entered upon the journals. Upon inquiry I was informed that lord Kenyon had taken it home with him. I wish at all events that the public should be in possession of my protest, and I hereby pledge myself to my country and to the house of lords, that I will this day, in my place, in that house, demand the fullest reparation for this insult, offered through one to the whole house, in this illegal and unprecedented manner.

PROTEST.

Dissentient, first, Because seeing no means of salvation for this country but by an immediate, sincere, and lasting peace, I think the address, which I moved, March 23, 1797, calculated to produce that happy event; and that a refusal to carry that address to the throne, tends to a continuation of this cruel war, which I hold to be certain and inevitable ruin.

Secondly, Because a secretary of state's moving, that an address to his majesty on the 30th of December, 1796, should be read, is a poor, weak, and rude manner (to say no worse of it) of answering the arguments advanced in my address.

Thirdly, Because I believe that the arguments advanced by me have never before been touched upon, even in debates, and no attempts having been made to answer those arguments, the conclusion which the public must draw from it is, that they are perfectly unanswerable.

Fourthly,

gretting that the good of the public was so frequently sacrificed to the illiberality of party-spirit, by the purposes of self-interest, by those whose abilities were splendid, he proceeded to state the situation of the country, and thought, that, at the present crisis, every hand ought to be active in its service, and every heart anxious for its welfare.

Having commenced the war in concert with several of the most powerful nations in Europe, we were deserted almost by all our former friends, and had to contend against some who had been our allies; instead of carrying our arms to the enemy's door, we were in daily terror of an hostile invasion: instead of calculating upon the ruin of our adversaries' finances, we were to attend to the restoration of our own credit, and the preservation of our own independence. He was convinced that the people of France were as earnest in their wishes for

peace as those of Great-Britain. It might be asked, if they were so desirous of it, why they did not carry their complaints to the bar of the directory, and demand redress? To this he would reply, that they were taught to consider the ambition of England as the sole cause of the war, and that to her thirst of aggrandisement the happiness of Europe was sacrificed: and would a British house of commons permit that England should be branded as the interested author of all the calamities abroad in the world? England! the bright example of regular government, and salutary regulations! But not only her character, but her interests were at stake. Public credit was shaken to its very centre, and only peace could restore it. It had been said, that the French nation was not sufficiently tranquillised, nor their government possessed of stability enough to ensure a permanent

Fourthly, Because it was my sincere wish that the eyes of his majesty should be opened to the dangers with which he is surrounded, and that giving peace, to his exhausted subjects, and restoring to them their rights, should be his own gracious act.

Fifthly, Because I have the highest authority for every sentiment respecting the "economy and reform of abuses" which I recommended, namely, his majesty's own words, in that most excellent and patriotic speech made at the close of the American war, and which I quoted in my reply.

Sixthly, Because whenever a nation is in the situation we are in at present, it requires the united energy and public spirit of the whole nation to re-establish its credit, and I am persuaded that energy and public spirit are only to be obtained by the public possessing their ancient free constitution, which they so justly revere; and I maintain that according to common law, which is common sense, and according to "the true spirit of the constitution," which is founded in wisdom, liberty, and justice, the people of Great Britain have a right, and ought, to be fairly and equally represented in that which, by its very name, is *their* house of parliament.

Seventhly, Because I hold the Borough system, and every other system of corruption that has of late years crept into practice, to be directly contrary to the true spirit of the constitution, and big with the most alarming evils to king and people; and that to confer the honour of peerage on men who have no other merit than that of commanding boroughs, and performing ministerial jobs, degrades that high dignity, and takes away one of the greatest motives that actuate the human mind, the hope of reward, by making it unworthy the acceptance of those men for whom it was intended; men who have rendered great and distinguished services to their country by their valour, their talents, or their learning.

Eighthly, Because I am desirous of making this avowal of my principles, which nothing on earth shall make me alter, and which I have learnt from the acts and writings of our ancestors, who loved liberty, and understood it.

Ninthly, Because I am resolved, whenever I see danger, *boldly and independently*, to the full extent of my ability, to discharge my duty to my king and country.

OXFORD and MORTIMER.

peace:

peace: but his majesty had declared it to be capable of maintaining the relations of amity: and if any doubted it, he would ask if they wished to continue the contest till the French government was completely consolidated, or till a system was established on its overthrow? Mr. Pollen then advised gentlemen to read the debates in the council of five hundred, and to learn moderation from the speeches of Dumas and Dumolard. He referred to the message sent to the directory, demanding of that body an explanation of what they called an incendiary debarkation of prisoners upon our coasts: a measure which they reprobated as inconsistent with the laws of war. And if these were the sentiments of justice by which a French assembly was guided, would the house of commons of Great-Britain be less inclined to the exercise of these dispositions? He trusted that they would not. It might (he said) be remarked, that he was one of those who voted for the address to the king, on the failure of the late negotiation; and that his present motion implied an inconsistency of conduct.

But at that time he acknowledged that he had placed unreserved confidence in ministers, because he thought they deserved it; but the face of things was widely different now: the bank of England had not then stopped payment! and in this short sentence was concluded a vast mass of calamity. But when the credit of the country was gone, and when he thought of his brethren, sinking in the putrid urns of Western pestilence, there was no wonder he should wish for a termination of a system from whence these evils flowed.

Mr. Pollen proceeded to read an abstract from a paper contained in the *Rédacteur* of the 24th of December last, which he considered as the

official sentiments of the directory on the late negotiation.

Taken from the Rédacteur three days after Lord Malmesbury's departure from Paris.

The directory positively asserts, that the war on their part has been a *defensive*, and not an *offensive* one; and that peace is the only object of their wishes.

In enumerating the strong reasons they had for suspecting the sincerity of the mission, they particularly mentioned, that lord Malmesbury proposed a *vague principle of compensation*, without any articles of *reciprocal* restitution, whilst their *specific demands* he only answered by evasion. They referred to the delays of messengers, and a private secretary sent to London; the want of signature to two memorials sent in by his lordship; and when the *ultimatum* was demanded peremptorily, what did it contain?

1st. Restitution to the emperor of all his territories as before the war, consequently Belgium.

2dly. The total annihilation of every treaty made by France with the princes of the German empire, as being fundamentally inadmissible, and contrary to the *jus publicum imperii*.

3dly. The complete evacuation of Italy, including Savoy and Nice.

4thly. A reservation in favour of Russia, by which that court may interfere, *at its pleasure*, as a contracting party for the peace.

5thly. The same to Portugal, by which France is to be precluded from demanding a sum of money as the price of peace from that court.

6thly. Great Britain contests the validity of the cession by Spain to the Republic of the Spanish part of Domingo, as contrary to the peace of Utrecht.

7thly.

7thly. The restitution of the property of the emigrants forfeited or sold is indirectly demanded, though in terms so ambiguous, as to leave matter for endless discussion.

The second memorial. — For Holland, the British minister demands a restoration of its antient form of government, the annihilation of treaties between France and the Batavian republic, and lastly, the restoration of the *Stadtholder*. And what did England offer as the price of these concessions? A partial restitution of the Dutch colonies, reserving to herself the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon. Finally, if France would not annul her treaties with the Batavian republic, she was to make over to the emperor all that Holland had ceded to France in the late treaty between the two countries.

After reading the paper, Mr. Pollen observed, that its allegations were either founded upon fact, or they were not; if they were, the negotiation ought to be resumed on fair and candid principles; if they were not, the best mode of displaying the justice of the English government, would be to publish a counter-declaration, stating the grounds on which the war was carried on. He called on one side of the house, to show to the public that it was not opposition to the minister, but the interest of the nation, which they studied; and to the other, not to defend the minister but their country; and on both, to co-operate in delivering it from its present difficulties. He concluded with moving an address to his majesty, representing that his faithful commons were of opinion, that his late benign endeavours to restore peace had failed of their effect, either from misconception of the French government, or from the terms being ill explained to

them: and, therefore, they besought him to adopt such measures as might tend to vindicate the sincerity of his majesty's desire for the re-establishment of peace in the eyes of Europe. The motion was seconded by sir John Macpherson, and opposed by major Elford.

Mr. chancellor Pitt said, that when he observed the terms of the motion itself, and compared them with the situation of the country at the moment when it was brought forward, it was only necessary for him to show that no practical benefit could arise from it, or from the arguments by which it was supported. Every evil of war was, or ought to be, viewed on the comparison of alternatives, and the wisest mode of preventing an accumulation of them, would be by investigating their causes, and enquiring whether the immediate evil was preferable to the more remote, and whether the present danger would obviate a severer calamity in future. Without such comparison, fruitless lamentations over the distresses incident to such a state were enough to over-rule any exertions of any country, however justifiable and necessary its exertions might be.

He begged leave to tell the honourable gentleman that a peace did not depend upon the earnestness of his desires for it, nor upon the declarations of the house, which were more likely to frustrate than accelerate this object; but it depended upon the operations of the executive government, the disposition of the enemy, and the posture of affairs. By the quotations from the *Rédacteur*, he had misrepresented the whole proceedings of the negotiation; for by passing over some circumstances, and perverting others, he had inferred that the directory were conscious, if they published that declaration as the

true state of the case, the ministers of this country could not afterwards appeal to the judgment of their countrymen.

That the directory had misrepresented the intentions and terms of this country was evident; and after treating the overtures as they did, it would surely be a singular ground for parliament to form any proceedings upon, and expose the nation to a fresh insult. But above all, to refuse a declaration which had no authority to prove it official, by a manifesto, would be most absurd, and would encourage the enemy to defeat our measures for restoring tranquillity.

Mr. Pitt affirmed that no opportunities had been omitted, and the best modes had been adopted, unsuccessful as they had been, for this purpose; and ended with informing the house, that in consequence of dispatches received from Vienna (which brought advice that the enemy had made overtures for a separate peace with his imperial majesty, which he had rejected, because he would not enter into any negotiation without Great Britain), his majesty would send a confidential person to Vienna, with instructions to conduct negotiations in concert with his allies. After having said so much, Mr. Pitt thought the honourable gentleman should withdraw his motion, rather than persevere in a measure which would tend to defeat the end it proposed.

Colonel Porter disavowed all confidence in ministers; Mr. Pitt had come down to the house describing the flourishing state of the finances, and in a few weeks we were found to be in a situation little short of bankruptcy. He distrusted their sincerity in any negotiation which they might undertake, and considered the present as a bugbear to delude the public; at all events the

motion could do no harm, and should have his support.

Mr. Addington had flattered himself, that after what had passed during the debate, the motion would have been withdrawn; but as that had not been the case, he should make some observations. The motion had been founded upon the statements of a French paper, whether with or without the authority of the directory was not known: the two grounds contained in that paper, were the origin of the war which was attributed to the British ministry, and the insincerity of the British government in its overtures for peace.

In the year 1792, Mr. Addington said, *this country enjoyed a state of prosperity almost unrivalled*, our commerce and our manufactures flourished, and there could be no doubt that no man could be more interested for the preservation of peace than the chancellor of the exchequer, because its interruption must tend to frustrate those financial arrangements in which he was so successfully employed. The unwillingness of ministers to interfere in the contest was incontrovertibly manifested, in the month of May in that year, by their making a material reduction in the naval and military establishments.

Some important events which then happened, could not but make a strong impression upon the government; the defeat of the Prussian army, and the events of the 10th of August, were not sufficient to induce ministers to alter their system; but after the battle of Jemmappe, when the empire was threatened, and after the decree relative to the Scheldt, they could no longer consider themselves as indifferent spectators, but began to prepare for what might happen. The convention, placing confidence in the

the declarations of the jacobin societies in this country, declared war against it. It had been stated, with triumph, that we now were forced to adopt that very conduct which we formerly had rejected: but was there no difference between the present government of France and those which existed formerly?

He would do the gentlemen on the other side of the house the justice to say, that if they really were of opinion that we could have avoided the war, or had rejected any fair occasions of procuring peace, they had been consistent in their conduct; for they regularly every session brought forward motions expressive of these sentiments. But was France now what France was then? At one period when the motion of peace was made, the faction of Robespierre prevailed; at another, the convention had just declared that they would make peace with Holland but not with England. It was then they avowed that treaties might and sometimes ought to be violated. This was first broached by M. Brissot, and this was the season chosen for the second motion for peace. He desired to know by which of the governing powers of France any disposition for it had been shown, from Barrere, Robespierre, Tallien, or the directory. During that which was called the moderate period, after the destruction of Robespierre, many persons entertained hopes that they would manifest a desire for it; he never was of that opinion, for the same system of resentment was displayed against this country. When the separate peace was made with Prussia, the reporter stated to the convention that they had made it separately, in obedience to their orders. If any further proof was necessary, let us look to their last campaign, when

it was their object to compel the emperor to a separate peace, and with the same view was their last offer to that monarch. These offers were rejected with a magnanimity that did the highest honour to the faith of our ally—of that ally whom we had been called upon to desert!

It was needless to recal to the recollection of the house the proposal of Mr. Wickham, or the negotiation of lord Malmesbury, of which last he should only remark, that the French had never contradicted that statement; and if we were to make any application under the present circumstances, the enemy might suppose we were driven to it from the recent occurrences at the bank.

It had been said that the members of that house had lost the confidence of their constituents: how did that appear? was it from doing too little or too much? for ministers had been accused of both. He conceived this country to be possessed of abundant wealth, notwithstanding our temporary embarrassments; and we had only to act with spirit, and we should find ourselves strong and rich: on the other hand, if we displayed unreasonable parsimony or pusillanimity, we should find ourselves both weak and poor, and he hoped they would not adopt such shallow policy as would tend to degrade the dignity and the character of the country. It had been asked what had been gained by the war? He answered, it was a defensive war, and therefore this was not a proper question. But we had retained our character, achieved great conquests, and made a discovery of easy means of preserving internal tranquillity. We had nearly destroyed the marine of France, and given a severe blow to that of Spain; we had in a great

degree stopped those dangerous principles which were abroad, and secured our honour, our liberty, and, he trusted, our constitution. Upon these grounds he should move the order of the day.

Mr. Fox, in a speech of considerable length, reprobated the proceedings of the minister, who, after having had so large a share in producing the present calamities, persisted in desiring the confidence of the house in his measures. He is ever (said Mr. Fox) the same character, though he comes before you in different shapes. When he is called upon by those who are most willing to trust him, to take some step conducive to peace, he comes forward with a promise that he will do it; nay, that he is actually doing it. Promises you have had from him in abundance, but not one of them has been fulfilled. We are now told that a gentleman is going to Vienna, the object of whose mission was to be explained to the house this evening: but had it been explained? No: yet upon this mere declaration, the minister expects you to stop at once in the performance of your public duty. But it seems he is going on the subject of peace, and under this general view (supposing his employers to be sincere) he would go with the unanimous wish of the country—but he had some doubts of the sincerity, and feared it would resemble that which took place when the French arms were victorious, when the situation of the emperor was critical, as admitted by all; desperate, as thought by many. Some persons chose to forget dates of these events, because, when lord Malmsbury went to Paris, the French had met with some defeat. That we were more prosperous then, than we had been

some time before, was true; but when the measure was taken which led to that embassy, we were in a situation most disastrous.

Mr. Fox said, he would not question, because he could not prove, how far the minister was sincere when he adopted that measure; but he was inclined to think that he was sincere in his endeavours to make peace when it was impossible to make a good one. But there was another point to be considered with respect to that embassy; it took place when a loan was to be obtained, and he continued at Paris till it was concluded. We are now at a period when the French have been victorious, and the emperor's situation desperate, and we are now to negotiate a loan, and are called to confide in the professions of the minister, who tells us, "do not put difficulties in my way by your interference, it is a principle that the house of commons should confide in the executive government when they are to negotiate for peace."

As a general principle he did not dissent from this; but the question was not, whether any minister should have the confidence of the house, but whether the present minister under the present circumstances deserved it. Then came the common-place argument, that every minister must be interested in obtaining peace: was not lord North in the same situation during the last war? Had not every minister been in it? What then was there peculiar in the character or situation of the present minister which could lead us to suppose he was more sincere in his professions than another? Upon the occasion to which Mr. Fox said he alluded, the present minister had said, he should be ready to negotiate whenever the enemy

enemy should appear capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity.—What happened then?—He prevailed upon the house to do then, what he asks them to do now.—Confide in his sincerity! The house did not interfere as it ought to have done with its authority, but did what it ought not to have done—*confided* in the idea, that a negotiation would soon take place; none, however, was attempted, and after a considerable period, when it was attempted, failed. The subject came to be discussed in the house; and we were told, that after every means had been used to evade all measures which could tend to serious negotiations, “there was not a heart in England so profligate as to wish, nor a hand so dastardly as to sign, nor could there be found a man so degenerate as to be the courier of a commission sent to France, to stipulate for peace.” The courier, however (continued Mr. Fox), will, and must, be found; and, he trusted, the hand seen which would sign a peace with France. We had tried our executive government enough to be confident no good could be done to our country by trying such means any longer. He asked, if any man in that house, or in this country, thought our chance of obtaining peace would be as good, by confiding in the promise of ministers, as if the house came to a declaration upon the subject? Could any one believe, that with all “our advantages, and the profit we had gained by the easy means we had discovered of quieting the people of this country,” that we should attain our object of peace more easily, by continuing to trust the minister, than by interposing the authority of the house?

Our means of quieting the people of England was, by repealing

some of the best provisions of the *bill of rights*; and, were we to say to Europe, that this war was carried on to quiet them; and that we could not pass these measures but when we had a standing army, which ostensibly was raised against a foreign foe, but which, in reality, was intended to enable our government to quiet the people: he acknowledged he could not congratulate the latter on “these *easy means* of bereaving them of their privileges.” It had been said, that it was wise to sacrifice a part of liberty to save the remainder; but the part which we had sacrificed appeared to be the most material of our constitution. We were now to grant millions to the emperor, not to enable him to march to Paris, but to prevent (as we are told) the French from marching to London; this, he professed, he did not believe, but this was urged by those who opposed the motion; nor did he think we were under any obligation to show our good faith at the commencement of the war, excepting with regard to Holland, and there our assistance was not asked; on the contrary, we were told, that our friendship would be more dangerous than our neutrality. He wished a peace might be obtained conjointly with the emperor; but between two evils, he had no reluctance to declare, that a separate peace between the emperor and France, or between Great Britain and France, would be a less evil to us, than the continuance of the war.

After all that could be said of the credit of this country, it could not be dissembled, that we were lower in this respect than at any former period of history. All our conquests in St. Domingo never would bring back the millions we had squandered, and the lives we had devoted. We entered upon this war with the idea, that all the powers

powers of Europe would enter into an alliance with us: the result of that policy was seen; France had gained the alliance of Spain, the powers of Italy and the Netherlands; they had obtained the neutrality, at least, he believed, the friendship of the king of Prussia: these are its allies, to say nothing of Holland. But it seems, the French would be encouraged if this house should interfere with the executive government. Would they really think less of our energy, if we took our affairs into our own hands, instead of trusting the minister?—Would they expect to make better terms, through the medium of representatives, than with the present government?—He apprehended, quite the reverse; and that, as we should expect more justice from the French people than we did from any faction amongst them, so would they of Great Britain; and he would hope that, neither the republic would be hostile to England, nor the limited monarchy of this country to the just claims of the republic. What better pledge could we give of our sincerity in desiring peace, than by telling them, by a vote of the house of commons, that we were willing to negotiate. Let us not imagine (said Mr. Fox) that we can deceive the public by our professions; they are too well informed; they feel too much to be imposed upon. Let us not perpetually talk of our wishes for peace; let us use means for obtaining it (hear! hear! hear! resounded through the house). Let us trust to ministers no longer; let us *vote for peace*. He then spoke a few words upon the motion, which desired the king to explain the reason why negotiations had not been renewed; this, he observed, was highly necessary, as those already assigned were much too equivocal.

The minister had said, the French had misrepresented; perhaps they had; but an explanation, on his part, was not therefore less necessary. The minister was always explicit in the house, no doubt, since he convinced the majority of it; but it must be confessed, that out of the house, no man was more unfortunate in his explanations. The French director had misunderstood him; the contractors for the loan misunderstood him; the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and even the directors of the bank of England, who took notes of his conversation for the express purpose of accuracy, had also misunderstood him.

Mr. Fox concluded, with wishing, that for the future, the minister would employ some other person in public affairs, whose knowledge of words was more upon a level with the rest of mankind than his own, that men of ordinary capacity might stand a chance of comprehending his meaning. He recommended it earnestly to the house, to consider the admirable, the astonishing, patience of the people under the calamities which the minister had heaped upon them, and the duty which he owed to them when they boldly spoke out their wishes for peace.

Mr. Pitt declared, he had no inclination to have spoken again upon the present subject; he should only offer a few reasons for voting for the order of the day. The honourable gentleman had himself stated, amidst his digressions, that the question for the consideration of the house was, whether peace was likely to be accelerated, by leaving it to government to act as seemed to them best calculated to produce that effect, or by the previous declaration of parliament on that subject? Mr. Fox had taken some pains to prove, what

that throughout the country there was a wish for peace; also throughout the house: this was a point he might have spared himself the trouble of arguing; it was admitted to be the wish of the house, and of the public; but it was not the wish of either, to procure that unconditional peace which was held out to us, or to obtain it by the surrender of our honour, our fidelity, to our brave ally, and our national character. The right honourable gentleman had granted, that in ordinary times, the interference of parliament in the business of negotiation was wrong; but that now it was right, on account of the emergencies of the times. He thought this was very extraordinary doctrine; because, if it were necessary to abstain from interference in ordinary times, how much more so must it be in a crisis so important as the present. After dwelling long on the sincerity of ministers respecting peace, he adverted to that part of Mr. Fox's speech which mentioned the mission to Vienna. Mr. Fox had said, that its object had not yet been explained; to which he replied, it surely was enough, to declare such a person was to be sent, if it appeared to those who sent him, most likely to attain their object, and to forward a general pacification conjunctively with his majesty's allies. Mr. Pitt affirmed, that the steps he had taken, in consequence of the separate offers for peace by the French to the emperor, had been measures resolved upon, when he argued the question relative to the loan with the emperor; and who ever looked into the subject, whether with reference to peace or war, must see that a loan was peculiarly necessary; and in consequence of it, we had renewed our endeavours for peace. The right honourable gen-

tleman had approved of that part of the motion which called for an explanation of the terms offered to the French; but could he wish that the king, without the consent of the emperor, should state publicly what those terms were? Finally, as the measure was unnecessary, if not injurious, Mr. Pitt conceived it his duty to oppose it.

Mr. Fox insisted, that the minister had overlooked the strong argument, and the whole design of the measure, which was to express to all Europe the sincerity of the house in its desire to negotiate. Sir William Pulteney said, that what the parliament and the nation should require, was not so much an immediate peace, as a secure one; and this object would be accomplished by patience under our sufferings, and perseverance in the contest; nor ought the state of our finances to depress our spirits; our wealth and resources were immense, and our temporary embarrassments were no reasons for our despondency. He could not see what advantage was to be derived from a vote of parliament; it was true, that in the American war, a vote was supposed to have contributed to its termination, but there was no comparison between that war and the present; that war did not threaten our internal peace and security; this (he said) struck at our national existence; and where could be the advantage of peace, if peace were not founded in sincerity? As long as they retained *Belgium* and *Holland*, no security could there be for England. Now was the moment to strain every nerve in the struggle; and he was more fearful that ministers would be too forward than too tardy in bringing things to a termination. His complaint against them was, that on hearing the disasters which had befallen the imperial arms, they had

had not immediately come down to the house, and called for a loan to invigorate the brave exertions of their illustrious ally! He could not possibly agree with Mr. Fox, that ministers should be driven to a negotiation by the intervention of parliament, and considered the motion to have a most dangerous tendency.

Sir John Macpherson thought it was but justice to declare to all Europe, that we only came forward in defence of our own rights and liberties, and not enslave or entrench upon those of other nations. On these grounds, he considered it his duty to support the motion.

Mr. Johnes opposed it, protesting that he never could forget the ignominious manner in which our ambassador had been dismissed, nor forgive the insult offered to the nation. The objects we contended for, he thought, were our liberties, our fortunes, our religion, our God, and our king.

Mr. Green said a few words in fa-

vour of the motion, and—

Colonel Fullarton expatiated upon the unconciliatory temper and offensive manner in which our diplomatic intercourse had been conducted on the continent.

“These were not times (he said) to entrust the interests of the country to plenipotentiaries, who entrenched themselves behind the ramparts of etiquette, and stalked on the stilts of ambassadorial mightiness.”

It was well known, from the commencement of the war, that the French had resisted all ideas of treating with the confederated powers; they had proved their wisdom in so doing; for by treating individually, they had detached every power from the confederacy, excepting Austria and England.

Mr. Western and Mr. Martin supported the motion.

The question was at length loudly called for, and the house divided.—For Mr. Pollen's motion, 85—Against it, 291—Majority, 206.

CHAP. IV.

Alarming Mutiny at Portsmouth.—Delegates chosen by the Fleet.—The Sailors refuse to weigh Anchor.—Lord Howe arrives with the A&F for an Increase of Pay.—The Sailors Return to their Duty.—A Mutiny at the Nore.—The Flag of the Sandwich struck.—Delegates chosen.—Deputation of the Admiralty proceed to Sheerness.—Part of Admiral Duncan's Fleet join the Mutiny.—Proclamation of Pardon.—The Earl of Northesk arrives in London with Proposals from the Sailors.—Preparations made to attack the Mutineers.—Several of the mutinous Ships return to their Duty.—The Delegates seized.—Court Martial held upon Parker and other Mutineers.—Parker's Trial, Conviction, and Execution.—Mutiny on board the Pompee off Brest.—Parliamentary Proceedings upon the Mutiny—in the House of Lords—in the Commons.—Bill passed for the Augmentation of the Seamen's Wages.—Bill passed to prevent Excitations to Mutiny and Sedition.—Bill for preventing an Intercourse with the Ships in Mutiny.

THE British nation was, perhaps, never engaged in a contest, in which the importance of its naval power was more apparent than the present. To that we are in-

debted for more than success in a common warfare: for safety and existence. It was, therefore, not without the most serious apprehensions, that a spirit of disaffection was observed,

served, in the spring of 1797, to break out in the fleet, the origin of which it was not easy to trace, though the consequences of its continuance were sufficiently obvious. The professed, and perhaps, the real motive of the disturbance, was the redress of certain grievances respecting the quantum and distribution of their pay and provisions: complaints not new in their nature, but (as their petitions set forth) more intolerable than ever from the circumstances of the times.

In the month of February, some letters were forwarded from the fleet at Portsmouth to earl Howe; praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining redress of certain grievances mentioned in those letters. As the letters were, however, anonymous, and appeared to be most of them written in the same hand-writing, and couched in the same language, they were considered as the production of some factious individual, and therefore were deemed unworthy of attention. This neglect of the petition of the seamen, on their return to port, on the 31st of March, produced a general correspondence, by letter, from ship to ship through the whole fleet; and at length it was unanimously agreed, that no ship should lift an anchor till the demands of the seamen were complied with. Matters remained in this state till the 14th of April, when Lord Bridport received orders from government to sail from Portsmouth with the channel fleet: on the following day, however, when the signal was made to prepare for sea, a general disobedience was obvious; and instead of weighing anchor, the seamen of the admiral's ship ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers (a signal previously agreed upon to announce the disobedience of orders) and these cheers were instantly answered in

the same manner from the other ships, which sufficiently manifested a complete combination. The inferior officers appeared to concur with the men, and all the exertions of the commanders were ineffectual; but, excepting their refusal to weigh anchor, their conduct was more orderly and peaceable than could have been expected. Delegates were then appointed from each ship, to represent the whole fleet, the admiral's cabin being fixed upon as the place for their deliberation, while the officers were restrained, by force, from going on shore. Petitions were next drawn up, and presented to the admirals then upon the spot, stating their demand of an increase of wages, and also some regulations for their benefit, with respect to the ratio of provisions. They further expressed a hope, that an answer might be given to their petition before they were ordered to put to sea again. This, however, was qualified with the exception, "unless the enemy were known to be at sea."

On the 17th, the men were publicly sworn to support the cause in which they were engaged. On the next day, a committee of the admiralty, with earl Spencer at their head, arrived at Portsmouth; who made several propositions, to reduce the men to obedience. The lords of the admiralty next proceeded on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and conferred with the delegates from the seamen of the fleet; who assured their lordships, that no arrangement would be considered as final until it should be sanctioned by the king and parliament, and guaranteed by a proclamation for a general pardon.

On the 23d, the admiral returned to his ship, hoisted his flag again, and, after a short address to the crew, he informed them, that he had

had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and his majesty's pardon for the offenders: after some deliberation, these offers were accepted, and every man returned with cheerfulness to his duty. It was now generally thought that all disputes were finally settled in the silence; however, Lord Mr. Pitt, in omitting to explain the reasons which called for an increase of pay to be granted to the navy, when he submitted a motion for that purpose to the house of commons, was contradicted, by part of the members, in a disposition not to accede to the demands. In confirmation of this supposition, on the 7th of May, when Lord Bridport made the signal to weigh anchor and put to sea, every ship at St. Helens refused to obey. A meeting of the delegates was ordered on board the London. Vice admiral Colpoys resolved to oppose their coming on board; and gave orders to the marines to level their pieces at them; the marines obeyed, and a slight skirmish ensued, in which five of the seamen were killed. The whole crew of the London now turned their guns towards the stern, and threatened to blow all ast into the water, unless the commanders surrendered; to this imperious menace they reluctantly submitted, and admiral Colpoys and captain Griffiths were confined for several hours in separate cabins. The sailors at Portsmouth remained in this mutinous state till the 14th of May, when Lord Howe at length arrived from the Admiralty, with plenary powers to enquire into and settle the matters in dispute; he was also the welcome bearer of an act of parliament, which had been passed on the 9th, granting an additional allowance, and also with his majesty's proclamation of pardon for all who should immediately return to their duty.

On the 15th, the delegates from the several ships landed, and proceeded to the governor's house at Portsmouth; and after having partaken of some refreshments, marched in procession to the fleet, accompanied by Lord and Lady Howe, and some officers and persons of distinction. Having visited the ships at St. Helens, they proceeded to Spithead, where the crews of the ships under Sir Roger Curtis were happily conciliated. At seven in the evening, his lordship landed, and the delegates carried him upon their shoulders to the governor's house, amidst the plaudits of the surrounding multitude. Affairs being thus adjusted, the sailors afterwards appeared to be perfectly satisfied, the officers were generally re-instated in their commands, the flag of disaffection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy.

The public law, with infinite satisfaction, that the grievances of their brave defenders were redressed, and that they had returned to obedience and to their duty; but this pleasure was speedily turned into fresh alarm and consternation, by a new mutiny in another quarter, which, for boldness and extent, was without a parallel in the naval history of Britain.

The North-sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, appeared to hate the redress of other grievances in view, besides what related to the increase of pay and provisions, which had been demanded by the grand fleet at Spithead. The mutineers, in imitation of what had been done at Portsmouth, chose delegates from every ship, of whom a man of the name of Richard Parker was appointed president. After having either confined or sent on shore their principal officers, they transmitted to the lords of the admiralty a fe-

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ries of articles, or conditions, to which they peremptorily demanded compliance, as the only terms upon which they would return to obedience; several of those articles were regarded as entirely incompatible with the discipline of the navy, while some others, such as a more equal division of prize money, were represented by some, as no more than reasonable additions to the concessions to which government had agreed at Portsmouth.

The adherents of administration contended, that considering what had already been done for the seamen in general, nothing short of unconditional submission ought to be accepted by government from such daring mutineers and rebels; while some of the adverse party conceived, that by moderate and modified concession, the love and fidelity of the navy would be more effectually secured, than by adopting harsh and coercive measures. The mutineers at the Nore, on the 23d of May, struck the flag of admiral Buckner, on board the Sandwich, and hoisted a red flag, the symbol of mutiny, in its stead. They compelled all the ships which lay near Sheerness to drop down to the Great Nore, in order to concentrate the scene of their operations; amongst which was the St. Fiorenzo, which had been fitted up to carry the prisoners of Wirtemberg to Germany. Each man-of-war sent two delegates; and besides these, there was in every ship a committee, consisting of 12 men, who determined, not only all affairs relative to the internal management of the vessel, but decided upon the merits of the respective delegates. At the commencement of the mutiny, the delegates came every day to Sheerness, where they held conferences, and paraded the streets and ramparts of the garrison. Richard Parker, who was consider-

ed as the rebel admiral of the fleet, marched at the head of these processions, which were accompanied with music and flags, and had a triumphal appearance, calculated to make new converts to their illicit proceedings. The delegates and committee-men went on shore and returned on board as they pleased. This indulgence however was soon put an end to by the arrival of lord Keith and sir Charles Grey, who had been sent down to superintend the naval and military proceedings in that quarter.

The mutiny having now risen to the most alarming height, a deputation of the lords of the admiralty, at the head of whom was earl Spencer, proceeded to Sheerness, but they had no conference with the delegates, as they demanded unconditional submission as a necessary preliminary to any intercourse whatever. Finding the sailors rather rising in insolence and disobedience than inclining to submission, the deputation from the admiralty departed from Sheerness, after having signified to the seamen, that they were to expect no concessions whatever, further than what had been already made by the legislature, the benefit of which they might yet enjoy on returning to their duty.

The seamen now began to perceive their desperate situation, and proceeded to take measures which indicated a design, either to secure their present situation or to seek safety by flight; some of the most desperate among them suggested the idea of carrying the ships to the enemy, but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding, though even adopted to save their lives, alleging that a redress of their grievances was their primary, and should be their ultimate object. With a view of extorting compli-

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ance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a free passage up and down the river to the London trade.

The ships of neutral nations, however, colliers, and a few small craft were suffered to pass, having first received a passport, signed by Richard Parker, as president of the delegates. In order to concentrate their force, all the ships which lay near Sheerness, dropt down to the Great Nore. The line-of-battle ships were drawn up in a line, at about half a mile distant from each other, and moored with their broadsides abreast. In the space between the line-of-battle ships, the detained merchantmen and other vessels were moored. On the 4th of June, the whole fleet evinced its loyal disposition by a general salute, which was fired from all the ships at the Nore, in compliment to his majesty's birthday, and the ships were decorated in the same manner as is practised on rejoicing days; the red flag, however, being kept flying at the main-topmast of the Sandwich. On the 6th of June, in the morning, the Agamemnon, Leopard, Ardent, and Isis men-of-war, and the Ranger sloop, joined the mutinous ships at the Nore, having deserted from the fleet of admiral Duncan, then in Yarmouth roads. The force of the mutineers, at its greatest height, consisted of eleven ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, in all, twenty-four sail. The appearance of such a multitude of shipping, the London trade included, under the command of a set of common sailors in a state of mutiny, formed a singular and awful spectacle. Several of the officers were sent on shore, but the greater part of them were deprived of their command, and confined on board their own vessels. Notwithstanding the enormity of their offence against the laws of discipline

and the articles of war, the deportment of the seamen to their superiors during the suspension of their command was, with some exceptions, respectful. All communications being stopped with the shore, the mutineers supplied themselves with water and provisions from the ships which they detained; and a party of seamen landed in the isle of Grain, and carried off a number of sheep and other provisions, giving in return, it is said, bills drawn by the delegates on the commissioners of the admiralty. During the mutiny, there were some exaggerated reports of their plundering different trading vessels; the chief act which they perpetrated of this kind, however, appears to have been that of robbing a vessel of 300 sacks of flour, of which they found themselves in need, and which were distributed throughout the fleet.

After the departure of the deputation of the admiralty from Sheerness, a proclamation was issued, offering his majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty; intimating at the same time, that admiral Buckner was the proper person to be applied to on such an occasion.

An act of parliament was speedily passed, for the more effectual restraining the intercourse from the shore with the crews of the ships in a state of mutiny; and still more active measures were taken to compel the seamen to return to their duty. All the buoys were removed from the mouth of the Thames, and the neighbouring coast, by the order of government; a precaution which, above every other that could be employed, perplexed the mutineers, as any large ships which might attempt to sail away, were in danger of running a-ground. Great preparations were also made at Sheerness,

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against an attack from the mutinous ships, which had manifested some strong indications of bombarding that place; and furnaces and red hot balls were kept ready.

The last attempt at a reconciliation by treaty with the mutineers was through the medium of the earl of Northesk, who was a favourite with the seamen on board the whole fleet. On the 6th of June, the two delegates of the Monmouth were rowed on board that ship, and informed his lordship, that it was the pleasure of the committee, that he should immediately accompany them on board the flag-ship, as they had proposals to make, leading to an accommodation; his lordship complied, and went attended by one officer: he found the convention in the state cabin, consisting of sixty delegates, with Parker sitting at their head. Before they entered upon business, the president demanded of the person accompanying lord Northesk, who he was? The answer was, "An officer of the Monmouth, who accompanied the captain as secretary." Parker then said, "that the committee, with one voice, had come to a declaration of the terms on which alone, without the smallest alteration, they would give up the ships; and that they had sent for him, as one who was known to be the seamen's friend, to be charged with them to the king; from whom he must pledge his honour to return on board with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours."

Parker then read the letter, which is said to have contained some compliments to his majesty's virtues, and many severe strictures on the demerits of his ministers. His lordship informed the delegates that, "he would certainly bear the letter as desired, but he could not, from the unreasonableness of the demands, flatter

them with any expectation of success." They persisted that the whole must be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea. Parker then delivered to his lordship a paper, in the following words, by way of ratifying his credentials.

"Sandwich, June 6, 3 P. M.

"To Captain Lord Northesk.

"You are hereby authorised and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

"R. PARKER, president."

Lord Northesk proceeded to London with this dispatch; and after stopping for a short time at the admiralty, he attended earl Spencer to the king; and a privy council was said to be held the next day upon the subject, when it was thought proper to reject the demands of the seamen, as exorbitant and unreasonable. Captain Knight, of the Inflexible, carried down the refusal of the lords of the admiralty.

All hopes of accommodation being now given up, measures were taken by lord Keith and sir C. Grey, to attack the fleet from the works at Sheerness, with gun-boats, &c. the defection, however, of the *Repulse*, *Leopard*, and *Ardent*, on the night of the 9th of June, with other symptoms of disunion among the mutineers, rendered the application of force unnecessary.

On the next day, several other of the mutinous ships pulled down the red flag, as a signal for the merchantmen to proceed up the river, and the store and victualling-ships to remain behind: all of these, however, profited by the opportunity to make their escape, after having been fired at by some of the

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flect. On the 11th, the *Neptune*, of 98 guns, manned with press-gangs, volunteers, &c. sir E. Gower, commander, fell down to Longreach, with a view to act offensively against the mutineers: the *Lancaster*, which had also been in a state of mutiny near that place, but had surrendered two or three days before, accompanied him, with the *Agincourt*, and a number of gunboats. But the firmness of the mutinous seamen being already shaken by the formidable preparations of government, and by the want of fresh provisions and water, it was evident that the combination was falling to pieces. On the 12th, most of the ships struck the red flag, and hoisted the union, to signify their desire of returning to obedience: only seven had then the red flag flying. On the next morning the *Agamemnon*, the *Standard*, the *Nassau*, the *Iris*, and the *Vestal*, ran away from the other ships, and went under the protection of the guns at the fort of Sheerness. The crews, however, of these vessels were very far from being unanimous, as several men were wounded and killed in the struggles which took place on board them, between the partizans of the officers and those of the seamen. This defection of their comrades appears to have excited the utmost despair in Parker and the other leaders of the mutiny; for, from the return of a part of the ships to their duty, their language became less intemperate, their conduct less harsh, and their appearance clouded with a melancholy gloom. On the 13th the crews of all the ships intimated an inclination to submit, provided a general pardon should be granted. The crew of the *Sandwich* was particularly desirous, and Parker did not oppose this spirit;—a spirit

greatly accelerated by the arrival on board of lieutenant Mott, with the proclamations, acts of parliament, &c. of which the men complained they had been kept in ignorance till that period. In the course of the evening the men resolved to submit to the king's mercy, conceiving that it would no doubt be extended to those who had not known to what extent they had offended. In this state of the crew the *Sandwich* went under the guns of the fort at Sheerness the next morning; upon which admiral Buckner's boat, with a piquet-guard of soldiers, went to the ship to arrest Parker, and bring him on shore: as soon as he heard that a boat had arrived for him, he surrendered himself to four of the ship's crew, to protect him from the outrages of the rest of the seamen, whose vengeance he feared: upon this, the officers of the *Sandwich* surrendered Parker, and a delegate of the name of Davies, who had acted as captain under him, to the soldiers, with about thirty other delegates: these were committed to the black hole in the garrison at Sheerness. On the first appearance of the soldiers, one of the delegates, *Wallace*, of the *Standard*, shot himself dead, and was afterwards buried in the highway. Parker was secured in Maidstone goal. All resistance to the authority of the officers now ceased on board the ships, and the mutiny was in effect terminated.

The trial of Parker commenced the 22d of June, on board the *Neptune*, off Greenhithe, before a court-martial, consisting of captains in the navy, of which sir T. Paisley was president. The charge was read by Mr. Benfield: it accused the prisoner of various acts of mutiny committed on board his majesty's fleet at the Nore; of disobedience of orders,

ders, and of contempt of the authority of his officers. Captain Mofs. of the Sandwich, attended as prosecutor on the part of the crown. Admiral Buckner was the first witness called; and deposed, that he saw the prisoner Parker parade about the town of Sheerness about the 12th of May, with an assemblage of people, with a red flag displayed: at that time he went on board the Sandwich, for the purpose of making known to the seamen of that ship, and others, his majesty's proclamation of pardon, provided they returned immediately to their duty, on the same terms as those granted to their brethren at Spithead. On his going on board he saw no mark of respect whatever shewn him: the officers were then without their side-arms, and were deprived of the command of the ship. Finding all his endeavours to bring the crew to their duty fruitless, he returned on shore. On the 23d his flag on board the Sandwich was struck, without his orders. On the evening of that day, as he was examining the complaints alleged against two marines, who had been brought in by a party of the military, the prisoner, and a man named Davies, with three or four others, came abruptly into the commissioners' house at Sheerness, and demanded, "Why those men (the marines) were in custody?" informing him, at the same time, that "his flag was struck; that he had no longer any authority; and that the power was in their hands!" They then (Parker being their spokesman) took the men away, as they said, "to try them for being on shore." About the 4th of June the admiral received a letter from the prisoner Parker, in which he styled himself *president of the committee of delegates*, stating, that "the admini-

stration had acted improperly in stopping the provisions for the men, and that the foolish proclamation was calculated to inflame the minds of honest men."

Lieutenant Justice, of the Sandwich, deposed, that at the commencement of the mutiny he received an official paper, while he was on board, sent by admiral Buckner, respecting the vote of the house of commons, granting the sum of 372,000*l.* to answer the expences incurred by a compliance with the requisitions of the seamen at Portsmouth; and that he read it to the crew, who received the intelligence with three cheers.

The next material evidence which affected the prisoner was given by captain Wood, of the Hound. When that ship arrived at the Nore, on the 2d of June, Parker came on board, and told him, that he (the prisoner) had the honour of representing the whole fleet: he advised him not to be so violent to some of the delegates as he had been. The prisoner told capt. Wood that he did not like his ship's company, and therefore should order her to be carried as near to the Sandwich as possible, as a place of security: he gave orders to the pilot accordingly; and the Hound came to on the Sandwich's quarter. In obeying these orders of the prisoner, the pilot displeased him in some of the proceedings; upon which he said to the pilot, in threatening language, "You have committed one mistake — take care you do not commit another; if you do, I will make a *beef-steak* of you at the yard-arm." On the fourth day of his trial, Parker was put upon his defence. In this arduous undertaking he displayed a clear judgment and a sound understanding. He recapitulated, in a plain but perspicuous manner, the

evidence which had been brought against him, and commented upon several parts of it with considerable skill. He thanked the court for the indulgence which had been given him, and solemnly declared, that he had no hand in the commencement of the mutiny; but that, two days afterwards, he saw that a violent spirit had spread among the men, and he then embarked in the cause for the purpose of checking the violence of the proceedings; and he was thoroughly satisfied, that if he had not taken an active part, the mutiny, which ended so unfortunately, would have been attended with consequences still more dreadful. He called several witnesses, whom he examined with great ability; but was unable to disprove the charges brought against him; particularly that which bore the heaviest against him, namely, that of ordering the men on board the *Director* to fire on the *Repulse*, a ship which had deserted from the mutinous ships.

When the prisoner had finished his defence, the court was cleared of strangers; and in about two hours afterwards the following sentence was pronounced:—"That the whole of the charges are fully proved, that the crime is as unprecedented as wicked, as ruinous to the navy as to the peace and prosperity of the country; the court does therefore adjudge him to death; and he is ordered to suffer death accordingly, at such time and place as the lords commissioners of the admiralty, or any three of them, shall appoint."

After the sentence was passed, the prisoner, with a degree of undiminished composure which excited the astonishment and admiration of every one present, addressed the court as follows: "I bow to your

sentence with all due submission; being convinced I have acted by the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and that those brave men, who have acted with me, will receive a general pardon. I am satisfied they will all return to their duty with alacrity."

Parker was executed in a few days afterwards, on board the *Sandwich*. He died very penitent, and with great composure. He was buried at Sheerness; but his wife, by the aid of some other women, surreptitiously obtained the body, which was conveyed to London; and the curiosity of the public leading them in crowds to inspect it, the magistrates were at length obliged to interfere, and by their orders it was interred in Whitechapel churchyard.

The court-martial continued sitting and trying the other mutineers more than a month, during which time a great number received sentence of death; and several were ordered to be whipped. Many of the ringleaders of the mutiny, who were convicted, were executed; but a considerable number remained under sentence, till after the signal victory obtained by admiral Duncan, when his majesty sent a general pardon to these unhappy men, who were at that period confined on board a prison-ship in the river Thames.

In the month of June, also, his majesty's ship the *Pompée*, one of lord Bridport's fleet, returned to Portsmouth, in consequence of a mutiny which had broken out on board of her when off Brest. Four of the ringleaders were afterwards convicted, and two of them executed on board the same ship at Portsmouth.

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Having thus stated the outline of these transactions so alarming to the peace and safety of the kingdom, it will be proper, before we conclude the subject, to take a short review of the measures adopted by the two houses of parliament upon this interesting affair.

The duke of Bedford in the house of lords on the 3d of May asked, whether any of his majesty's ministers had it in charge, from his majesty, to make any communication upon the recent and important events which had occurred in the marine department. If no such communication was made, either now or on a future day, he should think it consistent with his duty to bring a subject so closely connected with the best and dearest interests of the country, before their lordships, by moving for the production of certain papers connected with it.

Earl Spencer replied, that he had it not in charge from his majesty to make any communication to the house, nor did he foresee that any would be made upon the subject.

Earl Howe said, that as his name had occurred upon the subject, he was desirous to explain to their lordships the part which he had acted in the business, which he would do whenever the noble duke brought the subject before the house; though, for the sake of the service, he could have wished that the matter had never been brought before the legislature; because, in consequence of it, they would be brought into a very delicate situation. After the duke of Clarence and the earl of Carlisle, however, had made some observations upon the delicacy of the subject, earl Howe again rose, and observed that what appeared to him to be the question in a parliamentary discussion of the

business, was, Will you agree to the terms made by the admiralty with the seamen, or not? Were the terms fully ratified, it would be virtually giving a sanction to their conduct; if refused, it would shew the seamen that no reliance was to be placed on the promises of government; and the consequences this idea might have, were more easy to be seen than described. He thought that the engagements of the admiralty with the seamen ought to be ratified by the legislature.

Earl Howe afterwards observed, that, from what had transpired, he found that he should not have a better opportunity of relating to their lordships the part he had taken in this affair. Between the second week of February and the middle of March (being then confined by illness) he received by the post several petitions, purporting to be transmitted from different ships of the Channel fleet. They were all exact copies of each other, limited solely to a request for an *increase of pay*, that the seamen might be able to make better provision for their families; decently expressed, but without any signature. His lordship could not reply to applications which were anonymous; nor acknowledge the receipt of them to parties unavowed and unascertained. About four or five of the petitions first received, though a little different in the hand-writing, were obviously, he said, dictated by the same person; and his lordship had farther reason to think that they were fabricated by some malicious individual, who meant to insinuate the prevalence of a general discontent in the navy. Not resting, however, on this conclusion, his lordship wrote to an officer at Portsmouth, to inquire whether any such

such dissatisfaction existed in the fleet. The answer was that no such appearance had been observed there, and it was supposed that the petitions had been framed for the purpose he suspected.

On the morning of the 22d of March, the day after his lordship was able to come to town, one of the lords of the admiralty, since absent on service, happening to call upon his lordship, he related these particulars to him, shewed him the petitions, and sent them the same day to his house in the office, that they might be communicated to the first lord of the admiralty. Of the subsequent events he had no other knowledge than such as was to be obtained from the newspapers. He vindicated the character of the British seamen in general, whom he described as open-hearted and generous, but sometimes too easily misled.

What we have now related may be considered rather as an irregular conversation than as a debate; but the subject was more formally introduced in the house of commons by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the 8th of May; but not till after the mutiny had broken out a second time with still more alarming symptoms. He said, he was well aware, that when proposing to increase the public burthens, he should be expected to say something of the causes that led to the augmentation. In the present instance, however, prudence and policy would prevent his entering into any discussion; and he entreated the house rather to trust to their silent judgment, than to agitate a subject, of which the slightest misrepresentation might give cause to the most alarming effects.

He then proceeded to state, that the increase of pay to the different classes of men would amount to

351,000*l.* and the increased eighth in the expense of victualling to 115,000; making 536,000*l.* for one year. It should, however, be observed, that the estimate of victualling was founded upon an old rate, when provisions were much cheaper than at present. What the actual sum wanted would be, he could not say; but he would take the total sum for nine months, beginning in April, at 372,000*l.* He therefore moved, "that a sum not exceeding 372,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to enable him to defray the expense of the increased pay of the seamen and marines, and the full allowance of provisions.

Mr. Fox said, that he should consider it as a dereliction of his duty, if he gave the silent vote that was called for. It was not from discussion, but from silence, that the present mischief had proceeded. If when it was first known that the seamen were dissatisfied, the house had been considered as entitled to the confidence of ministers, and the business had been properly discussed, the events of Easter would not have taken place. Or if immediately after Easter the question had been openly agitated, we should not now be reduced to such a situation. But the scandalous delay of a fortnight, which ministers had interposed, and for which he hoped they would be made to answer, seemed to have been purposely meant to give room for misrepresentation. After observing that the idea of smothering the present business by secrecy was like silly children who think nobody can see them when they shut their eyes; and after advising the house not to confide in ministers at once incapable and criminal, Mr. Fox concluded by stating directly, that he approved highly of the intended addition, but that he wished to be made acquainted with the circum-

circumstances that rendered it necessary.

Mr. Pitt said, that the right hon. gentleman had himself shewn that there was no need of explanation, since, while knowing no more than any other man, he declared himself ready to vote for the motion.

During the rest of the debate, Messrs. Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan, the only speakers, went nearly over the same ground; the former justifying the delay and declining discussion, and the two latter reprobating the affected secrecy and tardy measures of the ministers.

The resolution then passed, and was ordered to be reported immediately.

The subject was renewed on the following day by Mr. Whitbread. Considering the impressions of men's minds relative to the disturbances at Portsmouth, he rose not to inquire into the causes of that affair, but to press upon the chancellor of the exchequer a question which had been distinctly proposed to him the night before, and to which no answer had been given. He then asked why the proposition for the augmentation of the pay of the seamen had not been moved for before the preceding evening? It might have prevented the disastrous consequences. Unless a satisfactory explanation was given of so fatal a delay, for which the honourable gentleman was responsible to that house and to the country, it was his intention to move a direct vote of censure against him.

The chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged that he certainly was responsible, provided there was any misconduct imputable to any person on the occasion alluded to. He would not then, however, enter into any discussion on the subject, concerning which he thought

as little as possible ought to be said. He observed, that, on the 26th of April, the petition of the seamen was referred to a committee of the lords of the admiralty. Their report was made to the king in council, and, as soon as it was approved of, directions were immediately given at the proper offices, to prepare an estimate of the sum to which the intended augmentation in the wages of the seamen would amount; and as soon as that estimate was ready, it was laid before the house, and the sum was voted. From these circumstances there was no ground to suppose that it was not the intention of the executive government to propose such measures as might serve to satisfy the demands of the seamen. He concluded with observing, that he should propose a bill to be carried through all its stages in the most expeditious manner; this he should do as the best way of removing all doubts as to the executive government.

Mr. Fox said, that, after the explanation which had just been given, he could not help observing that the delay complained of was an intolerable and fatal neglect of duty. In his opinion, ministers were guilty of delay both *before* and *after* the fact. The history of the transaction was, that in Easter week complaints had existed in the fleet, meetings of delegates had taken place, and various other circumstances happened. A letter was written from the admiralty upon the subject of these complaints, which stamped upon them a character of incapacity the most flagrant, or want of talents for acting upon a great and difficult crisis, unexampled in the annals of any administration. This letter not having produced any effect, a second

had been sent, with which the seamen were said to be satisfied, and on which they were to return to their duty. This transaction had taken place on Sunday morning, the 23d of April. Under all the circumstances with which this affair was accompanied, he would submit to any impartial mind, whether this was an occasion for tardy forms and official delays?

It was the duty of ministers, after they had recognised the delegates from the seamen, with whom they treated, to have lost no time in completing the promise they had made, and so to have finished the transaction; instead of which they took no step till the 26th of April, three days after the agreement had been made. They waited, it was said, for the opinion of the council. "Was this the time, said Mr. Fox, to wait for the opinion of the council, when the active members of administration formed the most efficient part of that council?" The order of council at length appeared on the 3d of May. But it was not till the 8th of May that the proposition was made to the house of commons.

Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Sheridan supported the same arguments, to prove the unnecessary delay of the minister in this important affair. In some cases, they said, he was famous for celerity: he avoided all delay, and set aside all forms, in granting the imperial loan; he was so anxious upon that measure, that he would not wait for three days, although it was notorious that intelligence was expected to arrive which would put that loan out of the question.

To these accusations the chancellor of the exchequer replied, it was indifferent to him when Mr. Whitbread brought forward his pro-

posed motion, for a censure of his conduct on account of delay in this affair. He moved, "That a message should be sent to the lords, to desire that they would continue sitting for some time."

When the speaker was about to put the question, Mr. Fox said, that the motion of his honourable friend, whenever it should be made, would have his warm support, if it even went to supersede the executive government; for the executive government, as it was then conducted, was an insult to the country. Mr. Baker called to order; he thought that nothing could be more out of order nor more dangerous than what he had just heard. Mr. Fox explained. The minister's motion was agreed to, and Mr. Pybus was ordered to carry up the request to the house of lords.

After the resolution of the committee of supply was read, which passed the day before, for the augmentation of the pay of the seamen, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill pursuant to the said resolution. Leave was given to bring in the bill; and it was ordered to be an instruction to the persons appointed to bring it in, that they should make provision in it for granting a full allowance to wounded seamen, and to empower seamen to remit part of their additional allowance for the support of their wives, children, or mothers.

As soon as the upper house had agreed to the request of the commons, the bill was brought in, read a first and second time, and passed through every stage; and also sent to the lords that day, who passed it through all its stages; when it immediately received the royal assent by commission.

The mutiny of the seamen at
Portsmouth

Portsmouth had been appeased but a few weeks, as we have already seen, before another broke out among the same class of men at the Nore, which in magnitude and audacity greatly exceeded the former.

On the first of June his majesty sent a message to both houses of parliament, acquainting them, with the deepest concern, "that the conduct of the crews of some of his ships, then at the Nore, in persisting in the most violent and treasonable acts of mutiny and disobedience, notwithstanding the full extension to them of all the benefits which had been accepted with gratitude by the rest of the fleet, and offers of pardon on returning to their duty, had compelled his majesty to call on all his subjects to give their assistance in repressing such criminal proceedings. That he had laid before them a copy of a proclamation which he had issued for that purpose; and that he recommended it to the consideration of parliament to make more effectual provision for the prevention and punishment of all traitorous attempts to excite sedition and mutiny in his service, by sea or land."

On the following day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved an address of the commons to his majesty, upon the subject of his most gracious message; and, after a debate of some length, the address was agreed to *nem. con.*

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better prevention and punishment of all attempts to excite sedition and mutiny in his majesty's service; and the attorney-general, having seconded the motion, proceeded to state to the house the grounds upon which the proposed bill was founded. The frequency and malignancy of attempts to ex-

cite mutiny was a fact so notorious, that no reasonable man could refuse his assent to it. His official situation had enabled him to acquire evidence of the existence of the attempts which this measure went to remove. Seditious persons had at secret hours circulated handbills of a dangerous tendency, for the purpose of attracting the notice of the soldiers in the army; these attempts had been connected by a regular and concerted system, and were not casual, or confined to particular spots, but diffused all over the country, appearing in different and distant places on the same day. At Newcastle, at Nottingham, at Maidstone, and various other places, these proofs of concert, of system and design, had been found to occur. False and unfounded rumours were echoed and re-echoed, that these attempts had succeeded in some instances, in order, by such report, to encourage the attempts in other places with the hopes and example of this success.

The circumstances recorded in different handbills were all of them equally false: the same seamen who had been worked upon by handbills, stating the disaffection and mutiny of their comrades in a different part, were themselves represented to those comrades as having set the same example. The attempts made to seduce the soldiery, he said, were notorious; and strong suspicion lay, that the like attempts had been made upon the sailors since the melancholy fact of the existence of a mutiny had been proved to that house; and it was well known that mutiny was not of native growth among our seamen. The knowledge of such attempts, as to the army, was sufficient to authorise the supposition of their existence with

with regard to the navy. He then stated the insufficiency of the existing laws to punish the offences in question. At present he said, to excite a soldier to desert was no more than a common misdemeanour; but surely, when that incitement was made with an intention to create mutiny and desertion in order to destroy the government, it was as dangerous as the worst species of treason. The measure which he suggested was, to put the offence upon the footing of an aggravated misdemeanour, and leave it to the discretion of judges to punish it with transportation, in the same manner as was provided by the bill which passed the year before, for punishing sedition. He considered the offence, however heinous, as not so specific as treason.

Mr. serjeant Adair expressed his opinion, that the punishment proposed, and the description of the offence, were extremely inadequate; and that the proposed punishment was insufficient to prevent such practices. He thought that the title of the bill should be, "for the more effectual preventing and punishing of attempts to excite mutiny and sedition:" and if such was termed the offence, to inflict such punishment as the law applied in capital cases. He objected to the offence being called a misdemeanour, because he conceived that no punishment which could be inflicted for a misdemeanour would be adequate to this offence, which ought to be punished with *death*. He proposed that the description of the offence should be felony, in which case it would be most easy and expeditious with respect to the trial; and if there should be any degree of doubt of the guilt of any person, the laws applicable to felony would apply. Nothing, in his mind, but the im-

pression of the emergency of affairs could have induced him to recommend the punishment of death for this offence; a punishment which he thought was already too much multiplied in the statute-books; and he wished to be understood, even in this case, that the act should be limited as to its duration.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that he would have the description of the bill state the general nature of it, and a blank left for the committee, to be filled up with the punishment. He then moved, that it be read a first time, which was carried: it was then read a second time, and committed to a committee of the whole house for the next day.

On that day, upon the motion that the Speaker should leave the chair, Mr. Hobhouse observed, that he would not object to the bill, if three points could be made clear to the house. The first was, that the mutiny among the seamen did not originate from themselves, but arose from the incitement and seduction of others; the second, that the laws, as they now stood, were inadequate to prevent and punish that offence; and the third, that the bill then offered would answer that purpose. He believed that there might be wicked incendiaries working upon the army and navy, with a design to make them instruments for the overthrow of the state. The fact of hand-bills being distributed both in the country and in the metropolis incontestibly proved, that there was a band of emissaries, all acting in concert for that purpose. But upon the other points he could not agree with the chancellor of the exchequer. He thought the existing laws adequate to the punishment of the offenders, were they to be put in force. The common law prescribed six years' imprisonment, and stand-

ing three times in the pillory: this, he said, ought to be tried. It was generally allowed, that excessive punishments often occasioned impunity, and encouraged offenders; whence it might truly be said, that rigorous penalties promoted crimes: he therefore conjured the house not to add another to the severe penalties on their statute-books, till they were convinced of the inefficiency of the present laws.

Mr. W. Smith coincided with the concluding observations of Mr. Hobhouse, and thought the existing laws sufficient.

The speaker having left the chair, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to the committee to insert these words: "Such persons shall be judged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy." If the committee should agree to this, he should then propose to limit the duration of the bill to one month after the commencement of the next session of parliament. He concluded by moving the insertion of these words: "maliciously and advisedly to commit any act of mutiny or treason, or to make, or endeavour to make, any mutinous or traitorous assemblies, or to commit any mutinous or traitorous acts whatever."

Mr. Tierney thought the existing laws of high treason rendered the bill unnecessary; but as it was to be in force only for a few months, he should give it no further opposition.

The bill was read a third time, and passed, *nem. con.*

On the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced into the commons a bill to restrain the intercourse with certain ships, then in a state of mutiny.

On the 5th of June, when it was proposed to fill up the penal clause,

and to enact that the punishment for wilful and advised communication with the ships' crews declared to be in a state of mutiny, should be death, as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy. Mr. Nichols said, he thought that the punishment of death would in some cases be too severe; and that making it a misdemeanour, liable to transportation, would be sufficient. Mr. serjeant Adair said, that the penalty was only to attach to those who should hold intercourse and communication after the publication of the declaration that the men were in a state of mutiny, and of the prohibition to hold intercourse with them: the provisions in the bill were in their very nature temporary, and ceased with the causes by which they were produced.

Sir Francis Burdet opposed the bill. He said, that the house had but the assertion of ministers that such a measure was necessary: he thought it tended to put the seamen in a state of desperation; and the mischief which they might do this country in that state was dreadful. The discontent was not confined to the seamen; there was much of it in other quarters; and it was visible in many parts of this country. The very strong laws which were made to repress these discontents, or rather the expression of them, were symptoms of great disease, of which there was a cause very different from that which had been stated. That cause was the misconduct of administration for a long time, but particularly for the last four years, and the enormous corruption of the executive government: these were the real causes of the evil. The bill, however, was passed through all its stages on the same day.

On the 6th of June the two bills relative

relative to the mutiny were introduced into the house of lords, and, with very little debate, were carried

through all their several stages, and received the royal assent by commission on that day.

CHAP. V.

Critical Situation of the Bank of England. Extraordinary Demand for Specie. Order of Council prohibiting the Issue of any more Specie from the Bank. Supposed Causes of the Run on the Bank, and of its Incapacity for answering the Demands. Message from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, relative to the Order of Council. Debates in the House of Lords on that Communication. Debates in the same House on his Majesty's Message. Committee appointed to inquire into the Affairs of the Bank. Committee to inquire into the Necessity for the Order of Council. Report of the Committee. Debates on the Subject. Resolutions proposed by the Duke of Bedford negatived. Debates in the House of Commons on his Majesty's Message. Committee appointed by the Commons for an Inquiry into the Affairs of the Bank. Motion by Mr. Fox to inquire into the Causes of the Order of Council negatived. Bill to enable the Bank to issue small Notes. Report of the Secret Committee on the Bank. Committee revived. Small-Note Bill, for accommodating Traders and Manufacturers. Motion by Mr. Sheridan on the Affairs of the Bank. Bank Indemnity Bill, Reflexions on the present State of the Bank.

WHILE the tranquillity of the nation was disturbed, and its existence endangered by the mutinous disposition of its most effective defenders, an evil which at first appeared of scarcely inferior magnitude, threatened at once to overwhelm its financial arrangements, and to bury in one prodigious ruin the pecuniary resources, and even the commerce, of the country. By the continued sanction of public opinion, the bank of England had been long considered as the palladium of Britain; and the confidence which was attached to this object of national veneration approached, it must be confessed, to the nature of idolatry. Like other popular superstitions, its proceedings were enveloped in mystery; its existence was connected in idea with the existence of the state; its influence on the commercial prosperity of the country was highly exagge-

rated; and its importance, in every point of view, was magnified by the operations of fancy on the basis of ignorance.

The year 1797, which has been more productive of political wonders than any given period during the present century, has added this to the number, that the Bank of England has failed to fulfil its engagements, and yet public credit has remained unshaken. At the same time the veil of mystery which concealed its proceedings from the public is rent in pieces; its powers and its competency are now no longer secret; and that confidence which before rested on an ideal basis, is now supported by legislative sanction, and by a development of the affairs of this great monied corporation.

The rise and progress of paper-currency and of banks of deposit in Europe is a subject deeply interesting

ing to the politician; but it has never been treated with that accuracy of research, and that freedom of inquiry which its importance deserves. If we are not mistaken, the bank of Venice is the oldest of these institutions; for it was established so early as the twelfth century, by an act of the state, as a general deposit or treasury for all the merchants and traders of that opulent and commercial city. The banks of Genoa, Hamburg, Nuremberg, and Amsterdam, were all, we apprehend, of a date considerably anterior to that of the bank of England; but that of Amsterdam, which was established in 1609, was the most important of them all, and its circulation the most extensive. Its object was to counteract the abuses arising from the clipping and diminishing of the various coins which were then current in Holland. It therefore received both the light foreign coin, and the diminished coin of the country, at its real and intrinsic value in good standard money, deducting only the sum necessary for its recoinage; and for the sum deposited after this deduction a credit was opened with the proprietor in the books of the bank, and the revenues of the city of Amsterdam were made responsible for the amount. The bills of credit upon the bank thus came to be distinguished by the name of *bank money*; and effectually to remedy the evils arising from the defacing of the coin, it was enacted, that all bills of exchange of the value of 600 guilders or upwards were to be paid in bank money; which, as it represented money exactly according to the standard, was always at *par*, or of equal value with good standard currency. Certain other objects of no inconsiderable moment to commercial men were achieved by means of this establishment. The money thus de-

posited was secure from fire, robbery, and other accidents; and large sums could be paid by a simple transfer, without the trouble of counting, or the risk of counterfeit coin.

In England, after the fatal contests between the houses of York and Lancaster were composed, the opulent citizens were accustomed to deposit their gold and silver in the royal mint, as a place of safety, whence they occasionally drew supplies of current coin, as their necessities required; but when the unfortunate Charles I. seized the bullion in the Tower, in the year 1640, this sanctuary was violated, and all confidence in the government was at an end. In the course of the civil war, that unnatural state of commotion, which corrupts and depraves even the best of the human race, rendered it unsafe to the merchants and traders to trust their clerks, or apprentices, with the charge of their treasure; and about the year 1645 they began first to lodge their money in the hands of certain goldsmiths, who undertook to be answerable for their payments upon drafts, under the signature of the respective principals: and this appears to be the first establishment of regular banks in the city of London.

The institution of a bank upon more extensive and liberal principles was projected by some merchants and traders of the city of London, soon after the revolution, and was countenanced by the court and ministry; and though, as bishop Burnet informs us, the opposition to its establishment was considerable, an act was nevertheless passed in 1693 for its incorporation, under the name of the Governors and Co. of the Bank of England. The establishment was formed partly on the constitution of the bank of Amsterdam, and partly on the practice of the

the private bankers in England. It was an immense trading company, which dealt in bullion, discounted bills of exchange, advanced money on security to individuals, and occasionally to the government.—Its advances to the latter became at length so considerable, as to absorb the whole capital with occasional augmentations, as will appear from the ensuing debates. Its connexion with the government, and the advances of money to the support of every war, rendered it the policy of the ministers, as well as of the bank directors, to involve in mystery as much as possible its proceedings. Some spirited, and, we must add, patriotic efforts were, however, made by the late alderman Pickett, to oblige the directors to lay their accounts, annually, before the public; and we must remark (so essential is publicity to the welfare of every national institution) that if his applications had been successful, the bank would probably never have experienced the shock which we have now to record.

In the course of the present war, the remittances to the emperor and other foreign powers pressed so heavily on the bank of England, that, so early as the month of January 1795, the court of directors informed the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was their wish, “that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to *depend on any further assistance from them.*” These remonstrances were renewed in the months of April and July, in the same year; and on the 8th of October following, they sent a written paper to the minister, which concluded by stating “the absolute necessity, which they conceive to exist, for diminishing the sum of their present advances to government; the last having been granted *with great reluctance* on

their part, on *his pressing solicitations.*” In an interview with the chancellor of the exchequer, which took place on the 23d of the same month, on the loans to the emperor being mentioned, the governor assured Mr. Pitt, “that another loan of that sort would go nigh to *ruin the country;*” and on the 9th of February 1797, the directors ordered the governor to inform the minister, “that under the present state of the bank’s advances to government here, to agree with his request of making a farther advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland, would threaten *ruin to the bank,* and most probably bring the directors to *shut up their doors.*”

With this cause, another is supposed by some to have powerfully co-operated to the late event, and that was the dread of an invasion, which had induced the farmers and others resident in the parts distant from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of those bankers with whom it was deposited. The *run*, therefore (to speak in the technical language of the money-market), commenced upon the country banks, and the demand for specie soon reached the metropolis. In this alarming state the ministry thought themselves compelled to interfere, and an order of the privy council was issued on the 26th of February, prohibiting the directors of the bank from “issuing any cash in payment till the sense of parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture.”

As the parliament was fortunately sitting at this critical moment, no time was to be lost in laying these proceedings before it. On the following

lowing day, therefore, the 27th of February, a message was delivered from his majesty to both houses of parliament, stating, "That an unusual demand of specie having been made from different parts of the country on the metropolis, it had been found necessary to make an order of council to the directors of the bank, prohibiting the issuing of any cash in payment till the sense of parliament could be taken on the subject. The order of council was read along with his majesty's message; and lord Grenville, in the house of lords, rose to move, "that the communication from his majesty should be taken into consideration on the following day."

The duke of Norfolk observed, that as the message was so soon to be taken into consideration, he should not then enter much into the subject. The cause in which the order originated must have given serious alarm to their lordships and the public. The bank was ordered to refuse payment of their own bills in the possession of individuals, who considered them as property.

His grace thought that the desperate exigency to which ministers had driven the country, was owing to the exportation of specie to the emperor of Germany and our other allies upon the continent; and on this account he moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to prevent the further exportation of specie, until the sense of parliament be taken on that subject.

Lord Grenville said, as their lordships had determined not to take the subject into consideration till the next day, he did not wish to discuss it, as neither he nor the house were prepared for it,

The duke of Norfolk on the contrary urged the necessity of deciding upon it that day.

The earl of Guildford said, he did not rise with any intention to discuss this subject, as it was determined for the next day, though he thought it required immediate consideration. His lordship added, that, considering the glaring incapacity and ill conduct of his majesty's ministers in the course of the war, he thought some strong measure should be adopted for the support of public credit. He contended, that ministers ought to have been aware of the necessity to which they had reduced the country, and not have suffered themselves to be taken by surprise, and driven, as it were, to a step so alarming as to require the bank to stop payment of their own notes.

His lordship said, it was very extraordinary, that the impulse should be so sudden, as to cause such a violent measure to be adopted, without consulting parliament. Parliament had been sitting the whole of the last fortnight, and not a single word had been dropt on the subject. Not being aware of the reasons which prompted ministers on a sudden to adopt a measure so extraordinary, he could not argue on its expediency or its necessity: but thought the conduct of his majesty's ministers gave room for suspicion, and rendered his noble friend's motion highly proper.

Lord Romney remarked, that in the present momentous situation of the country, every thing which had the appearance of suspicion ought to be removed, as it must have a dangerous tendency without doors. The words "extraordinary and illegal," which were in his noble friend's motion, he observed, amounted to a very strong insinuation that the necessary step to be taken, was occasioned by the misconduct of ministers. His lordship said, if there were any ground for such an insinuation, no man would be more eager than

than himself to reprobate it in the strongest terms. He thought, whenever this subject should be discussed, that nothing relative to the injustice or ill conduct of the war ought to be alluded to, as it might make an impression on the public mind.

The earl of Guildford said, that the words "extraordinary and illegal" being offensive, he made no doubt but the noble duke would readily strike them out, as he held under the present circumstances the withholding of specie from foreign powers an indispensable measure.

The duke of Grafton urged the necessity of acceding to the motion, as the refusal of the house would have an evil tendency with the public at large. He thought they should assure the nation, that no more specie would be exported out of the kingdom till the sense of parliament should be taken upon it; and contended, that it was the duty of the noble secretary to state upon what grounds the present measure had been adopted. He approved of the words "extraordinary and illegal," from a conviction that they were applicable and merited attention.

Lord Grenville said, as the subject was to be discussed the next day, he had no right to be called on for an explanation. His lordship argued, that the bank were not obliged to obey the order of council, though he could make it appear they acted highly proper for themselves and the public. He was ready, he said, to prove, that transmitting money to support our allies was strictly necessary, and attended with the most salutary effects to the country. He assured the house he would certainly vote against the present motion, as it tended to convey an insinuation against ministers, and to decide, in an indirect way, part of a

very important subject before the whole was considered.

The earl of Guildford replied, that neither he nor the noble duke meant to say any thing at present on the sums already sent to the emperor; but, as the bank were ordered to stop payment, he thought it impossible to justify the sending of specie from the country, and at the same time withhold it from those who have an undoubted claim on their own property.

The duke of Norfolk rose to notice the objectionable words contained in his motion, viz. "extraordinary and illegal," which he thought strictly applicable to the order of council; but had he supposed his motion would have met with a more favourable reception without them, they certainly should not have been inserted. His grace observed, that he must take the sense of the house on the whole of his motion. That the order of council was extraordinary and illegal no person could deny, since it required the bank not to pay money to those individuals who presented their notes. It had been remarked, that the order of council was not binding upon the bank. His grace could not tell what was the extent of its jurisdiction; however, it certainly was an high constituted authority, and must produce great effect on those to whom its orders were directed. His grace concluded by asking the noble lord one question: Was it intended to send money to the emperor of Germany?

The duke of Grafton observed, that answering this question, and assuring the house that no such thing was intended, must give the greatest satisfaction to the country; and it would not then be necessary to press his noble friend's motion to a division.

Lord

Lord Grenville replied, he would not discuss that day the subject which was to be taken into consideration the next.

The earl of Moira rose, and declared he thought an answer ought to have been given by the noble secretary of state. He was afraid, that, in consequence of the refusal to answer on this subject, a suspicion might go abroad that ministers did mean directly to send specie out of the kingdom; when they had taken a measure to withhold it from its right owners. However, free as his mind was from suspicion, he believed the more the affairs of the bank were inquired into, the more substantial their affluence would be found. He concluded by voting with the noble duke. The question being put, the house divided,

Contents	- - -	5
Non contents	- - -	34
Majority	- - -	29

On the 28th of February, the order for taking his majesty's message into consideration having been read, and afterwards the message, lord Grenville rose to explain the nature of the motions relative to his majesty's message, and observed, he should not have occasion to go much into detail as to the causes which had induced the board of council to issue that order referred to in the message. Their lordships were summoned to take into consideration, under the exigency of the times, the measure which his majesty's ministers had thought proper to adopt, and which, he trusted, after a due consideration, they would approve. His lordship observed, that, in the course of the debate the preceding day, some noble lords had treated the order of council with great asperity; though, he thought, the subject ought to be dis-

cussed with deliberation and candour. Notwithstanding the ill-founded alarm, he was persuaded the resources of the country were in a most flourishing state, and, he contended, that the present measure was only of a temporary nature. His lordship avoided going into a detail, as all parliamentary proceedings affecting the public purse, were considered as falling more immediately within the province of the other house. He should, therefore, recommend to their lordships to wait till the proceedings of the house of commons came before them. He, however, informed the house, he had two motions for their consideration, the first, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return thanks for his gracious communication, and to assure his majesty, he might rely with the utmost confidence on the wisdom of parliament, to call forth, in case of necessity, the extensive resources of the kingdom."

His other motion was for the appointment of a committee of nine lords to examine and report on the outstanding demands against the bank, and the state of the funds to discharge the same, and also to inquire the cause that rendered the order of council necessary; and he made no doubt but the result of the inquiry would give their lordships, as well as the country, the most convincing proof that the bank was in a state of affluence. His lordship observed, that in an investigation into so delicate a matter as the concerns of the bank of England, the utmost secrecy and caution were necessary, as the interests of every individual were deeply implicated, and a disclosure would be attended with dangerous consequences. He therefore proposed,

that the committee should be select and secret. Having thus explained the nature of his motions, he would not trouble the house with any farther observations.

The duke of Grafton supported the address, and hoped it would pass *nomine dissente*; but wished it had not come before the house so suddenly, as it was almost impossible to form an opinion respecting it. The noble secretary of state had said something, to shew that his majesty's ministers were driven to this measure by imperious necessity. His grace made some pertinent remarks on the conduct of ministers in adopting so miserable an expedient, and said they had gone to the extreme length of a measure, founded in an assumption of power unknown to the laws and constitution of the country. Ministers being aware of this, would be obliged to have recourse to a bill of indemnity to legalize their conduct. For unless this act could be obtained, the bank-directors were liable to an action from every individual to whom they refused payment.

Lord Grenville said, undoubtedly, his majesty's ministers had undertaken a very arduous responsibility; they had adopted the measure which the order of council contained, on the ground of state-necessity, though the bank were not bound to obey that order. With regard to the bill of indemnity, it would be for their lordships, after the whole of the subject had been considered, to decide whether the bill of indemnity was necessary or not. His lordship admitted, that the measure could not be justified by the strict letter of the law, but thought it the duty of ministers to consider the interests of the public, and not to hesitate in adopting a measure which the exigency of the case required.

The earl of Guildford thought an act of indemnity absolutely necessary, at least for the directors of the bank and their clerks, who must act illegally, and be liable to actions. His lordship then adverted to the speech of the noble secretary, in the opening of which, he said, some of the noble lords had been disposed, in the preceding day's debate, to treat the measure harshly and with asperity; for his part he could not recal a single word he had uttered on that subject; he had forbore to give his opinion till he heard more of the reasons on which it was grounded. His lordship said, he had no objection to the first motion relative to the address. With respect to the second, there were parts of the inquiry which by no means required secrecy; on the contrary, they ought to be made as public as possible. His lordship had a strong objection to the committee being a secret one, as it was a mode of smuggling business through the house, and giving up the power of judging to nine individuals, however respectable they might be. If the bank were in such a flourishing state as it was represented, it ought to be laid before the public, to remove all ground of suspicion.

The earl of Liverpool approved of a secret committee, where subjects of a delicate nature were to be investigated. His lordship saw no ground for the noble earl's objection, as the committee would make their report to the house, and their lordships might determine upon it as they thought proper.

The duke of Grafton could not accede to the arguments of the noble earl relative to a secret committee, as the idea of secrecy conveyed something disagreeable and suspicious. He thought the subject ought to come openly before the house, that they might act upon it

as their wisdom and judgment thought proper; which mode of proceeding could not fail of giving the utmost satisfaction without doors. His grace declared, he concurred entirely with what the noble earl had said respecting a bill of indemnity; he thought it the wisest way that ministers could adopt to preserve the law and constitution, which he considered as violated.

Lord Grenville reprobated the idea of an open committee relative to the concerns of the bank, as highly improper, and highly impolitic: neither could he suppose, that by instructing the committee in the manner mentioned in the motion, the power of the house was taken away.

His lordship observed, when the committee made their report, it would of course be subject to the consideration and discussion of the house, who would exercise their judgment upon it. With respect to a bill of indemnity, he did not say there were not grounds for such a measure, though the bank were not legally obliged to act upon the requisition contained in the order of council.

His lordship concluded by saying, he had not the least objection to an act of indemnity. He observed, however, that as there was no difference with respect to the first motion, the house had better decide the question upon the address.

The question being put, the address was agreed to *nemine dissente.*

The motion for a secret committee was then made by lord Grenville, and read by the lord chancellor.

The earl of Guildford rose, and renewed his objections, and remarked that the words, "Confirmation and continuance of the measure,"

contained in the motion, wanted some explanation. If it was to continue the stoppage of payment, it certainly would ruin public credit.

The duke of Bedford stated several objections against the appointing of a *secret* committee. He thought that a subject of so much importance could not be made too public; as its publicity tended to elucidate the solidity of the bank. His grace said, before he sat down, he should move to leave out all that part of the motion, relative to the committee's reporting their opinion upon the continuance of the measure. With respect to its expediency he could say nothing. But considering the ill conduct of ministers throughout the war, and the alarming state to which they had reduced the country, he thought it not improbable that the measure was indispensably necessary. His grace remarked, that when he read the order of council, he was astonished to find that the unusual demand of specie was imputed to *ill-founded and exaggerated apprehensions* of individuals, though *ministers themselves had been the cause of raising them.* His grace reprobated the conduct of ministers in the most pointed language, and contended that they had done every thing in their power to disgrace the British character, and reduce the country to a state of ruin. He then adverted to a number of instances to prove the carelessness and inattention of ministers. He alluded to the invasion of Ireland, and said; had not the elements interfered, and obliged them to retire, the enemy would have done there incalculable mischief. The duke also made some remarks on the disembarkation of the enemy in Wales; and, after enlarging upon these topics, and indulging

dulging in a variety of reflections on ministers, in whom the house (he said) had been in the habit of placing implicit confidence, he returned to a consideration of the motion before the house, and was astonished that any individual should determine a national consideration of such immense importance, on the opinion of nine lords, however respectable. The words as they now stood in the resolution, authorised the committee to report their opinion of the necessity of confirming and continuing the measure adopted by the bank in consequence of the order of council, which was neither more nor less, than that the bank should continue to stop payment, and to give only paper instead of cash, when payment in money was demanded, which was both inconsistent and alarming. His grace, therefore, moved, by way of amendment, to leave out all the remainder of the motion after the first part of it. He concluded by again asserting, that he was a friend to open discussion, as their lordships would be enabled by that to form a judgment of facts within their own knowledge, and to ascertain how much of the present calamitous state of the country was connected with the bank. His grace moved his amendment accordingly.

Lord Auckland said a few words on the subject, and contended, that in matters of so delicate a nature as an inquiry into the affairs and solidity of the bank of England, common policy forbade a disclosure. His lordship, however, lamented the necessity of having the committee secret, as being a very unfortunate circumstance.

Lord Grenville rose to notice some of the observations made by the duke of Bedford, most of which

(he said) their lordships had heard refuted again and again. His grace had been pleased to reprobate the conduct of ministers in almost every instance, and had made use of language which was neither parliamentary nor decent. The noble duke had charged ministers with having themselves been the authors of ill founded and exaggerated apprehensions relative to invasion; yet, in the same speech, it was not a little singular, where the noble duke charged ministers with raising false alarms, he mentioned two actual attempts of the enemy to invade this country. With regard to the noble duke's motion for an amendment, he should certainly oppose it, as it tended to take away an essential part of the original motion, and render the other of little use. Many arguments had been made use of to prove the advantage of a public and open inquiry relative to the affairs of the bank: but nothing that had fallen from their lordships on that subject, had in the smallest degree changed his opinion; he was well assured, that exposing a subject of so delicate a nature would be dangerous in itself and useless to the public.

The duke of Bedford rose to make some remarks, in answer to the noble baron (lord Auckland) relative to a secret committee. His grace concluded with declaring, that he should take the sense of the house on his amendment.

The duke of Norfolk said, he had unfortunately not been present when the noble secretary of state opened the subject and explained the grounds of his motion. He, however, strongly objected to a secret committee. He thought it was for the honour of the bank that there should be no concealment, if they were equal to all demands. His grace observed,

observed, that any thing like secrecy upon a subject so important and interesting must make a serious impression without doors. With respect to the order of council, and the proceeding of the bank in consequence, he must take the liberty of putting a question to the noble secretary of state, and he hoped he would favour him with an answer. Had the directors of the bank consented to the measure suggested in the order of council, voluntarily; or had they only acted upon the impulse of the arguments and persuasions of the board?

Lord Grenville said, he did not feel himself bound to give any answer to his grace's question, as he had sufficiently explained himself upon those points in the beginning of the debate.

The duke of Grafton rose to declare that he perfectly agreed with the noble duke's amendment, and entreated ministers not to consider him as acting hostilely to them, when he recommended the omission of that part of the motion referred to by the noble duke. Let their lordships put the case either way, let the committee report as they might, if they gave it as their opinion that the measure in question was wrong, in what a situation would ministers and the country stand? If, on the contrary, the affairs of the bank were found to be in a flourishing state, as the directors themselves had declared, the latter part of the motion would be found inconvenient. His grace remarked, that when he had a concern in the king's councils, the prosperous state of that great company was such, that they might have challenged their bitterest enemies to examine their situation. His grace concluded by saying he could see no reason whatever for

secrecy, and thought the inquiry ought not to go on in a mysterious manner, which must necessarily excite suspicion and distrust.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, he had declined to deliver his sentiments upon a subject of so awful and portentous a nature, until he had heard the opinions of other noble lords, and collected such information as he was able from his majesty's ministers, concerning the conduct they meant to pursue. He had long foreseen the consequence of persisting in measures which could only end in ruin to the country; and had frequently used his utmost endeavours to convince them that they were near the precipice, close upon the edge of which they now stood. Their lordships would do him the justice to recollect, that, so long ago as the year 1793, he had entered a protest expressly for that purpose. His mind, he said, had been early impressed with a sacred reverence for that most delicate and indefinite thing called public credit, upon which he had formed the present notions. A small tract by the earl of Oxford upon that subject had given him his first ideas, and which had since become confirmed and established. That noble author, in illustrating the important subject, says, that public credit was as the soul to the human body, nothing till put in action, and then it both gave and received its animation and existence. It was not property, for no part of the body politic could call it its own. It was not the credit of the king, nor of the ministers, nor of the government. It was public credit—the credit of the nation, which was the very soul of England; it was that alone which gave it stability, and inspired confidence in it. At present the banks of Eng-

land, the glory and pride of the kingdom, was shaken to the centre. Among the various causes assigned for the shock that it had received, he had heard it ascribed to the wickedness of the ministers. But no minister would be so wicked or foolish as to involve himself and the country in so alarming a predicament. Neither could it with propriety be ascribed to the idle stories of unfounded and exaggerated alarms; which in itself was ridiculous. It ought in his estimation to be attributed to a variety of causes not easily to be traced out. However, one cause was manifest—the inordinate increase of expence, of places and establishments in every corner of the empire, which only served to open all the gates of waste and profusion—all the corners of the earth were witnesses to the ruinous waste of the treasures of England, which rendered them unable to pay their ambassadors at foreign courts, and their agents at home. Men in office, even to their lowest dependants, were in the utmost distress, for sums so trifling in amount, that it would disgrace an individual to have a claim against him for such pitiful arrears. He then adverted to another source, which, he said, was still more dangerous, which was the want of unity and correspondence among the different branches of office; every office seemed to have unlimited power over the purse of the nation; this became so general, that every man in our foreign settlements had the treasure of England at his mercy; that this was the case, none would have the audacity to dispute: whereas it was the duty of the first lord of the treasury to suffer no man to have his hand in the public pocket but himself. An-

other cause of our present shock was the war; for by sending large sums of money to the emperor of Germany and our other allies, the nation was impoverished. This was manifest by the annual deficiencies of our revenue; for the minister had, year after year, to practise new expedients for the concealment or the supply of this deficiency. It had been said that in this continued delusion, the minister had displayed a want of integrity as well as want of ability; he was, however, of a different opinion, for he could not believe the minister to be indifferent to the fate of the country, neither could he attribute it wholly to want of ability, but to want of power over the other departments of expence, which ought to reside with the first lord of the treasury. It used to be the distinguishing feature of the British administration, that the treasury was its heart, and every thing flowed from it as the commanding centre; and the other departments were necessarily subordinate. The office of first lord of the treasury (which used to confer the title of minister) had now sunk into the resemblance of the treasurer of France, under the ancient *régime*. The noble marquis then made some very pertinent remarks on the present subject of debate, and said: What a scene was opened to the eyes of Englishmen! He did not dare to approach the measure of Sunday last, he would not venture to say one word as to its necessity or its prudence; for on this momentous crisis depended the fate of England. They were brought to the brink, where one single slip of the foot would precipitate them to ruin. He said it was totally indifferent whether the committee was secret or not; as he was confi-

dent

dent they were equal to all their own engagements, and that they dreaded but the interference of the state. He, indeed, approved of the committee being secret, as the bank of England was a private company, and parliament had no right to inquire into their affairs; however, he thought the investigation ought to be limited to their funds and their engagements—no further. He was sorry to have seen in the order of council so improper a term as the word “require;” it was a word unknown to the English law, and ought not to have been used, as it implied force. Why not have chosen the word “recommend?” It ought to have been a recommendation, and not a requisition, to the bank. If you attempt to make bank-notes a legal tender, their credit will perish: they may go on for a time; but the consequence is certain, nothing can prevent their falling to a discount; the fall, perhaps, will be slow and gradual, but certain. Let their lordships recollect that, bank-notes rest solely on opinion; in that they differed from the French assignats, which held forth the national domains as a security, and it is well known how much eloquence had been displayed to prove an assignat, even with that security, a contemptible substitute for currency. His lordship mentioned another source of the present evil, viz. the immense quantity of paper circulated throughout this country, through the means of the country banks, and which in the end of 1793 rose so much above the mark, though it had received several salutary checks. He adverted also to jobbing in bills and money, as another source of evil which ought to be dreaded, as every article would bear two prices, one for mo-

ney, and one for paper. He reprobated the idea of ascribing the present exigency to the unfounded and exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country. His lordship mentioned the two late attempts of the enemy to land in Ireland and Wales; and had not the elements interposed in the case of Ireland, they would certainly have landed; nor was the late attempt in Wales to be passed over as a ground of unfounded and exaggerated alarm. The noble marquis observed, he wished to avoid making any animadversions relative to the justice of the war; though he acquitted the *minister* of being the *immediate author* of it, he did not mean to acquit him of all criminality. His lordship concluded by a sincere recommendation of peace, and, at the same time, hoped that no more money would be sent out of the country, to the petty princes of Germany, in the form of subsidies.

The lord chancellor left the woolstack to say a few words in answer to the noble marquis relative to using force to compel the acceptance of notes as currency. He could assure his lordship, that nothing that was contained in the order of council, or that had fallen from the noble secretary of state, went to prove that coercive measures of any kind were intended to be exercised in order to compel the reception of the notes of the bank of England in the lieu of cash; neither had his majesty's ministers the least inclination to adopt such a measure. His lordship said, he should not have troubled their lordships with a word upon the subject; had he not felt that the inference drawn by the noble marquis did not of necessity arise, and that such

an idea going abroad without explanation, might do infinite mischief.

The marquis of Lansdowne replied, that he was highly obliged to the noble and learned lord; without such an explanation, he confessed he should have gone away with a very different impression: but as no coercive means were to be used to compel the acceptance of notes of the bank of England, he heartily hoped that less strong words would be resorted to in the motion than the original, viz. "a confirmation and continuation of the measure adopted by the bank in consequence of the order of council."

Lord Grenville said he could not suffer the house to separate, without saying a word relative to the latter part of the noble marquis's speech, which supposed that the committee must of necessity report, that it was their opinion, the measure adopted by the bank ought to be confirmed and continued; a conclusion which by no means follows. In fact, it was not parliamentary to anticipate the opinion of the committee upon the point in question, as they would have that information when they made their report.

The question being put on the duke of Bedford's amendment, viz. "that these words (the words removed to be omitted) stand part of the question;" when the house divided,

Contents - - - - - 78
Non contents - - - - - 12

Majority - - - - - 66

Thursday, 2d of March, their lordships proceeded to appoint the secret committee for investigating the affairs of the bank of England.

The following is the list of the secret committee.

The earl of Chatham,
Winchelsea,
Graham,
Hardwicke,
Liverpool,
Vis. Sidney,
Baron Grenville,
Osborn,
De Dunstanville,

On the 6th, the committee of inquiry into the cause of the order of council of the 26th of February being resumed —

The duke of Bedford rose, and said, that since the order of council of the 26th of February had been issued, he had endeavoured to consider it in the most favourable light possible; but confessed that in every point of view he was alarmed at its tendency. His grace understood that an order of council had been issued requiring the bank not to pay their notes in specie; in consequence of the alarm which this produced, a committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances of the bank; from their report it appeared that they had not entered into any investigation of the causes in which the necessity originated. The report of the committee, however, was favourable to the state of the general affairs of the bank; a circumstance which rendered an inquiry necessary, why such a novel and unprecedented measure had been adopted by government. His

grace thought it necessary that the country ought to be informed, whether the present embarrassment had been occasioned by the misconduct of administration, or the inevitable misfortunes of the times. It had been ascribed to exaggerated alarms of invasion in the country;

try; but he was afraid that it had rather been produced by the misconduct of the king's ministers, and the situation to which they had reduced the country. The resources of the country had been highly talked of, and they deserved to be so, for they had lasted longer than even the most sanguine could have hoped; but that was no reason why they should last for ever, and especially since they had exhibited such fatal symptoms of rapid decay.

His grace, after making several remarks upon the subject, contended for the necessity of appointing a select committee in order to inquire into the causes of the present embarrassments. His grace had an objection to a secret committee, because he was of opinion, that in order to restore the confidence of the nation, the greatest publicity ought to be given to its proceedings. Besides, it was very well known that the house delegated a considerable portion of its power to a secret committee.

Having made these observations, his grace concluded by saying, that if the finances of the country were in a state of embarrassment, it certainly was their duty to inquire into the cause of that embarrassment. His grace therefore moved, "That a select committee of fifteen peers be appointed to inquire into the causes for issuing the order of council of the 26th of February last." The earl of Guildford objected to the committee being secret. He said, as the inquiry was meant to restore the public confidence, he was clearly of opinion, that the utmost publicity should be given to it.

The duke of Bedford and lord Grenville severally explained themselves; after which a secret committee was ordered to be chosen.

Lord Grenville then moved, "That the committee be chosen by ballot." The duke of Bedford said, he could

was confident the resources of the country would be found upon inquiry to be unimpaired. He would therefore venture to state it as his opinion, that he was sanguine in the hopes of its being confirmed by the result of an inquiry, that the present difficulties had arisen not from any decay of actual resources, but merely from a temporary deficiency of circulating medium, which was often mistaken for a deficiency of property. He differed from the noble duke, not on the propriety of an inquiry, but in the distinction he made between a secret and a select committee. However, he was of opinion that a secret committee was preferable. He therefore moved, as an amendment, that for *select* the word *secret* should be substituted.

The duke of Norfolk said, he had no objection to a secret committee, if it was openly appointed; but objected to the mode of choosing a committee by ballot, because it was well known that such committees were composed of the minister's friends. In the last committee there were no fewer than three cabinet ministers, who were the very persons who signed the order of council in question, and two of whom were near relations of the minister.

The earl of Guildford objected to the committee being secret. He said, as the inquiry was meant to restore the public confidence, he was clearly of opinion, that the utmost publicity should be given to it.

The duke of Bedford and lord Grenville severally explained themselves; after which a secret committee was ordered to be chosen.

Lord Grenville then moved, "That the committee be chosen by ballot." The duke of Bedford said, he could

could not allow the present motion to be carried without expressing his strongest and most decided dissent. He knew how our ancestors conducted ballots for committees; but he knew that, as they were now managed, the committees were not fairly chosen. In the last committee there were no less than three cabinet-ministers, and the other six were peers who had uniformly voted with the ministers since the beginning of the war. When he said this, he did not mean to throw the smallest reflection on any individual member: but he must be excused if he thought they were not the most proper persons for judging of the measures of ministers; for, supposing they were bad, which they certainly might be, was it to be expected, that either they would be very rigorous in their inquiries or severe in their censures? If there was any man who would defend the mode of choosing committees by ballot, let him look into the glasses and see the lists they contained. One would think, at least they would have been written, to save the appearance, in different hands; instead of that, they might see twenty lists containing the same names, and all written by the same hand. And of what were the lists composed? — of the cabinet-ministers. What, appoint men to be judges of their own acts! Were not ministers ashamed of such conduct? to appoint a committee to inquire into the causes of the country being reduced to this dreadful state; and by the very men who had been the authors of all its calamities? His grace concluded by a solemn invocation to the house not to add insult to injury, by mocking an oppressed and deluded people with

holding out to them a confidence which they could not inspire, or a redress which they never intended to grant.

The earl of Fauconberg rose, and declared he never had witnessed such an attack made upon him, as that which their lordships had heard from the noble duke. He had no hesitation to avow, that he put one of the lists complained of into the balloting-glass, and he gloried in it!!! Was he to be denied the privilege of exercising his own judgment and the right of free agency, because he differed in opinion with the noble duke relative to the conduct of ministers. He was persuaded it was the first object of ministers to extricate us from our situation, and he hoped and trusted they would speedily succeed. But if noble lords came down to the house day after day, and endeavoured to persuade the people they were ruined — if they stated grievances that did not exist, and magnified those that did, they certainly were doing serious injury to the country. Could any men have more interest in the salvation of the country than ministers? Were they not bound by every tie, both as public men and individuals, to save their country. His lordship concluded by begging that their lordships would all cordially unite their efforts for the preservation of the country; and if they did, he should not despair of success.

The earl of Guildford said, the noble earl had either misunderstood or misrepresented the noble duke, when he stated the observations that his grace had made as a reflection upon the persons who had named the committee, or those who had been chosen to be of it. His grace had not said any thing but

but what he must coincide with relative to the committee. It was inconsistent to call it an impartial committee of inquiry, when the president of the council and the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster were chosen to examine and inquire into the conduct of the secretary of state—in short, every man of common sense must see that it was no inquiry. The ballot proposed by the noble duke was certainly for a purpose necessary for the country to know and be satisfied upon—the causes of that exigency. He was confident the greatest cause of the present exigencies was the war, and the total want of economy in every department of government: these he thought were points that required and ought to be part of the inquiry gone into by the committee of that house. The inquiry proposed by the noble duke went to this plain question, upon which the house and the country had a right to a satisfactory answer—whether the embarrassed and alarming state of the country was owing to unavoidable misfortunes, or to the mismanagement and incapacity of ministers?

Lord Grenville, in reply, observed, that the committee to be ballotted for was not to inquire into their conduct, but into the situation of the bank of England. The noble earl had stated that our present exigencies ought to be ascribed to the misconduct of ministers. It would, however, be but fair to acknowledge that ministers have had to conduct a contest totally unparalleled in the annals of civilised society; that they were endeavouring to defend the country from those evils to which some of the countries of Europe were now a prey. His lordship called upon the house to consider the

important objects that were at stake, and, whenever any reverse of fortune happened, not to ascribe it to the misconduct of ministers, but the nature of the contest they had to maintain.

The duke of Bedford made a short reply relative to the choosing of a committee, which he said ought not to be composed of the relations and friends of the minister. His grace concluded by saying, that, after four years' experience, he found it was of very little consequence what was said within those walls, except it was sanctioned by ministerial support.

Lord Darnley said, he thought the inquiry should be impartially made, and the committee not appointed by ballot.

In this sentiment the duke of Norfolk agreed; after which the question was put on the duke of Bedford's motion.

Non contents	-	-	-	47
Contents	-	-	-	8

Majority	-	-	-	39
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The duke of Norfolk afterwards moved,

“That it be an instruction to the committee to inquire into and report on the amount of specie advanced by the bank to the lords commissioners of the treasury, since the 12th July, 1796.”

The duke of Montrose said a few words relative to the report.

The duke of Bedford said, he had omitted one remark, namely, that, though members of a secret committee were bound not to divulge the proceedings of their inquiry, yet when called upon they were at liberty to assign the causes which had induced them to agree in the report made to the house.

On the 28th of April, the earl of Chatham brought up the report of the committee of secrecy, which

was

was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

On the 3d of May following, the duke of Bedford said, he was not present when the report of the secret committee was laid before their lordships. He now took an opportunity of declaring his dissent from that report, and moved that their lordships be summoned on Friday se'night, to take it into consideration. He also gave notice that he would move some resolutions relative to the report. Their lordships were ordered to be summoned to attend on that day; but on the duke of Bedford's motion the subject was afterwards deferred to the 15th.

Monday, May the 15th. The duke of Bedford rose to remind their lordships, that they were summoned on this day to take into consideration the report of the secret committee which they had appointed to inquire into the causes that produced the necessity for issuing the order of the 26th of February last, prohibiting the bank from paying their notes in specie. After calling their attention to the matter stated in the report, he should submit certain resolutions founded upon the evidence it contained, which he hoped would meet with the concurrence of the principal part of the house. In what he had to advance, he should have occasion frequently to allude personally to the chancellor of the exchequer; but though he should impute blame to him, he did not consider him as the only object of blame. When he first read the order of council, ascribing the drain of cash from the bank, which rendered it necessary to prohibit the payment of their notes in specie, to an unfounded alarm of invasion, he much doubted the truth of the

allegation. But when he found that a committee appointed by ballot to inquire into the causes which produced it, was composed not only of the zealous supporters of administration, but of *members of that very cabinet upon whose conduct they were appointed to decide*, his doubts were confirmed; and impressed with these sentiments he thought it his duty to move for another committee with more extended powers than the former, which was agreed to; but the committee, as before, was composed of their own supporters, with a due proportion of the members of the cabinet. His grace next adverted to the minister's answers to the remonstrances which were made to him in person by the directors of the bank. In page the 29th of the report, they found, from the evidence of Mr. Bosanquet, which was minuted in the bank-book, that the chancellor of the exchequer being asked, whether he believed that such minutes contained an accurate statement of what passed between the governor and deputy governor and himself, answered he had no doubt but they did. His grace said he was disposed to doubt the matter contained in the order of council from the beginning; and these doubts were confirmed by the investigation of the committee. He referred to page 50 of the report, in which it is stated that Mr. Giles had made frequent representations in the capacity of governor of the bank, and also Mr. Raikes, all of which tended to prove the diminution of specie of the bank. He next called the attention of their lordships to a paper annexed to the report, entitled "A summary of the chief points which had occurred to the committee in the course of their inquiry." This paper abounded

ed in gross misrepresentation of the truth, in shameful attempts to conceal what ought to be known to the house. In this summary it was contended, however, that the difficulties of the bank were owing in some degree to a scarcity of circulating medium. Hence it was denied that bills of exchange were applicable to the purpose of circulation. He referred to Mr. Thornton's evidence upon the subject in page 71 of the report, who states his opinion nearly as follows, "I conceive that the number of bills of exchange, which may happen at any time to exist, bears no necessary proportion to the magnitude of the existing trade; although I conceive that the use of them in payment does bear a pretty regular proportion to the quantity of commerce. For instance, at Liverpool and Manchester all payments are made either in coin or bills of exchange." His grace said, if they bore a regular proportion to the quantity of commerce, he could hardly agree in the opinion advanced in the paper annexed to the report, that they were not a part of the circulation of the kingdom. He came now to a subject of a much more serious nature. As it was stated that this paper contained facts, but which were not warranted by the evidence given before the committee, nor introduced into the report, he was at a loss how to account for the gross mis-statement which he was about to mention. In page 252, they found that all the remittances made for the services of the war, into different distant parts during the last four years, amounted to 33,510,779*l*. distinguished from those expended in other parts during the said four years, including the imperial loan; and the ad-

vances made to the emperor amounted to 14,988,422*l*.; and lastly, that the sums paid for all sorts of military services on the continent, during the war ending in 1763, amounted to 26,626,997*l*. His grace remarked upon this statement, that if the authors of the report meant to compare the expenses of the present war on the continent with those of the war ending in 1763, the number of years ought to have been marked; and then it would be found that there had been expended in four years of the present war almost twice as much as in eight years of the former. He begged their lordships to remark, that, in the account of the continental expenses during the present war, the sums advanced to the emperor are said to be included. It appeared, however, that the account was accurate only by leaving out the word "including the imperial loan and the advances made to the emperor." These sums appeared in the title, but were excluded from the body of the account, so that there was an error in the total sum of 5,500,000*l*. For an error so gross, he knew not how to account; however, he would leave it to their lordships to decide whether the error originated in intention or ignorance, but to one or the other it must be imputed. His grace next dwelt at some length on our exports and imports, upon which great stress had been laid by the committee. He reminded their lordships, that in the last years of the American war the exports above the imports were averaged at 6,000,000*l*. He found that the additional expence of naval stores, which certainly was considerably increased in time of war, is stated as having rendered the balance of commerce less favourable; but this circum-

circumstance ought to have been mentioned on the other side of the account, as increasing our exports over our imports. In the summary before their lordships, he was surprised to find one material thing omitted, viz. the result of the correspondence which took place between the chancellor of the exchequer and the directors of the bank, relative to making remittances to foreign powers. His grace made several remarks on the representation of Mr. Ellison, in ascribing the stoppage of the Newcastle banks to a local alarm; but, in his opinion, that shock had been produced not by alarms, but by a combination of different causes. Upon this part of the subject, he regretted that some papers containing different statements of cash in the bank at different periods, which were laid before the committee, had not been published in the report, and more especially as he could have shewn from them, that the statements contained in the report were false. His grace next made some observations upon the evidence of Mr. Boyd and Mr. Thornton, whose opinions were that the difficulties which the commercial world had experienced, and the shock which public credit had sustained, arose from the bank not extending their discounts; but to these theories he opposed the sentiments of Mr. Adam Smith. His grace next observed, that the reduction of the paper in circulation amounted to only one eighth, from the quantity afloat in 1795. But, supposing that the decrease had been greater, he could not conceive how a decrease of notes could produce a decrease of cash; though he could easily perceive that a decrease of cash might produce a decrease of notes. After making some obser-

vations upon this subject, he proceeded to state the substance of the resolutions which he meant to propose, founded upon the correspondence which had taken place between the bank-directors and the chancellor of the exchequer. His grace went through the different parts of the correspondence, and adverted to the resolution of the court of directors, of the 11th of February, 1796, and Mr. Pitt's answer to it, in which he promises neither to make any further loan or advance to the emperor, without previously consulting the bank; while at the very moment he was sending money to his imperial majesty. After dwelling upon this subject for some length, his grace concluded in a very eloquent appeal to their lordships; reprobating the conduct of administration in the most severe and pointed language, whom he described as the despoilers of our fortunes! oppressors of the poor! and plunderers of the rich! He then moved the first of the following resolutions:—

1. That it appears to this house that subsequent to the month of June, 1795, and during the year 1796, a great diminution was experienced in the specie of the bank of England.

2. That it appears to this house, that the governor and deputy governor of the bank did at various times represent to the chancellor of the exchequer the danger to the bank from the diminution of its specie, particularly at the following periods:—

11th of December, 1794; 10th of October, 1794; 23d of October, 1794; 18th of November, 1794; 3d December, 1794; 15th and 16th of January, 1796; 28th of January, 1796; 5th and 8th of February, 1796; 11th of February, 1797: 8th,

8th, 10th, and 21st of February, 1797.

3. That it appears that during these periods the directors of the bank frequently remonstrated with the chancellor of the exchequer, on the magnitude of their advances to government, anxiously requiring payment, or a considerable reduction of the same; but that, nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer not only neglected to comply with the object of those remonstrances, but, usually under pretence of the necessity of the public service, renewed his demands for further aid; and that, under the exigency of the case, as stated to them by the chancellor of the exchequer, the directors of the bank were from time to time induced to consent to further accommodation.

4. That it appears that the chancellor of the exchequer frequently solicited such further accommodation, in the most anxious and pressing terms; declaring, that it was impossible to avoid the most serious embarrassment to the public service, unless the directors of the bank afforded the assistance he required.

5. That it appears, that, although by these means the directors of the bank were induced to comply with his demands, they generally expressed their reluctance in strong language; and that they at last, that is to say on the 28th of July, 1796, thought it necessary for their own justification, to request the chancellor of the exchequer to lay before his majesty's cabinet their most serious and solemn remonstrance; in which they declare that, "sensible of the alarming and dangerous state of public credit, nothing could induce them to comply with the demand then made upon them, but

the dread that their refusal might be productive of a greater evil."

6. That it appears, that during the above period a considerable portion of the bank advances was occasioned by payments of bills of exchange drawn on the treasury from abroad.

7. That it appears that it had seldom been the custom of the bank of England to advance, on the account of such bills, more than from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* and that even during the American war such bills never exceeded at any one time the sum of 150,000*l.*; the wisdom of our ancestors having foreseen, and provided against, the mischief of similar advances by a clause in an act passed in the fifth year of William and Mary, by which the governor and company of the bank of England were restrained from advancing any sums of money, other than on such funds on which a credit is granted by parliament.

8. That it appears, that from and after the year 1793, at which time an act of parliament passed, containing a clause by which the directors of the bank are indemnified for the advances they had made out of the bills drawn from abroad, and exempted in future from the penalties of the said act of William and Mary, respecting such advances to government, the amount of treasury bills paid at the bank continued progressively to increase; and that between the 1st of January, 1795, and the 25th of February, 1797, sums to the amount of upwards of 15,000,000*l.* were at different periods advanced to government upon this head.

9. That it appears, that the directors of the bank did, at various times, during the years 1795; 1796, and 1797, apply to the chancellor

of the exchequer for re-payment of such advances, and represented to him the ruinous consequences to themselves and to the public, of continuing the system of making treasury-bills payable at the bank; and that they even declared they conceived it to be "an unconstitutional mode of raising money, and what they were not warranted by their charter to consent to."

10. That it appears, that the chancellor of the exchequer did, at various times, in that period, undertake to reduce the advances on that head within the sum of 500,000*l.* and likewise so to arrange his payments as to put an end to the account; but that, nevertheless, the said promises never were kept by him, and that the advances on treasury-bills, on the 28th February, 1797, amounted to 3,619,040*l.*

11. That it appears to this house, that foreign remittances to a much larger amount than ever were known in the most expensive wars in which this country has been involved, have taken place since the year 1793.

12. That the extent of such remittances occasioned at so early a period as the end of the year 1794, and the beginning of the year 1795, great alarms in the minds of the directors, which they had at various periods communicated to the chancellor of the exchequer; and that on the 3d December, 1795, the court of directors, under the apprehension that it was intended to grant a further loan to the emperor, came to a resolution by which they declare their unanimous opinion, that, should such a loan take place, it would be "most fatal in its consequences to the bank of England." That they communicated such re-

solution to the chancellor of the exchequer, who assured them "he should lay aside all thoughts of it, unless the situation of things relative to the bank should so alter as to render such a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them."

13. That on the 5th of February, 1796, the chancellor of the exchequer, after stating, in conversation with the governor and deputation from the bank of England, his opinion of the necessity of further assisting the emperor, promised to take no step in that business without previously communicating to them his intention.

14. That on the 11th of February, 1796, the directors of the bank passed unanimously the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this court, founded upon the experience of the effects of the late imperial loan, that, if any further loan or advance of money to the emperor, or to any other foreign state, should in the present state of affairs take place, it will in all probability prove fatal to the bank of England.

"The court of directors, therefore, do most earnestly deprecate the adoption of any such measure, and they solemnly protest against any responsibility for the calamitous consequences that may follow thereupon."

To which resolution, when communicated to him, the chancellor of the exchequer returned for answer, "That, after the repeated intimation which he had given to the governor, &c. of the bank, that no further loan to the emperor would be resolved on without previous communication with the bank, he did not see any reason for these resolutions; that he did suppose

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pose they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he should consider them in that light."

15. That, both from the general tenor of the said answer, and from its particular reference to the substance and matter of the resolutions then communicated to him, he gave the governors, &c. of the bank to understand that he was bound by promise to them to negotiate no loan for the service of his imperial majesty, nor to make any remittance either to his said imperial majesty, or any foreign prince, under any pretence whatsoever, without previously communicating such his intention to the bank of England; that the directors so understood him, and that, impressed with that belief, they abstained from making any further remonstrance on this subject.

16. That nevertheless the chancellor of the exchequer for some time prior to February 11, 1796, clandestinely remitted, and did for several months subsequent clandestinely remit, his said imperial majesty, and other foreign princes, large sums of money, in defiance of his repeated promises, and in violation of his solemn engagement with the bank of England, and consequent upon their resolution of the 11th of February.

17. That it appears, that if the said advances of the bank to government had been paid off when required, or considerably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to reduce, if expedient, the amount of its outstanding notes; and that such option would have been of essential service to its interests.

18. That it appears from the evidence of the governor and deputy governor of the bank, that if the said advances had been paid off when required, or considerably re-

duced, the bank would have been enabled to give more extended aid to the mercantile interest of Great Britain in the way of discount.

19. That it appears that if the advances on treasury bills had been paid off when required, and as the chancellor of the exchequer had promised, and the foreign remittances abstained from, as the chancellor of the exchequer had likewise promised, there would have existed no necessity for suspending the due and ordinary course of the bank payments in cash.

20. That it appears to this house, upon an attentive examination of the evidence reported by the secret committee, upon a minute perusal of the correspondence between the governor and directors of the bank of England and the chancellor of the exchequer, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; and after a thorough review of the whole circumstances of the case, that the neglect of the chancellor of the exchequer in discharging or sufficiently diminishing the amount of the sums advanced to government by the bank of England, his perseverance in directing treasury bills of exchange, to an amount unexampled, to be paid at the bank, his frequent promises and constant breach of those promises to reduce their amount within the sum of 500,000*l.* and that the enormous amount of his remittances to foreign princes in loans and subsidies, were the principal and leading causes which produced the necessity for the order of council on the 26th of February last.

The earl of Liverpool said, that the subject upon which he was now to address their lordships, was attended with difficulty. He hoped, however, to be able to satisfy them, that they ought not agree to the re-

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solutions which had been proposed. With regard to the constitution of the committee, to which the noble duke objected, he would answer, it was necessary that they should have before them every thing connected with the investigation; and with respect to the conduct of it, never was the conduct of a committee more candid and impartial. The noble duke had said, that a great part of his charge was directed against the chancellor of the exchequer; yet this culprit had been examined upon oath—the first instance in this country of the kind, and which, in fact, was contrary to the principles of the law of England. With regard to the summary alluded to, he was sure nothing could be expressed with greater candour and modesty. That the diminution of bank-notes, according to the duke's position, would increase the quantity of specie, was an absurd hypothesis; that it might decrease the demand of them, was the only view in which the observation was intelligible. His lordship then desired the clerk might read the minutes of the court of directors in 1795, and the answers of the chancellor of the exchequer on the imperial loan, in 1795 and 1796; the resolution of the committee of treasury, dated February 11, 1796, with his further answers. His lordship said, it appeared, from the evidence contained in the report, that the bank had at different times made application to the chancellor of the exchequer, stating the danger which they apprehended from the continuance of foreign remittances. A direct answer was given to the two first, viz. that no imperial loan should be brought forward. The third application mentioned both loan and advances; the answer intimated, that there should be no loan, but it ne-

ver was to be considered as implying that there should be no advances. His lordship observed further, that the noble duke was inaccurate in the facts which he stated as a consequence of this measure; no bills drawn for these advances were received till July, yet the rate of exchange from October that year till March following rose considerably in our favour. It appeared from the report, that 14,918,000*l.* had been remitted to the continent this war, and in 1763, fifteen millions; were we less able now to sustain such a charge? It was proved that the balance of trade for the last four years was at an average of ten millions a year; the whole remittances out of the country had been thirty-two millions, and the balance for the same four years of the war had been forty-two millions:—was it possible the stoppage of the bank could be ascribed to the imperial remittances? With regard to the effect of the advances by the bank to government, he had to observe, that a very considerable sum had been stated as advances by the bank, which in fact did not belong to them, but was the amount of unclaimed dividends, which had been taken for the public service. His lordship observed, that the advances to government were by no means unprecedented; for in the year 1780 they were 10,000,000*l.* somewhat higher in 1797; and in 1793 they were only an hundred thousand less. The bank, too, must be able to make advances in proportion to the general prosperity of commerce and increase of wealth. Our commerce was nearly double to what it was in 1782 and 1783. Was it possible that this advance could produce effects so serious as to suspend the money-payments of the

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the bank? His lordship said, that country bank-notes were the chief circulation in the country; and these in the moment of alarm produced a run upon the bank of England, the reservoir of the cash of the kingdom. After commenting upon the subject for some length, he concluded by moving the previous question.

The earl of Guildford observed, that, whatever might be the necessity of continuing the order of council, he doubted the necessity of originally issuing it. He thought that the bank might have been enabled to go on, or, if obliged to stop at last, it would have been better that it had shut up the doors, and shewn to the public that its stoppage arose from its own want of cash; instead of its being proved that such an event arose from the wants of government. The bank themselves, he remarked, had expressly declared, that they were of opinion that the imperial loan had produced the scarcity of their cash; and the chancellor of the exchequer had no right to distrust their authority. The bank had repeatedly demanded of government repayment of their advances, which was one of their resources for extricating themselves from their embarrassment; and he did not doubt but, had the promises of the chancellor of the exchequer been kept, they would have been enabled to go on. His lordship concluded by saying, they should consider whether they could avoid a decision by supporting the previous question, which he admitted was a fair way of getting rid of the resolutions, which however were some of them undoubted truisms.

Lord Auckland rose to make some incidental remarks in answer to the duke of Bedford, nearly similar to those delivered by the earl of Liverpool.

The duke of Leeds congratulated the house on the favourable description of the situation of the country given by the noble earl who spoke second in the debate. He lamented that there should be any misunderstanding or dispute between the government and the bank. His grace concluded by saying, he thought it very extraordinary, and somewhat strange, that the noble duke should come forward with what might be considered as an opposition-motion, grounded upon the very documents that afforded those who opposed it a fund of reasoning against it.

Earl Strange (duke of Athol) said, he had read the report with the greatest attention, and thought it contained a conclusive evidence, that no blame was ascribable to the chancellor of the exchequer for his conduct with regard to the bank. He had listened to the arguments of the noble duke that day, and nothing that he had heard from him had in the smallest degree altered his opinion. But before he sat down, he could not help expressing his feelings at the violent language of the noble duke in the conclusion of his speech. The noble duke he was persuaded would not have used such language in any other place, and he thought the same regard, decorum, and respect was due to their lordships in general, who were at liberty to entertain whatever political sentiments their own judgments directed.

The duke of Bedford rose to apologize for some of the intemperate expressions which he had made use of in the conclusion of his speech. His grace then referred to the evidence of Mr. Giles, Mr. Raikes, and Mr. Bosanquet, to shew, that they clearly understood the chancellor of the exchequer, that neither loan nor advances were

to be made to the emperor without their previous knowledge, and that they re-asserted that the whole of the last two years. His grace thought that the repeated warnings which they gave him ought to have determined him from the drain of cash from the bank, which had brought on the calamity of the stoppage of payment.

Lord Grenville rose to make some remarks upon what had fallen from the duke of Bedford, and contended that, if the chancellor of the exchequer had given any assurance to the governor and directors of the bank, that no advances should be made to the emperor without their previous concurrence, it would not have been what the noble duke had called it, the government taking the direction of the affairs of the bank of England into their own hands, but it would have been in fact a surrender of the functions of government into the hands of the bank. His lordship admitted that the chancellor of the exchequer might have overlooked the word *advances* in the application of the bank, and have answered them generally, without supposing government should be in any degree restrained in private remittances to the emperor or other foreign power: neither was there any one fact to prove that the advances to the emperor had either occasioned a run upon the bank, affected the exchanges, or injured the credit of the country. After remarking at some length that the exchange had risen in our favour during the advances, which, he said, had been fully proved by the convincing arguments of the noble earl, his lordship concluded by making some remarks on the violent language employed by the duke of Bedford.

The duke of Bedford made a short reply, in which he said, as long as he existed, he should hold it his duty to declare his sentiments on public matters with freedom, equally regardless of the noble secretary's reprehension or his misrepresentation.

After a few words in explanation from the earl of Guildford, the previous question was put on each of the series of resolutions, and carried.

Both the order of time and the order of precedence demanded that the first place should be assigned to the debates of the lords on this important subject.—It was, however, in the house of commons that the most interesting debates took place; and to these it is our wish particularly to direct the attention of the reader.

On the 28th of February a message similar to that which was presented to the house of lords, was brought up in the house of commons by the chancellor of the exchequer. When he moved the order of the day for taking the same into consideration —

The chancellor said, he had given notice the preceding day that he should first move an address to his majesty, returning him thanks for his gracious communication, and to assure him that the house would proceed without delay to the deliberation of the important subject. His second motion, he informed them, was for the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the outstanding engagements of the bank. He therefore moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious communication.

Mr. Dundas seconded the motion, which was carried *nem. con.* and ordered to be taken to his majesty, by such of the members of

the house as were of his majesty's privy council.

The chancellor of the exchequer next proceeded to submit to the house his promised motion relative to appointing a select committee to make such inquiry into the state of the bank as might be thought necessary to justify the necessity of the measure adopted by the bank in consequence of an order of council. But though there could be no hesitation with respect to the solidity of the bank, it was incumbent, he observed, upon them to take the proper means to satisfy themselves, that the measure which had been adopted in consequence of the opinion of council was occasioned by unavoidable emergency. It was now necessary that parliament should be called upon to confirm that opinion, and to sanction that measure by an act of the legislature. With respect to the amount of the outstanding demands of the bank, and the means which they possess for discharging their obligations, the inquiry would be comprised in a short compass; and from the result of a very short investigation, the advantage of the measure adopted would, in his opinion, appear so obvious as to lay the natural foundation of every further proceeding on the part of the house. It was proposed that public security should be given, not only for the outstanding claims on the bank, but also for those additional issues of paper which might be deemed advisable. "It is necessary, however, (continued Mr. Pitt) to observe one point relative to the necessity of adopting such a measure. It must appear to every reflecting man, that it is a subject of inquiry of so delicate a nature, that it cannot, consistently with public safety, be pushed to great particularity or minute-

ness of detail." It would also, he said, be highly improper for the committee to enter into a minute investigation of the precise state of the different descriptions of specie belonging to the bank. It would therefore be necessary that the committee appointed should be a secret one, and that they should be instructed not to push their inquiries too minutely into particulars. On these grounds he was desirous to rest the motion, which was to the following effect:

"That a committee be appointed to examine and state the total amount of outstanding demands on the bank of England, and likewise of the funds for discharging the same, and to report the result thereof to the house, together with their opinion of the necessity of providing for the confirmation and continuance of the measures taken in pursuance of the minute of council, on the 26th instant."

The motion being read,

Mr. Fox rose, and addressed the house. — When he considered, he said, the wonderful event which had this night been announced to the house; when he took into review the causes which had led to this extraordinary situation of affairs, and the effects likely to result from it; after the pause which had been afforded for deliberation, he did not at all feel more sanguinely or more agreeably than he did on the first mention of the subject. The right honourable gentleman had moved for the appointment of a committee for the purpose of inquiry; but it might be expected, that the minister who had conducted affairs in such a manner as to call for the measure which was now proposed, would not have been contented to pass so slightly over the nature of the crisis. Every man who read the

order of council must have been struck with the reflection that this was the first time a measure had been adopted by the executive government in this country to prevent the bank from answering the demands of its lawful creditors. If the measure was indispensably required from the pressing exigency of the country, and the imperious consideration of public safety, an act of parliament was surely the only proper mode of effecting the purpose. That house was that particular branch of the legislature which should have been consulted on such an occasion. All those who had turned their attention to the paper-credit of this country, (Mr. Fox observed), must view with alarm for years and centuries to come, that the ministers or the executive government had by the present measure claimed a power to annihilate at one breath all the property of the creditors of the bank. The proclamation of the council merely forbade the issuing of money; the paper, however, subsequently published from the bank removed all doubt with respect to the nature and extent of the measure; and thanks were due to the directors for the explicitness they had manifested on the occasion. The minister, who came down to the house, and endeavoured to prove that necessity had compelled him to this fatal and irremediable act of bankruptcy, ought at least to have been prepared to shew that the necessity had been occasioned by no fault of his own, and that the most rigid economy had prevailed in every department of administration. "If I thought that the committee (added Mr. Fox) would be empowered to go into all the causes which have led to this disastrous state of affairs, and into all the circumstances connected with the transaction, I cer-

tainly should not desire that the inquiry should be placed on a more extensive scale. But the right honourable gentleman has intimated, that it is not his intention the inquiry should be conducted in this manner. I therefore say, if the house of commons should allow this committee to be appointed, they will most scandalously abandon their duty if they confine their inquiry to what the chancellor of the exchequer has this night stated." Mr. Fox next remarked, that the directors of the bank often told the minister, what the effect would be of sending such vast sums of money abroad; for he sent sums not only against the opinion and in defiance of the remonstrances of the bank, but in one instance against the known spirit, and palpably against the *very letter, of the constitution*. In the course of what he had said, he had abstained from much observation upon what he thought would be the effect of the measure now before the house. He thought that in many parts of the measure it was impossible to conceive any thing that would be more mischievous to this country; he could not put any thing in competition with the danger of refusing to pay the public creditor. He did not think, that even under the measures of the present administration our total ruin was become so near. It was our duty, if possible, to retrieve our affairs; but if the house persisted in confiding in ministers, "our ruin (said Mr. Fox) is inevitable!"

Mr. Hobhouse observed, that, when information was received that this measure was to be adopted, all the bankers were struck with consternation. They did not know whether they should be able to keep open their shops; and he was afraid that the bank-paper would fall into

into as low a condition as *assignats* or *mandats*. It appeared to him that the appointment of a committee, such as the chancellor of the exchequer had moved for, would answer no good purpose without a full and complete inquiry into all the circumstances that have led us to this dreadful situation; and therefore this proposition should have his negative.

Mr. Martin said, he could not help taking notice that the chancellor of the exchequer had proposed an inquiry which in its nature was a partial one. It appeared to him an absurdity, and therefore he could not vote for it.

Sir John Sinclair remarked, that the only rational mode of judging what ought to be done in future, was to look at what had been done in former times; for this purpose he referred to the journals in the year 1696, where it appeared there had been an inquiry into the affairs of the bank, but that inquiry had not been a partial one. "We should therefore (said he) know all the circumstances that led to that which we now feel. He had learnt from the chancellor of the exchequer that it was the intention of government that the notes of the bank of England should be received from individuals to the public; upon which there was one observation which appeared to him extremely necessary. While the notes of the bank continue in credit, they may be received by the public from the individual, and the revenue will not suffer; but if they should fall in credit, the revenue must necessarily be diminished, and the loss in that respect will be a loss to the public in a serious way. The next point to be considered was, whether bank-notes were to be deemed a legal tender from the pub-

lic to the individual; because, unless this was enacted by law, it would be impossible to carry on the public affairs, for there was not specie enough in the country to pay all the public creditors. The depreciation of bank paper, he said, in fact, would alter the price of every article that was purchased abroad. After commenting upon the subject at some length, he concluded by saying, he trusted, that if a committee should be appointed, it would consist of able and independent men, and not of persons who would either support or oppose administration upon interested or party motives.

Mr. W. Smith said, it appeared to him totally impossible for him to support a motion which limited the committee to such a superficial inquiry. The measure resorted to by government appeared to be a direct injury to the bank of England. He never heard that any request had been made on the part of the bank for the interference or assistance of government; nor could he conceive the justice of government, in the first instance, making the bank a corporation of bankers, and afterwards exonerating them from paying the money deposited in their hands. With respect to the proposal of referring the whole business to a secret committee, who were to report their opinion to parliament, he thought the bank and the proprietors of the bank ought not to submit to have those for trustees of the national purse, over whom they had no controul. The partnership between the government and the bank, he said, was compulsive and unjust, as "being a partnership between an insolvent government which required a solvent company to bolster up its ruined finances." With respect to the utility of a se-

cret committee, he thought it would be of none; for he would much rather take the word of the directors of the bank, as to the responsibility and solidity of their funds, than he would the report of a secret committee of the house of commons, which only had the power of making a partial inquiry. Did the house imagine, that the way to restore the responsibility of the bank was to confirm its bankruptcy? for it was clear that the first time the bank refused to pay its notes in specie, in consequence of the order of council, it did commit an act of bankruptcy. For these reasons he should oppose the motion as nugatory.

Lord Wycombe made a few remarks relative to the situation of the country, and said that the house had proceeded upon every thing just as the minister had thought fit to propose, for a great length of time, and more especially for the two last years; they had been quite unmindful of the public rights and of the liberties of the people. They had availed themselves of the public torpor and the public ignorance, to deprive them of their dearest rights. If he had reason to believe that the suspension of payment required by the privy council was necessary for the public purposes, and if he had reason to believe it was intended to pursue this plan to remove a public pressure at home, he should have no objection to accede; but if he thought all this was intended merely to cover a design of sending money to the continent to carry on the war, he was bound in duty to give it his negative.

Mr. Rolton objected to the inquiry being a partial one; but thought it ought to be as extensive as possible, to prove that administration had not forfeited the confidence reposed in them.

Mr. C. Yorke said, as the difference of opinion was only relative to the limitation of the powers of the committee, it appeared to him highly necessary that an immediate report would be brought in.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird said, that as soon as he heard of the order of council he was filled with alarm for the situation of manufacturers, and instantly waited on the directors of the bank, in hopes that some reserve had been made in favour of that industrious description of men; but, much to his concern, he found that no such reserve had been made. He had the honour to represent a manufacturing town, and he had instructions from his constituents to inquire what method would be recommended to enable them to carry on their business, and to answer the many demands to which it, naturally exposed them. A rumour had gone abroad, that it was the intention of the bank to issue small notes of one or two guineas each; and he was exceedingly solicitous to know if the rumour had any foundation, as such an expedient would quiet the alarm, and enable manufacturers to answer the many claims continually made on them.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the necessity of providing for small payments had suggested the idea of doing something with that view. It was therefore his intention, before the house separated, to move for leave to bring in a bill which might be carried through the house with the utmost rapidity, to enable the bank to issue notes below five pounds value.

Sir W. Pulteney said, he considered the state of the country as in reality no worse in consequence of the present step, provided wise measures

measures were taken upon it. The stoppage of payment in cash was not to be held as a permanent system, though the motives assigned did not satisfy him that it was to be limited. In 1793 the Newcastle banks had declared, as now, that they must stop the payment of their notes in cash, under the pressure of temporary scarcity; but they soon obtained the necessary supply, and went on again as before. It was notorious to every body, that the bank had not always beside them cash for all the notes they issued; for if they had, why issue notes at all? However, he was of opinion, that the causes which had contributed to place the bank in this situation ought to be known; though such a measure as that adopted by administration might do no harm for once, yet it was necessary to prevent it in future. He did not approve of the plan proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer; as partial reports from the committee would not be sufficient. It was certain, however, that the country could not stand if the credit of the bank was shaken; it was therefore necessary to protect its stability by a full investigation into the causes which had led to this situation. It was impossible however to prevent the exportation of specie and bullion: Spain and Portugal were instances of it; and if the prohibition were complied with, they would feel its bad effects.

Mr. Hussey said, the honourable baronet had made several observations concerning the cash kept by the bank; but would he say, that the advances made to the emperor would return in two months to supply the demand of cash which might come upon the bank. It was the chancellor of the exchequer who imposed upon them the fatal order.

Let him pay them all the money they had advanced, and then the difficulty would cease. It was not that the bank was unable to satisfy its creditors, but it was the continued demand of money to feed the expences of this ruinous and disastrous war which rendered it unjust to those who depended upon it. It was idle in the extreme, it was deluding the people, to talk of a committee such as that proposed. Let the chancellor of the exchequer pay the ten millions due to the bank, and every thing would resume its usual course.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he had been called upon so immediately by the honourable baronet and the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, that he hoped for the indulgence of the house while he made a reply. The honourable baronet was alarmed at the way in which the proposal was conceived, as it implied that the measure was to be permanent. He assured the house that nothing could be farther from his intention; so much the contrary, that he had no objection to a limited time being fixed. However, while it continued, it ought to have the sanction of legislative authority. With respect to the causes which produced the necessity of the measure, opinions would be different, as the general sentiments of individuals were different on political topics. He however was ready to say, that the Austrian loan, though one of the causes, was not the immediate cause to which the necessity was to be ascribed. The necessity of the measure originated in a sudden demand of specie beyond the usual average; and with respect to the quantities of money exported, and the remittances received, it was a point which the house could ascertain by a motion

a motion of their own, better than by any question to him. With regard to the observation of the honourable gentleman "Pay the bank what they have advanced, and they will be able to answer all demands," it was founded entirely on mistake; for by far the greater part of that sum was floating advances not now made for the first time; nor was there more now outstanding than had been before on many occasions prior to his coming into office. The honourable gentleman supposed that taxes were paid in specie, and that the public creditor, on the other hand, was not paid at all. He should repeat, therefore, that the inquiry which was necessary to be entered upon at present, was comprehended in his original motion; whatever went beyond that object might be referred to a future opportunity.

Mr. Curwen said, that this was another rash endeavour on the part of the minister to delude the country. His arguments at this time of the day were a mockery of their feelings and understanding. He said, that paper was in common usage taken by the public creditor; but, good God! was not the case now widely different, when paper could no longer be converted into cash? After making several remarks on the conduct of the minister, he concluded by saying, unless the house made a decided stand, the country was ruined.

Mr. Brandling spoke in favour of a full inquiry.—And

Mr. Bastard also said, that a partial inquiry would do much harm, rather than produce good. However, he was of opinion, that the bank needed no support; but if the state of the bank was to be investigated, was it not of much greater importance to know the state of the country; for without

fairly examining into our situation, there was no chance of salvation.

Mr. Dent, with his usual judgment and eloquence, thought a committee of inquiry could do no good, but a great deal of harm. He was confident that the bank was equal to every demand upon it. It was the enormous expence of the war which caused the present failure—a war not entered into by this country by choice, but a war wantonly made against us by a people who had denied the existence of a *Being*!

Mr. Sheridan rose, and, after adverting to the eloquent speech of Mr. Dent, and particularly the latter part of it, in a strain of pleasantry, said, there certainly was no moment in which the British house of commons had been more powerfully called upon to renounce all dependence on the ministers, and to repose confidence in themselves. On the last speech of the chancellor of the exchequer he meant to make a few remarks. In one part of his argument, he advanced the absurd position, that, were government to discharge all the debts they owed to the bank, as the payment would be made good in paper, it would not relieve that public body from the difficulties produced by their want of cash. Was any man, however, so ignorant as not to know that the deficiency arose not merely from the positive want of cash, but from the comparative surplus of paper which they had issued? After commenting at considerable length upon this subject, Mr. Sheridan said he did not conceive of the measure as a temporary expedient; but he foresaw that the bank ~~never~~ would be able afterwards to defray its outstanding engagements in cash. For how was it possible that they could; since they were about to issue a greater quantity of paper, and their

their cash was seized upon for the public service.

He said, they had heard of the bank a short time ago lending two millions to government; and they had also heard of dividends on the bank stock increasing: how came they then to stop payment at a time when their affairs seemed to be going on so prosperously? The chancellor of the exchequer had said it was the wish of the bank that the measure should be adopted; he therefore called upon some of the directors of the bank to come forward and say whether it was, or was not, at their desire that the order in council had been issued. For his part he did not approve of appointing a committee to inquire into the affairs of the bank, as he had the firmest confidence in its solidity; but he deemed it highly expedient that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the grounds upon which the order had been issued. However, there was but one hope, and one opinion, viz. that the bank would be found to be perfectly secure. Why then should the public guarantee their notes? As well might the master of the mint indorse a guinea. Mr. Sheridan then suggested the steps which, in his opinion, ought to be taken. Bank-notes ought to be made a legal tender to government, and government ought to be compelled to make every payment in bank-notes, except the dividends on public stock, which ought to be paid in cash. He said he would not oppose the measure, but would move an amendment in the original motion, after "this house," and also to inquire into the causes which have produced this order of council dated the 6th of February, providing for the confirmation

and continuance of the measure contained in the order.

Mr. S. Thornton said, as Mr. Sheridan, and several gentlemen who had spoken before, had appealed to him and also to other directors of the bank, he desired to acquaint them he was restrained from satisfying their curiosity, by a sense of the duty which he owed to the public welfare. But if the house would appoint a committee of inquiry, there was no investigation which the directors would not most cheerfully meet.

Mr. secretary Dundas said a few words in answer to Mr. Sheridan. The amendment proposed negatived the original motion. The honourable gentleman professed himself adverse to an inquiry, and yet wanted to enlarge it, by adding a question respecting the causes of the embargo, and these were alleged to be a total mismanagement in every department of finance. Thus an inquiry into every circumstance of the war would be set on foot; and this first and great object of satisfying the public relative to the solvency of the bank would be delayed till the state of the nation in every particular could have been ascertained. The reason why he (Mr. Dundas) wished to go into a secret committee was, that it might be necessary to put questions to the bank-directors, which it might not be proper to make public.

Mr. Grey rose to explain the amendment, and correct Mr. Dundas when he said his honourable friend was adverse to any inquiry. It was not because an inquiry was not necessary, that it had been objected to, but because it was thought inconvenient.

The attorney-general said, he should vote against the amendment.

Mr.

Mr. Fox considered the two questions of the measures to be adopted, and the cause of the present situation, as inseparable. Till the house were apprised of what produced the order, they could not possibly know how to apply the remedy.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, said, that he considered the motion and amendment as comprising three distinct inquiries, though they were all retained in the amended motion; yet Mr. Sheridan had objected to that part of the motion which pressed the inquiry into the state of the bank, which the honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) said he was convinced was solid. When gentlemen extolled the solidity of the bank; and, next, imputed bankruptcy to it, an inquiry was rendered necessary to establish its reputation.

Mr. Fox explained. He had not made use of the word bankruptcy applicable to the state of the bank, but to government, to which he said, that word had been long applicable. On the division, the votes were,

Ayes, for the amendment, 86

Noes, against it, 244

Majority, 158

After the division, Mr. Fox moved the following resolution, which was agreed to, "That it is the duty of this house to inquire into all the causes that have produced this extraordinary measure." He then gave notice, that he should move the next day for the appointment of a committee to that effect.

Accordingly, on the next day, March the 1st, Mr. Fox moved, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the causes which have produced the order of council."

General Walpole seconded the motion, and expressed it as his opinion, that the best way to restore public credit was to give confidence to the people, which could only be done by a removal of those ministers whose ruinous and ill-concerted schemes had been the cause of the present embarrassments. The order of council was said to have been issued upon the exigencies created by an unfounded alarm. He contended that the alarm had been created by ministers themselves. When the chancellor of the exchequer came to the house demanding additional aid to the emperor, he founded the alarm by asserting that he had positive information that the French meditated an invasion of some part of his majesty's dominions. What was still more strange, the proclamation issued upon an occasion to which alarm had given rise, was signed by the greatest alarmists in the kingdom—the lord chancellor, the secretary of state, and the first lord of the admiralty; but was not signed by lord Fitzwilliam, who alone had acted consistently with his principles. There was one argument for the motion which appeared to be unanswerable; it was that in the transaction there were two parties, the bank and administration. It was agreed on all hands, that no blame attached to the bank; it followed of course, therefore, that it must be with the ministers. It was upon this ground that he seconded the motion.

Mr. Pitt opposed the appointment of a separate committee, upon the ground that the committee already appointed was competent to every purpose of inquiry.

Mr. Sheridan, on the contrary, spoke in favour of the motion, and adverted to what had fallen from

Mr.

Mr. Pitt, who had treated the proposition of naming a committee at that time, as preposterous. But gentlemen would recollect, that there was a time, when, in consequence of the unfortunate situation of affairs (alluding to the time of introducing the regency-bill), the right honourable gentleman himself proposed a committee of inquiry, by nomination; for which he proposed that one member should be named by himself, and another member by another on the opposite side of the house, alternately, until the whole committee should be nominated; and in consequence of a difference of opinion upon that mode of proceeding, a division took place, which, to the best of his recollection, was either 76 or 98 in the support of it. Why, said Mr. Sheridan, did the minister adopt this mode of proceeding at that time, and refuse it now? The reason for the change was nice in the extreme, because it was convenient to prejudice and party feeling. The appointment of a committee by ballot had grown into disrepute, on account of the known fact that the minister named all the members, and the notoriety of this juggle at that awful crisis rendered it expedient to accommodate the appearance of affairs to public prejudice. On a great question of revenue, when a committee by ballot was appointed, he (Mr. Sheridan) produced a list of names influenced by government; and it afterwards appeared that the fifteen names which he produced were actually chosen. After such a notorious demonstration of collusion, he submitted to the house, whether any person there, or out of doors, could for a moment believe the appointment of a committee by ballot equitable and impartial? But the minister had said, that the names of

the committee already appointed were not yet known, and therefore no person could yet say how far a trust ought, or ought not, to be reposed. Was the right honourable gentleman sure the names were not known? What would he say if the name of every person should be read before the report was made? So notorious was the fact that government had previously chosen every member, that treasury lists had been shewn in the lobby, and people had turned away with disgust from the proceedings. If the practice were such, the publicity of it ought to induce the house, not only to "reform itself altogether," but to adopt some other mode of proceeding, which might at least assume the appearance of impartiality. He next proceeded to support what he had stated, by reading the list of names appointed for this committee by ballot; and if the report should eventually shew, that all, or the greater part, of the persons therein named, were actually appointed, he hoped the house would give him some credit for asserting the necessity of another mode. The names which Mr. Sheridan read were as follows:—

Sir John Scott—a very respectable name.

Isaac Hawkins Browne, esq.—a very proper person.

C. Bragge, esq.—He will entertain the committee with critical remarks.

John W. Anderson, esq.

John Fane, esq.

Thomas Grenville, esq.

William Wilberforce Bird, esq.

William Wilberforce, esq.

Charles Grey, esq.—very proper, indeed.

Sir John Mitford.

William Hussey, esq.

William Plumer, esq.

Thomas Powis, esq.

John

John Blackburne, esq.

Thomas Berney Bramston, esq.

All very respectable gentlemen.

Upon this list Mr. Sheridan observed, that ministers in framing it had not preserved the rules of proportion; for his side of the house were entitled to have five and a fraction.

The secretary at war rose upon this occasion, and commented at considerable length upon what had been asserted by Mr. Sheridan. The cant of superior purity, and the charge of corruption, was the manner in which the minority had generally thought proper to avenge themselves on the majority. This was the mode by which they endeavoured to impose upon the public. The smaller number had no right to arrogate to themselves the most perfect rectitude, and charge the majority with the very worst intentions. The charge of corruption against such a body as the house of commons, was in itself absurd and ridiculous. The number who could be supposed to act merely from their interest must be *very few*. The house of commons did not differ from the country at large in this respect.

Mr. Grey said, his honourable friend had been accused by the secretary at war of vilifying the house of commons, and degrading it in the public estimation; but it should be recollected that the honourable secretary himself had some time before been the foremost to arraign corruption, but was now become its abettor and defender. He had once strenuously opposed the measures of the present minister, and had spurned his "dirty filth and dowlafs;" but had since contracted an intimate alliance with him. Mr. Grey said, with regard to himself, he wished his words to be remembered, should

he ever attempt to deviate from his principles, "that with the present ministry he would hold no communion, and if he thought his honourable friend (Mr. Fox) in office capable of maintaining the abuses at present prevailing, he would lose his support." There was no salvation for the country, but by a complete investigation of the causes by which it had been reduced to its present situation. There could be no renovation of public credit, without a removal of the causes which had effected its destruction. To accomplish these objects, the most exact œconomy and the most extensive retrenchments were required. The influence of the crown ought to be diminished, places which were not essential to the purposes of government should be abolished; and above all, and without which nothing could be effected, a reform in the representation must be introduced.

Mr. Wilberforce vindicated the dignity and consistency of the majority of the house, from the aspersions thrown out against them by gentlemen who were in favour of the motion. The opinion of the public was held out as against the sense of the majority of the house, though the fact was directly opposite. He recollected that such arguments were applied to him in 1783, and 84, in 90, and 96; yet when he returned to his constituents, instead of finding the sentiments of the people against him, the absolute reverse was manifest. From the beginning of the war much of the public calamity was owing to the conduct of opposition, and to the conduct of those who had proceeded to lengths which the opposition would not avow.

The master of the rolls was for defer-

deferring the committee now proposed, till the report of the committee which was already appointed had been received; it would be then for the house to consider whether the report was satisfactory; it would be absurd that two committees should sit at the same time and on the same business. It would be equally useless and absurd to appoint a committee that was to investigate and review all the measures since the present ministers entered into administration. This only could be the object of the present motion.

Mr. Curwen said, that if any list whatever had been offered to him, he should have considered it as the greatest of insults. It was the object of the ballot that all should exercise their own judgments without influence. He expressed his want of confidence in the ability of Mr. Pitt to guide public affairs at the present momentous crisis. He had no hopes of energy while he governed. The country could only be saved by a man who had the magnanimity to destroy the whole system of ministers, and by a parliament that would receive no lists.

Dr. Laurence spoke at considerable length in favour of the motion.

Mr. Banks discussed the subject with great impartiality; but was against the motion, because he was not sure that the matter to be investigated by such a committee as was then asked for, would not branch out into a length that would defeat the object that was now in view, and in which dispatch was so essential. He feared that the investigation by such a committee would require so much time as to be injurious, perhaps fatal, to the object which the house had in view.

Mr. Fox replied to the objec-

tions which had been made to his motion, in a forcible speech of considerable length. "The minister," said he, "has seized the cash of the bank, and therefore it is that the public mind is agitated. This renders an inquiry into the conduct of the minister as necessary as an inquiry into the affairs of the bank. My banker may be a man of honour, and a solvent man from whom I want no further security; but I want to be secured against robbers who have entered his house, laid hold of all his cash, and then declared themselves his partners. I wish to know whether any man breathing had a doubt of the solidity of the bank before the minister laid his rapacious hands upon the cash there."—He acknowledged that there had lately been a great run upon the bank for cash; but contended that it was the conduct of the minister which caused it. He, together with his associates, struck terror into the public mind by the rumours of invasion; and the order of council on Sunday, and the proclamation on Monday (Feb. 26th and 27th), finished what had been begun upon that matter. All this was the natural effect of the system which the minister had pursued in the course of the present war. Men were naturally terrified when these artifices were employed to work upon their imaginations. The effect of that terror, was the giving up to the minister the management of all the interest of the stock of the public creditor. Mr. Fox then observed, that no man had less apprehension of an invasion from the French than he had; he was sanguine as to the favourable result, should so desperate a measure be attempted. An invasion would certainly be a great evil to us; but he maintained, that, if the French should land in this country

country as great a force as it was practicable for them to land, he should think that the mischiefs they could do to the permanent interests of this nation comparatively small, when put in the scale opposite to the mischief which the proceedings of the last two or three days would occasion. He said, he had heard of *negative successes* in this war; he did not wish to be an egotist, but thought he could say without vanity that he had some negative merit. He had not had the misfortune to counsel this odious, this ruinous war! He had not had the misfortune to lend assistance to the destruction of hundreds of thousands of his fellow creatures! —he had not had the misfortune to load his country with hundreds of millions of debt! he had not had the misfortune to set his name to a proclamation manifesting to the world the bankruptcy of his country! These were his negative merits; he claimed them as his due, and the minister was welcome to despise, while he enjoyed the comfortable reflections which arose out of them.—“What would have been the feelings of this house (continued Mr. Fox), if ten years ago any man had said, you think your finances very prosperous; yet in the beginning of the year 1797 the chancellor of the exchequer will issue a proclamation to prohibit the bank of England from paying any one man in money for a bank-note! Would you not have considered such a man as a lunatic?” An inquiry, he asserted, ought immediately to be entered into, to determine the causes which have brought the nation into its present deplorable state. If it should appear, which was greatly to be wished, that this condition was brought on by the misconduct of

the minister, then the people would have the consolation to reflect, that their affairs might yet be in some degree retrieved: but if it should turn out, as he trusted to God it would not, that the national affairs had been as well conducted as human prudence could conduct them, the people could expect nothing but inevitable ruin. The only means of ascertaining this was to relinquish all confidence in the minister, and institute an inquiry into that conduct which had brought on so much calamity. Mr. Fox said, he had seen by the management of these two debates that the minister's object was to put off the inquiry into his conduct as long as he could, and also to secure to himself a committee of his own friends, by whom he would be tried. The house divided; for the motion 67; against it 141.

Mr. Sheridan then moved, “that Mr. Fox be added to the committee on the affairs of the bank, &c.” on which the house divided:

Ayes	-	-	-	53
Noes	-	-	-	144

Immediately after the bank stopped payment by the order of council, the minister introduced a bill into the house of commons, to suspend the law for preventing the bank issuing notes under five pounds. This bill was read a second time on the first of March. It stated that these small notes were to be made payable to bearer on demand. Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan strongly contended that the proceedings of the house, by sanctioning the order of council, and passing this bill nearly at the same time, would appear to be absurdly contradictory. For by the bill then before the house, these notes were to be payable on demand; whereas the other regulation

tion called upon the bank not to pay in specie, until parliament shall make further provision. An order, said they, is issued from the council, not legally binding on the bank, to issue paper instead of cash. In the interim parliament is about to give the sanction of its authority to the bank to issue bills payable on demand; and this before the bill for confirming the order of council could be passed. The individual thinks he has the faith of the bank, and gets the bill; the bank refuses to pay in specie, he brings his action, and he must necessarily succeed at law, unless the parliament makes a retrospective act to cover the bank.

The house resolved itself into a committee, in which it was decided, that the bill was to commence on the 2d of March 1797. It was then read a second time and reported.

Amount of demands on the bank was
Assets, not including the sum of £1,686,800l. of per-
manent debt due by government, amounted to

£.
13,770,390
17,597,280

So that there was a surplus of

3,826,890

Since the 25th of February, considerable issues had been made, both in bank-notes and government paper; but as these were upon corresponding securities, the balance in favour of the bank was not at all diminished by them.

Mr. Bramstone, on the 7th of March, brought up the second report of the committee on the state of the bank, in which the committee stated it to be their opinion, that it was necessary to provide for the continuance and confirmation, for a limited time, of the order in council, and they submitted to the wisdom of parliament to determine the time for which such order should be continued.

1797.

The commons received a message from the lords on the 3d of March, informing them, that their lordships had passed the bill for removing doubts, with respect to the bank issuing bank-bills under the sum of five pounds, without any amendment; and the bill received the royal assent by commission the same day.

Mr. Bramstone, on the 3d of March, brought up the first report of the committee appointed to inquire into the state of the bank, the substance of which was as follows. The committee stated, that they had examined the outstanding claims against the bank with the corresponding assets, and found that on the 25th of February, the day to which the accounts could be made up with accuracy, the total

Mr. Sheridan, on the 9th of March, previous to the reading of the order of the day, begged leave to make a few observations upon the reports of the committee of secrecy, as they were connected with the business of the day. According to the report of that committee, the government was represented as a debtor to the bank in various sums, independent of eleven millions, which the committee reckoned as forming so much of the capital stock of the bank, when in fact that eleven millions was no debt at all, and a declaration of such a nature was calculated to mislead. Instead of being included in the capital stock of the bank

L

23

as a debt, it should have been reckoned, what it really was, as an annuity of 330,000*l.* per annum, that sum being the stipulated interest for the other, during a certain term of years. If the eleven millions actually belonged to the effects of the bank, and was available at any time, and for any purpose, that sum might be made applicable, in any exigency, to discharge any demand that might occur; but that could not be called a debt, where there were no means of claiming the sum so reckoned. Government might pay off that sum if it were so inclined, it was true; but it was improbable that it should do so, nor was it then very likely, that government would pay it off in 1814, that being the expiration of the 18 years for which it was obtained, when it could retain the use of it for so small an interest as 3 per cent. There was no power in the bank to compel the payment of this money at any period, and the payment of it rested solely on the option of government. The bank, as a corporation, was merely a vehicle for managing the national debt; and so long as the national debt existed, the bank would exist also. It would be a corporation to the end of time. So far then it was evident, that the eleven millions did not form a part of the capital stock of the bank, but only gave it an annuity; and this was an instance, he would not say of inaccuracy or design to misrepresent in the committee, but of a statement in consequence of which a sort of impression had gone abroad, as if that money were immediately applicable to any object of relief. The inquiry would then be of what effects the seventeen millions were composed, which were to defray the out-

standing engagements of the bank. They consisted of course of cash in hand, of other disposeable securities, and of bills which the bank had discounted. He next examined the situation of the bank in respect to government. It appeared by the paper on the table, that government owed 9,964,000 to the bank, which remained as part of their assets and the permanent securities towards defraying the 13,770,000*l.* of outstanding demands upon it. He contended that the directors of the bank, upon the present occasion, should have said to government "Why do you not pay us the money you owe us, before you demand a state of our finances? and then we shall be able to satisfy every demand without your interference." About four years before, the bank increased their dividends to 7 per cent. which indicated a growing prosperity. In 1796, the bank undertook to subscribe one million towards the loyalty loan of eighteen millions. If government perceived that the bank was suffering a gradual decrease, they ought to have taken some measure to have paid the debt, or some part of it, which it owed to the bank, to prevent the inconveniences which had since arisen. It appeared as if government had entertained some desire to reduce the bank to such a situation; because, instead of paying what they owed, they took another million from it. If the present difficulties were foreseen, why did the government shut the door, when the books for the subscription to the loyalty loan of eighteen millions were open, and when people from every part of the kingdom came forward with their money and were disappointed? Why, instead of closing the account at
eighteen

eighteen millions, did they not extend it to thirty millions, when they found they could raise the money with so little trouble? By adopting such a mode, they would have been able to pay the bank twelve millions of the debt which they owed, which might have prevented the present difficulties it laboured under. The bank-trustees were bound to do justice to their creditors, to their trust, and to themselves; and it was extraordinary to see wise and just men like them brought to such a situation. He concluded by saying, that he should move the next day, that immediate steps be taken to pay the money advanced by the bank to government.

The two reports were taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house, on the 9th of March. The chancellor of the exchequer rose on that occasion, and made several observations upon the two reports. With respect to the first report, which related to the finances of the bank; he asserted that such had been the effect of it upon the public mind, that there did not exist a question of the general sufficiency and solidity of their funds: from the moment that report had been made public, there did appear an almost general persuasion of their ultimate solidity and sufficiency. But there was another source from which he drew his own conviction of the prosperous state of the funds of the bank, which was the opinion of those who were the most interested in subjects of a pecuniary nature—he meant the merchants and bankers of the city of London, who had clearly and unequivocally manifested to the world the solidity of the bank, by adopting a line of conduct which evinced their confi-

dence in its security. He had never heard until that day, in the speech of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan), any thing stated that in the smallest degree questioned the truth of the account contained in the report of the committee, that the assets in the bank greatly exceeded all the demands against it. It had been stated, that the sums due from the public to the bank of England were neither equivalent to, nor were to be considered in the same point of view as, the capital of any other corporation or company that embarked in trade. In answer to that, he observed, that the security of a certain number of traders, whether a corporation or not, consisted not only of the original sum embarked, but also of whatever profit had been produced in the course of time; and to deny that such original property embarked, if still unimpaired, whether it were secured as part of their outstanding debt or not, was not part of their capital, was to deny every principle upon which every mercantile account was ever constructed. The question was not whether the bank contained actual specie for all the demands which might be made upon them, but whether they had good debts due to them, or property of any other description, which might be finally available to them in the liquidation of the debts owing to the public. It appeared upon the report that the bank was rich, was possessed of substance far exceeding the demands of the public, and that the individuals composing the corporation would have a far greater sum to divide, if a division of property were to take place, than they had originally embarked; and therefore their security was ultimately good. He contended that the re-

port ought to confirm the opinion of the complete and entire sufficiency of the bank; and he thought he had the satisfaction of every gentleman in the house concurring in that opinion, till he heard the honourable gentleman state what he had that day. The committee had reported in distinct terms, that the necessity existed for the order of council; he should therefore feel it his duty to propose the continuance of the measure recommended by the committee. It was his intention to refer to the committee powers to enable them to enter into the examination and discussion of every circumstance which they might have the least reason to suppose in any respect deranged the ordinary channel through which the finances and resources of the country flowed, and to ascertain not merely what related to the bank, but what was the real and undisguised situation of the country. He had the satisfaction to declare, that the fundamental and radical resources of the country were great and flattering. He concluded with moving "for leave to bring in a bill to confirm and continue, for a limited time, the restriction against the issuing of money in specie by the bank of England."

Mr. Fox thought the observations which Mr. Sheridan had made upon the report of the committee were strictly right. No man could be so ignorant as to consider the sum of eleven millions due from government to the bank as a sum of money available to its utmost extent, or as assets which in case of necessity the bank could employ. It was in fact an annuity of 330,000*l.* which government might, or might not, as it thought proper, redeem. He should consider the report as productive of, at least, one very

useful and important consequence, if it had induced the minister to abandon the intention which he announced of guaranteeing the notes of the bank with the sanction of government. He was convinced from the fullest reflection, that the more the bank was identified with the government, the more it would be dependent upon the measures of administration. Mr. Fox extended his observations to a considerable length, in which he followed principally the arguments made use of by Mr. Sheridan.

Lord Hawkesbury and the solicitor-general defended the position of the chancellor of the exchequer; to whom Mr. Sheridan replied in a speech of great energy, defending his former observations upon the report of the committee.

The motion was then put for leave to bring in the bill, which was carried without a division.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, that the secret committee for inquiring into the affairs of the bank, &c. be revived; which was carried by 174 votes against 65. The secret committee was therefore revived. Mr. Sheridan then renewed the motion which he had made before, that the right honourable Charles James Fox be added to the committee. This motion was negatived by 157 votes against 60.

For the accommodation of manufacturers and others, during the scarcity of cash, the legislature passed "An act to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of two acts of the 15th and 17th of the reign of his present majesty, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited sum." A similar bill was also passed for Scotland.

The former of these bills was introduced

introduced into the commons on the 1st of March by Mr. Wilberforce Bird. He proposed, that the bill should not extend to the cities of London and Westminster, nor to the borough of Southwark, on account of small notes issuing from the bank.

Mr. Sheridan deplored the necessity of the measure; but for the accommodation of the manufacturer he agreed to the bringing in of the bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought the effects of the suspension might be beneficial to the metropolis as well as other places, and therefore moved, "that the exception should be left out."

Leave was granted to bring in the bill.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird, on the 3d of March, moved the order of the day upon the said bill, when he begged leave to bring up a clause which he was desirous should be inserted in the bill. The purport of this clause was, that if any person should fail in the payment of a note three days after it became due, it should be lawful for the justices to proceed by summons, distress, &c. to enforce payment. Mr. Bryan Edwards expressed himself directly against the bill, because it went to multiply the quantity of paper in circulation. The bill however was finally passed on this day, and it was agreed, after some discussion, that it should continue in operation till the 1st of May then ensuing; it received the royal assent on the 10th of March.

Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of March, rose to make his promised motion relative to the bank. He endeavoured to account for that recent political phenomenon, why the order for prohibiting the bank from paying in specie should have

been attended with so little alarm. One cause was, that the commercial part of the country derived additional accommodation from the liberality of the bank in discounts. If, previous to this order, the country was impoverished by the war to a degree that was not fully known, the prevalence of certain opinions upon this subject tended to conceal the reality of our situation. The minister felt himself in such a situation, that if he insisted on the bank doing its duty of discharging the just claims of their creditors, and of limiting their discounts, from the pressure they felt for cash, numerous and important failures must have taken place throughout the country, and produced a general indisposition to the continuance of the war. On the other hand, he was aware that if he made no effort to enable the bank to keep its faith with its creditors, but allowed the circumstances on which the order was founded, to come to extremities, he might find a facility in affording a great temporary relief to the difficulties which were experienced. He presumed, that it was for the purposes of government, not from the deficiency of the bank, that the order was issued. The house was called upon by legislative authority to declare that they preferred the accommodation of government to the just claims of the public creditor. The sentiment of Demosthenes, so often quoted, was one which was particularly applicable to our present circumstances. If we were reduced to our present distress without error or misconduct, the state of the country was desperate, and there was no chance of retrieving our affairs. He contended, that it would be found upon inquiry, that the embarrassments of the bank had arisen from a de-

parture from the original object of their institution, and from too close a connection with government. It was necessary to guard against the effects of persuasion or of force, which might be employed by government at any future period. The bank had departed from their original institution, contrary to that clause in the act of king William prohibiting them from ever owing more than the amount of what was owing to them by government. Another clause in the 5th of king William provides, that the bank, under the penalty of forfeiting triple the amount, should not make any advances to government, but on funds granted by parliament. This tied up their hands from making too great advances, and this continued with great advantage till within three years, when a clause to repeal it was thrust by a side-wind into an exchequer loan bill, by which an indemnity was given for past advances, and the controul removed in future. Since that period the bank had made advances to government, which it could not have done had the provision existed. His second proposal, therefore, was to repeal the clause, and to re-establish the prohibition. His third was to enable the bank to avail themselves of the debt due from government. These were the three points which he intended to propose. If the present capital were not sufficient, the sum of eleven millions might be increased, and then, independent of the profits of their transactions, and the assets they possessed, as long as the country existed the creditors of the bank would have security in their dealings. Mr. Sheridan wished the three first propositions to be considered in a committee of the whole house; and concluded, with moving "That it

appearing to this house, that the effects of the bank on the 25th of February last amounted to 17,597,280*l.* and that the outstanding demands on the bank amounted to 13,770,390*l.*; and it further appearing that there is owing to the bank by government the sum of 9,964,413*l.* (exclusive of the permanent debt due from government of 11,686,800*l.*) "Resolved that it is highly expedient, as well for the honour of his majesty's government as for the re-establishment of public credit, that the speediest measures should be taken for the payment to the bank, of the said advances, or of a considerable part thereof."

Mr. Pitt rose, and, after some preliminary observations, demanded across the table, whether Mr. Sheridan meant by his proposition that the bank should never owe more than the country owed to the bank of original debt; or whether he meant that it never should owe more than the country owed to the bank upon parliamentary security?

Mr. Sheridan replied, that he meant by his proposition that the bank should never owe more than the whole amount of the debt due from government to the bank upon parliamentary security. The chancellor then proceeded. He was glad to hear that the honourable gentleman had come to this explanation, which, he was persuaded, was not the original idea which the house supposed from his mode of stating his proposition. What was the best mode of bringing out the specie, when there was a scarcity in circulation, was certainly a point of great delicacy to determine. The honourable gentleman's plan was, to limit the circulation of paper in order to call forth the cash. For his own part he believed it was quite

quite impossible all at once to call back specie into circulation. Paper, he said, was a good medium of exchange if it rested upon a proper ultimate security, and if it did not exceed the demands of the medium; but when a country was surcharged with it, certainly it became a great evil. Mr. Pitt contended, that the propositions then before the house were inadequate to the end for which they were brought forward. The debts of the bank amounted to thirteen millions, all of which was demandable in cash: now, though government were to pay five millions to the bank, even supposing they could pay it in cash, would this be sufficient to liquidate all possible demands upon that corporation? which was the position held by the honourable gentleman. He concluded with moving the previous question.

Mr. Fox defended the resolutions proposed by Mr. Sheridan. He said the question for the house to decide upon was simply this, Whether the liquidation of the debt due from the government to the bank, which was admitted on all hands to be expedient, ought to be executed as a part of the minister's plan of finance, or in consequence of an independent resolution of the house? He thought the latter mode was much preferable. The house divided upon the previous question—

Ayes - - - 183

Noes - - - 45

It has been already observed, that the chancellor of the exchequer introduced the indemnity-bill into the commons on the 9th of March; on the 13th of the same month, he brought up the bill under the title of "A bill for enabling the bank of England to issue notes in payment of demands up-

on them, instead of cash, pursuant to the late order of council to that effect." The bill was read a first time, ordered to be printed, and read a second time on the Thursday ensuing. On that day, however, on account of a paucity of members, the house adjourned without proceeding to business; but on the next day (March 17) the chancellor of the exchequer proposed the second reading of the bill.

Mr. Fox said, there seemed to be no provisions in the bill obliging government to receive notes in payment of the taxes, which, as he supposed, was one part of the minister's plan. He exhorted the house also to observe the alarming situation in which every man in the kingdom was placed. If any person could not pay his debts in cash, he was liable to be sued and arrested at the will of his creditor, as there was no possibility of procuring a supply of specie. This situation was certainly alarming, and it might be particularly hard upon bankers; yet, he was convinced, that if the only remedy which could be resorted to were used, it would be much more ruinous and destructive. Here he alluded to the making of bank-notes a legal tender.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in that stage of the bill, waved making any observations upon what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman.

Mr. Hobhouse objected to the whole bill as an act of robbery and depredation against the public creditor; he therefore opposed it throughout; lest the plunderer, passing in this instance with impunity, should proceed in his system of pillage. He was afraid that mi-

nisters, by issuing the order of council, had taken a step which they would never be able to retrieve.

Mr. Bryan Edwards said, the house was now placed in this predicament, by the motion for the second reading of the bill, either that this stage of the bill should be postponed, that the order of council should be repealed, which would occasion a run upon the bank, or that the house should sanction an order of this nature before they were acquainted with the grounds upon which it was issued, which certainly would be in the highest degree unparliamentary. He was of opinion, that the second reading of the bill should be put off till the report of the secret committee was before the house.

Lord Hawkebury reminded the honourable gentleman and the house, that the committee alluded to had been first appointed to inquire into the necessity of continuing and confirming that order of council. The committee had accordingly made that inquiry, and reported to the house, that the order of council ought to be continued and confirmed; and since that, another inquiry had been referred to that committee, to know whether the privy council were justified in their proceedings at the time of the restriction, which was a consideration secondary to that of its continuance. But certainly the house might, with the greatest propriety, permit the bill to be read a second time, as the opinion delivered in the report of the former committee was, that the operation of the order of council ought to be continued, which undoubtedly could be best carried into effect under the authority of an act of parliament.

Mr. Grey rose chiefly to state to

the house some alarming information contained in a paper presented that day by Mr. Long, in consequence of a motion which was made by an honourable friend of his on a former day. It had also been moved some time before, that ministers, in the present state of the country, ought to be prohibited from sending any further sums to the emperor. The answer of the chancellor of the exchequer on the latter occasion did not preclude him from issuing any part of the 500,000*l.* which was put at his discretion by a vote of credit granted to him by parliament before Christmas. He reminded the house, however, at what time this sum was voted; it was voted before Christmas, long before those calamities which had now overtaken us, long before the house of commons knew that the bank had stopped payment, and that the credit of the country was wounded in its most vital part. Had the house at that time been aware of the dangers with which they were threatened, he was convinced that they would not have given their assent to the measure of sending money out of the country. When this danger was realized, and when we were beset by a crowd of unexpected disasters, he did expect that ministers would have exercised the discretion vested in them for the relief, not for the further oppression, of the public. What was his surprise then, when on looking into the accounts which were that day presented, to find, that as late as Saturday last a sum of 120,000*l.* was issued in exchequer bills to be paid in specie by the bank to the agents of his imperial majesty. He hoped that the house would impose some restrictions upon those ministers, who became more desperate in proportion as the desperation of public

public affairs increased, and prohibit them at this time from sending more money out of the country. He had heard also that these exchequer-bills were at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. discount; a circumstance for which they could not account, as they were payable by the bank on account of the paymasters of the forces.

After a few observations by the chancellor of the exchequer the bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole house on Monday next.

The chancellor of the exchequer on the same day informed the commons that he had that morning had a meeting with some London bankers, who had suggested to him some circumstances, which, in his opinion, would be material for the consideration of the house. These circumstances however were of such a nature as to render it necessary that they should hold a meeting among themselves. It was also necessary they should have an opportunity of holding that meeting before the house went into a committee upon the bill. Under these circumstances it appeared to him necessary that the house should not go into the committee that day, as he had intended. The committee was therefore postponed till the ensuing Wednesday.

On that day (March 22) the house resolved itself into a committee, and the bill being read paragraph by paragraph, on the clause granting an indemnity to the bank, Mr. Dent observed, that the scarcity of cash that then prevailed was partly real and partly ideal. That scarcity had been produced by a variety of circumstances, the alarm of invasion, the melting down of guineas, the sending them abroad,

and the immense speculations which had been occasioned by the extended commerce of the country. From the present state of affairs, bankers, in general, were reduced to a situation of the greatest difficulty and hazard. It was not his wish that notes should be made completely a legal tender, but only so far as the debt of the bank then extended, and, in his opinion, the bank ought to be restricted from issuing any more notes, except with the consent of two-thirds of the proprietors.

Mr. Fox commented on the circumstance of the bank having issued 50,000 guineas for the accommodation of private bankers. The measure might be right or wrong; but what he found fault with was the channel through which the accommodation was obtained. The bankers, instead of petitioning the bank, went and petitioned the chancellor of the exchequer, who interfered with the directors of the bank, and by his influence procured for them this supply. What, said Mr. Fox, must be the consequence of private persons going to the minister and making use of his influence to induce the bank to extend its credit where it had refused to extend it, and to substitute authority in place of confidence. It had been said, from good authority, that because the bank was not liberal enough in its discounts, the merchants had recourse to the same channel, and that in consequence of another authoritative interference these discounts had been extended. One of the reasons why he was against granting indemnity to the bank was, that if the state of things was what it had been represented, and if the persons who entered into the associations* which had been so much talked of, were

* For receiving bank-notes instead of money. See Principal Occurrences.

sincere in their professions, no indemnity would be necessary. If these associations were extensive enough to protect the bank for the future, they might certainly be trusted as amply sufficient to protect it for the past. For these reasons he should vote against the present clause.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied to the arguments of Mr. Fox, and denied the influence of ministers with respect to the bank having accommodated private bankers with the sum of 50,000 guineas, and with respect to the discounting of bills.

Mr. Manning and Mr. Thornton, two bank-directors, assured Mr. Fox that the bank had acted entirely upon their own discretion.

Mr. Baffard strongly reprobated the influence which government had assumed over the affairs of the bank. With regard to the indemnity the house was called upon to pass, he did not know to what it was to apply. He had no doubt in his own mind of the culpability of the bank-directors, and wished an inquiry into their conduct. Parliament ought to cut off entirely that connection which had been fatally established between government and the bank, from which a great part of the present calamity arose.

The question was then called for, and the clause carried without a division.

The second clause being read,

Mr. Fox said, that he intended to move for an exception to this clause with regard to dividend-warrants. That the clause was meant to comprehend these could not be doubted; but if so, it should be more clearly and specifically expressed. As the house was not considering at present the propriety of creating a new circulating medium,

but deliberating upon a measure by which the public faith was broken with the public creditor, by refusing to pay him in cash; he gave notice that he should move as an amendment to this clause, "that the bank should be prohibited from making any advances to government by which the existing debt should be increased during the continuance of the present act."

The chancellor of the exchequer objected to the introduction of any such clause. If the necessity of adopting the present measure arose from the present scarcity of cash in the bank, that circumstance was incompatible with tendering payments of the public dividends in cash. Mr. Pitt remarked, that the precise stipulation with the public creditor was to pay the public dividends at the bank. The sums issued from the exchequer to the bank, and the payment of sums due to government, were usually paid in bank-notes. Nor was it reasonable during the present temporary and national embarrassment, that the receivers of dividends should be the only persons exempted from the consequences which the pressure of the moment unavoidably occasioned.

Mr. Fox replied that the doctrine held by the right honourable gentleman was very alarming, as it opened a way to the most dangerous fraud upon the public creditor. Necessity had compelled the government to defraud the public creditor, by offering him that which the law never had in contemplation when it secured to him 5 per cent. for his money. This was the fulfilment of the event predicted by Mr. Hume: when government was to lay its hands on the sums provided for the payment of the public creditor, the government, not the

the bank, is the debtor, and the refusal of payment is the act, not of the bank, but of the government.

Sir William Pulteney allowed that such was the imperious necessity that it was an answer for any thing which could happen. His principal objection to the bill then before the committee was that it did not state at what time, or whether at any time the bank was to resume its former practice of paying its notes in specie: nobody imagined that the bank was to be shut for ever as to the issuing of specie for paper, and that was the reason the paper was then so current; and therefore to continue that currency, a short period should be inserted in the bill, after which the bank should be allowed to pay in specie. The great thing to be considered was the limitation of time during which the bank was to be restrained from paying in money; but at present there was no time fixed, and all that appeared to refer to that subject was a clause at the end of the bill, which gave power to parliament to alter or amend it during the present session.

The attorney-general conceived that its being left to the wisdom of parliament to alter the bill at any time in this session, was an answer to the objections of the honourable baronet. He contended that the parliament could not at that moment prudently fix the duration of the restriction upon the bank. He then proceeded to answer the objections which Mr. Fox had made to the bill. The withholding of payment in specie, he said, was by no means so alarming as some had stated. He put the case of a private banker in whose hands his customers deposited money for the convenience of their own concerns; they

did so on the faith that he would always have a due proportion of cash in his possession to answer any drafts from day to day they might draw upon him; but they knew very well that, if all his creditors were to come upon him at once, he could not have cash in possession sufficient to answer them all; for they all must know that the profits of his business must consist in laying out at interest and in advantageous commerce a great portion of their property deposited in his hands, in which consisted the profits of the banker. If gentlemen did not apply this observation to the case before them, he would venture to say, that they had not duly considered the subject then in discussion. If a banker was called upon by his customers to make good at once in specie the whole of their demands, what was he to do? he certainly could not satisfy them. He would say "Here are my funds; look at the value of them; it is true they are not money, but they are convertible into money; you must have known, that if you all came upon me at once I could not pay you all in money." The creditors in such a case would say, if they were not obdurate and foolish, "It is not for your interest nor for ours to distress you; cash we know cannot be found immediately; we see your funds are quite sufficient to answer our claims, and therefore we will give you time." This, said the attorney-general, is precisely the case with respect to the bank.

Mr. Fox then made several observations upon the arguments made use of by the attorney-general, and urged further reasons in support of his own.

The chancellor of the exchequer next rose, and replied to the observation which had been made by sir W. Pulteney

W. Pulteney and Mr. Fox, in nearly the same strain of reasoning which he had urged before.

The clause, with the amendments, was then adopted.

The house went into a further committee on the same bill on the 24th of March. When the clause which provided for the payment of the army and navy in specie came under discussion, Mr. Fox granted that their claims upon the public were great, but contended that the claims of the *public creditor* were at least equally so.

Mr. Whitbread saw a good reason why the navy should be paid in specie; but why the foldier should be paid in cash when the day-labourer and working artificer were to be paid in paper, he could not comprehend, unless ministers preferred paying men with arms in their hands in order to call upon them to silence the murmurs of those who were unarmed.

After the chancellor of the exchequer had defended the clause, it was agreed to without a division.

The clause limiting the duration of the bill being read, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed that the blank should be filled up with "the ensuing 24th of June."

Mr. Fox moved "that the 1st of May be substituted for the 24th of June."

Mr. Sheridan thought it necessary that there should be a clause to prevent the bank ever again obeying such an order of council. He then made a fanciful allusion to the bank, as an elderly lady in the city of great credit and long standing, who had lately made a *faux pas*, which was not altogether inexcusable. She had unfortunately fallen into bad company, and contracted too great an intimacy and connection at the St. James's end of the

town. The *young gentleman* however, who had employed all his "arts of soft persuasion," to seduce this old lady, had so far shewn his designs, that by timely breaking off the connection there might be hopes of the old gentlewoman once more regaining her credit, and repairing her injured reputation. He then concluded with supporting the amendment of Mr. Fox. The house divided upon the amendment, ayes 88, noes 218.

Mr. Hobart, on the 27th of March, brought up the report of the committee on the bank-bill, upon which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a clause, providing that bank-notes should be received in payment by the collectors in every branch of the revenue. He had another clause to propose, he said, of great importance.

The house having resolved itself into a committee, he brought forward his first clause, "That the collectors of the revenue, &c. shall receive in payment bank-notes, &c. That this clause shall be made part of this bill during the continuance of the restriction on the bank not to issue cash, &c." Agreed to. The chancellor of the exchequer then proposed the other clause, the substance of which was, that if any man offered a bank-note in payment of a demand, that offer should do away the effect of a personal arrest in the first instance. The clause did not go the length of making bank-notes a legal tender, nor take away the power of the creditor to pursue, in course of legal process, means to obtain payment of his demand in cash, but it hindered him from proceeding to an arrest in the first instance; it saved the holder of a bank-note from the inconvenience of giving bail to an action upon tendering the note. The condition

dition of the creditor by the clause was this, that the bank-note stood as a security for his demand until he should, in a due course of law, obtain his judgment. The clause was brought up and read a first time; but upon the question for the second reading, Mr. Fox observed, that by the clause if one man had a demand upon another for 1000*l.* and he proceeded against him, he could have no other security than that of a bank-note; a very good security he hoped it would be, but then if he took it, and owed another the same sum, and that other did not chuse to take it, he must incur the penalty which would attend the litigation of that demand.

Mr. alderman Curtis stated, that the clause had been laid before the bankers, and that they were satisfied with it.

Mr. Fox then moved "That it shall not be lawful for the bank to issue any cash to government by way of loan to any foreign power, pending the operation of the restriction laid on the bank by the late minute of council."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he felt no objection to the principle of the clause, but thought there should be some exception introduced into it, conferring a power of issuing money to a limited amount, suppose 600,000*l.* and that only on the credit of the exchequer bills already authorised by a vote of parliament.

The clause, with the exception, was agreed to.

Mr. Nicholls moved for leave to bring up a clause for limiting the amount of the debts which the bank might be allowed to contract during the continuance of the present bill. After some observations from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Thornton, this clause was put and negatived.

The chancellor of the exchequer, on the 31st of March, proposed to add a clause to the bill, the purport of which was to allow the bank to repay, at different periods, in cash, those who might at their discretion hereafter deposit cash with the directors of the bank, so that no more than three-fourths of such sums should be repaid by the bank in cash during the continuance of the present bill. This clause was opposed by Mr. Fox, and strongly supported by Mr. Thornton; after which it was agreed to without a division.

Mr. Pitt next introduced a clause to enable the bank, notwithstanding the present restriction, to issue for the accommodation of private bankers and traders in the metropolis a sum in cash not exceeding 100,000*l.* which was adopted without a division. The report was ordered to be received on the Monday following. On that day, however, it was further postponed, but the bill was read a third time on the 4th of April. On that day Mr. W. Bird presented a clause by way of rider, that in all cases where bank-notes might be tendered in payment for rent, it should not be lawful for the person to whom the rent was due, if he refused such tender, to seek a remedy by way of distress.

The clause was brought up and read a first and second time; but after some observations made by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Manning, it was negatived without a division.

Sir William Pulteney next proposed a clause, the object of which was to require the bank within a certain short period after the passing of the act to come forward, and to declare whether they wished the restriction to continue, and if they did not, that the prohibition should immediately cease.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed

opposed the clause and Mr. Fox supported it.

The house divided on the question, that the clause be brought up. Noes 79, ayes 43.

On the 7th of April, upon a question of the duration of the bill, Sir W. Pulteney proposed an amendment to the clause which limited the bill to the 24th of June, by leaving out that period and substituting the 6th of May, which was negatived.

The bill was then passed, and the chancellor of the exchequer was desired to carry the same to the lords for their concurrence.

The bill went through its several stages in the house of lords without any alteration, and was passed into a law a few days afterwards.

The next subject which engaged the attention of the house of commons relative to this business was a motion made by sir William Pulteney "for leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of another bank should the bank of England not open for payment in specie on the 24th of June next." Sir William submitted this motion to the house on the 30th of May. He prefaced it with an historical account of the late failure of the bank. He allowed that the monopoly of the bank of England was an obstacle in the way of his proposal, as its charter did not expire till 1812, and the company took care always to have their charter renewed a considerable time before the period of its expiration. He did not go so far as to say that their stoppage in the first instance was a violation of that charter, though considerable doubts were entertained upon that subject. But if they should not be enabled to open for payment on the 24th of June, there

could be no ground for continuing their monopoly any longer; if they should at that time open for payment in money, his proposal would do no harm, and no second bank would be established. At all events, however, he thought, that if another bank were instituted, it would aid the operations of the old bank. Scotland had two banks, and the affairs of the old one were much more prosperous since the establishment of the new, though all the arguments were previously opposed to it which could be urged against a new bank of England on the present occasion. He contended, that the monopoly of the bank was injurious; that an open competition would be of public service; that in several instances the directors of the bank had been improvident. They had complained to Mr. Pitt of the high price of gold in Portugal, when that was not the best market for it. The price of gold in Portugal was 4l. 8s. 6d. per ounce, when gold could be had at Hamburgh for 3l. 1s. 6d. per ounce.

Mr. S. Thornton contradicted the statement which had just been given of the price of gold at Hamburgh, and defended the bank upon its present plan.

After some observations from Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Pitt, the house divided—for the motion 15, against it 50.

The limits of this publication would not admit of a more extended detail of the parliamentary debates on this subject; but we shall subjoin a few remarks on the report of the committee which sat on the affairs of the bank. There is the utmost reason to believe the report in every respect was a fair one, and the statement must be allowed to be in a great measure satisfactory.

From

From the report it appears that on the 26th of February, 1797, the

finances of the bank stood as follows:

Debtor.	£.
Bank-notes in circulation	8,640,250
Drawing account, audit roll, exchequer-bills, and other debts	5,130,140
	13,770,390
Balance	3,826,890
	17,597,280

Creditor.	£.
Advances on government security	10,672,490
Other credits, including cash, bullion, bills disc. &c.	6,924,790
	17,597,280

Particulars of Debit Account.

	£.
Drawing Account	2,389,600
Exchequer bills deposited	1,676,000
Audit roll (or unpaid dividends)	983,730
Bank-stock dividends, unclaimed	45,150
Dividends unclaimed on East-India annuities	10,210
Sundry small articles unclaimed	1,330
Due from chief cashier, on the loan of 1797	17,060
Unpaid Irish dividends	1,460
Ditto, on the imperial loan	5,600
	5,130,140

Particulars of Credit Account.

	£.
Bills and notes discounted, cash and bullion	4,176,080
Exchequer-bills	8,228,000
Lands and tenements	65,000
Money lent on mortgage, on annuities of 1,200,000l. to the East-India company	700,000
Stamps	1,510
Navy and victualling bills	15,890
American debentures, 1795	54,150
Petty cash in the house	5,320
Sundry articles	24,150
Five per cents. ann. from navy	795,800
Five per cents. 1797	1,000,000
Treasury bills paid for government	1,512,270
Loan to government without interest	376,000
Bills discounted, unpaid	88,120
Treasury and excheq. fees	749
Interest due on different sums advanced to government	554,250
	17,597,280

With respect to the public, therefore, the bank must be regarded as

a solvent company, whose assets are at least three millions more than all the

the demands that can possibly be brought against them. With respect to the proprietors themselves the case is somewhat different, and requires investigation.

The capital of the bank, if taken at par, would be about £. 11,600,000.

To cover this they have lent to government on an annuity of 3 per cent. 11,600,000l. *. But this they cannot convert into specie, nor recover in any other form. It can therefore be only considered of the same value as any other 3 per cent. annuity on government security, which, at 50 per cent. (rather above the present price) is £. 5,800,000

Add to this the balance
as above - - - 3,826,890

Total of assets to answer the above capital of 11,600,000l. } 9,626,890

But, in fact, bank-stock is not bought at par, that is, at 100l. for a nominal share, or 100l. of the above eleven millions and a half; but at the rate of about 125l. per cent. which to the proprietors at large would add one-fourth to the above eleven millions and a half, viz.

Nominal capital - 11,600,000

Twenty-five per cent. premium on the stock or capital - 2,900,000

£. 14,500,000

The trade of the bank, however, enables them to divide at the rate of 7 per cent. on the respective shares, and therefore the price of bank-stock is to be considered not so much paid for actual capital, as for a participation in a profitable business, which, as long as it is able to support itself, will produce an annuity of 7l. for 125l. or whatever may be the current price of bank-stock at any given period.

In the report which was given in to the house of commons, the quantity of specie and bullion deposited in the bank at different periods was not specified; but this, as well as the amount of the discounts for private persons, was represented by certain arbitrary numbers, intelligible only to the directors and certain confidential servants of the bank. These numbers, however, have been deciphered by a gentleman conversant in such calculations; and it appears that the mean number 660, in the following table denotes the sum of 4 millions; that from the 18th to the 25th of February, 1797, the sum of 600,000l. was paid in specie; the fictitious number was therefore reduced from 314 to 210, and consequently the sum of 1,272,000l. was the whole of the cash and bullion in the bank at the time the order of council was issued.

* Round numbers are employed, to avoid fractional calculations; the real sum due from government on a permanent annuity being £. 11,686,800.

TABLE showing the scale of Cash and Bullion in the Bank, from 1782 to 1797.

1782. No.	No.	1789. No.	No.	1796. No.
March 602	Dec. 31 1226	Mar. 28 1462	Sept. 28 1032	January 558
June 586	1786.	June 27 1634	Dec. 29 868	March 490
Sept. 382	Mar. 24 1178	Sept. 26 1764	1793.	May 438
Dec. 352	June 30 1220	Dec. 24 1756	Mar. 30 580	July 414
1783.	Sept. 30 1256	1790.	June 29 728	Sept. 418
March 208	D c. 30 1190	Mar. 26 1712	Sept. 28 1128	Dec. 414
June 136	1787.	June 25 1652	Dec. 30 1274	1797.
Oct. 78	Mar. 21 1096	Sept. 24 1684	1794.	January
Dec. 116	June 30 1140	Dec. 31 1616	Mar. 29 1420	Feb. 4 338
1784.	Sept. 28 1270	1791.	June 28 1354	— 11 340
June 224	Dec. 29 1186	Mar. 26 1516	Sept. 27 1336	— 18 356
Sept. 25 326	1788.	June 25 1552	Dec. 24 1282	— 21 314
Dec. 31 445	Mar. 29 1124	Sept. 24 1582	1795.	— 22 298
1785.	June 28 1240	Dec. 31 1420	March 1310	— 23 284
Mar. 19 582	Sept. 27 1404	1792.	June 1214	— 24 } 268
June 25 884	Dec. 24 1438	Mar. 31 1236	Sept. 956	— 25 } 210
Sept. 24 1174		June 30 1132	Dec. *660	

* This number has been stated to represent *fair cash*.

The discounts to merchants, and will observe, represented also in the other individuals, are, the reader table below*, by arbitrary numbers,

TABLE OF DISCOUNTS.

YEAR.	SCALE.	YEAR.	SCALE.
1792 —	$\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	1795 —	1 to $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1
1793 —	1 to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	1796 —	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2
1794 —	1 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1	1797 —	2 to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *.

* This is brought down to the 16th of March, or thereabouts.

Monthly Scale of Discounts for the Years 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

1793. No.	1794. No.	1795. No.	1796. No.
January 5 214	January 4 101	January 4 104	January 2 179
February 1 209	February 1 110	February 7 107	February 6 152
March 2 217	March 1 131	March 7 103	March 5 127
April 6 320	April 5 137	April 11 187	April 2 131
May 4 283	May 3 139	May 2 176	May 7 129
June 1 231	June 13 147	June 6 157	June 3 168
July 6 178	July 5 149	July 4 220	July 2 165
August 3 123	August 2 120	August 1 151	August 6 163
September 7 93	September 6 90	September 5 85	September 3 151
October 5 102	October 4 92	October 3 79	October 1 189
November 8 91	November 8 85	November 7 96	November 3 160
December 7 89	December 1 85	December 5 140	December 3 171

1797.

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of

of which £ is the medium; but these being decyphered in the same manner, it appears that the real discounts on the 26th of February amounted to no more than 2,904,080*l.* and the following table will at once exhibit

the state of the cash and bullion, the average of bank notes in circulation, the discounts and advances to government during the several periods which it embraces.

Date.	Cash and Bullion.	Average of Bank Notes Circulated.	Bills Discounted.	Average Advan. to Government.
1793. March	3,508,000	11,963,820	4,817,000	8,735,200
June	4,412,000	12,100,650	5,128,000	9,434,000
September	6,836,000	10,938,620	2,065,000	9,455,700
December	7,720,000	10,967,310	1,976,000	8,887,500
1794. March	8,608,000	11,159,720	2,908,000	8,494,100
June	8,208,000	10,366,450	3,263,000	7,735,800
September	8,096,000	10,343,940	2,000,000	6,779,800
December	7,768,000	10,927,970	1,887,000	7,545,100
1795. March	7,940,000	12,432,240	2,287,000	9,773,700
June	7,356,000	10,912,680	3,485,000	10,879,700
September	5,792,000	11,034,790	1,887,000	10,197,600
December	4,000,000	11,608,670	3,109,000	10,863,100
1796. March	2,972,000	10,824,150	2,820,000	11,351,000
June	2,582,000	10,770,200	3,730,000	11,269,700
September	2,532,000	9,720,440	3,352,000	9,901,100
December	2,508,000	9,645,710	3,796,000	9,511,400
1797. Feb. 26	1,272,000	8,640,250	2,905,000	10,672,490

From these documents it will appear that our observations in the beginning of this chapter are strictly correct; and that the importance of the bank, as a public institution, has been unwarrantably magnified. If we compare the sum of 12,000,000*l.* which has in general been the extent of the bank-notes in circulation, with the whole trade of Great Britain as estimated by the custom-house reports, how insignificant will it appear? And if we consider that the assistance which this institution has afforded to commerce has seldom exceeded three or four millions at any given time, how trifling must it appear in com-

parison with the immense capitals which are annually turned over in our different manufactures?

The truth is, the trade of Great Britain is chiefly carried on, independent of the bank, by a kind of barter, traffic, or circulation among the traders themselves, who accept and receive private bills of exchange to an infinitely greater amount than the whole circulation of the bank of England. The bank-paper is chiefly confined in its circulation to the metropolis; and the assistance which it extends to individuals, is principally extended to the merchants and traders of the metropolis. It quickens, perhaps, and

and preserves, in some degree, the vital energy in that part which may be considered as the centre of commercial action; thus far it is of use and importance, but this is the utmost limit of its utility; and it must be a consolatory reflection to Englishmen to know, that the trade

and manufactures of the country can be affected but in a very slight degree by the prosperity or misfortunes of the bank.—They happily rest on a firmer basis—on the genius, industry, and spirit of the people.

CHAP. VI.

State of Ireland with respect to France.—Observations on the abortive Attempt of General Hoche.—Becomes the Subject of Debate in the British Parliament.—Debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Whitbread's Motion relative to the Invasion of Ireland.—Debate in the House of Lords on the same Subject.—Earl of Moira's Motion on the State of Ireland—negatived.—Mr. Fox's Motion in the House of Commons on the same Subject—also negatived.

IF we except the transactions in Italy, where the commanding genius of Buonaparte seems to have risen superior to the impediments which the weakness, folly, or selfishness of his employers might have thrown in his way, we may venture to pronounce that the present directory of France have exhibited but slender talents for conducting a war, and but little of that vigour, industry, and stratagem, which marked the politics of their predecessors. Their threatened invasion of England is become almost proverbially ridiculous; nor have they on any occasion manifested an energy equal to their resources, or a genius in directing ably even the slender preparations they have made. The attempt at an invasion of Ireland, under the direction of general Hoche, which we noticed in our last volume, was the only effort that was made to put their bombastic threats and their poisonous pro-

clamations in execution. That attempt, fortunately for Britain, was ill planned. The whole conduct of the expedition was entrusted to one man, without even an able second in command, who was properly instructed to supply his place, should any accident prevent the co-operation of the commander in chief; the consequence was, that the troops and seamen who first made their destined port, were without a leader, and incapable of acting. The directory, too, appear to have been unaccountably ignorant of the state of the country which it was their object to subdue, since late events have shewn that the descent was not made in the most vulnerable part, nor was the faction itself, which was expected to aid the design, apparently apprized of the enterprize, or prepared to co-operate. Had they acted in concert, and had the force of the French been directed to several points of

the island, it is more than probable that this valuable appendage of the British empire would have been forever separated from the parent land; a revolution, more sanguinary perhaps, and certainly more disastrous in proportion to its nearness, than the American revolution, might probably have been effected. Providentially for this island, as well as for Ireland itself, the design was frustrated by the weakness of its projectors, and by the rigour of the season and the elements; and we may venture to predict that a second opportunity equally favourable will not occur, and that Ireland will never now be reduced under the Gallic yoke.

To enter into the causes of disaffection which concurred to produce the late unhappy ferment in that kingdom would at this season be obviously improper; and to extend these observations further would be to anticipate much of that matter which we shall in the course of this chapter have an opportunity of giving upon superior authority. Let it suffice to say, that the exposed situation of Ireland, and the supposed neglect of the admiralty, with respect to observing the motions of the Brest fleet, were made the subject of a motion in the British house of commons on the 3d of March. The opening of this interesting debate was entrusted to Mr. Whitbread, who enlarged much on the want of precaution in the ministers in general, and on the inactivity of the admiralty in particular. Information, he said, had been received through various channels, that Ireland was one great object of the meditated attack of the enemy. Had any measures then been taken towards the defence of that country, when the attack was

actually made? He entreated the attention of the house to its situation when the enemy was on the very coast: from the letter of the commander in chief in that quarter (general Dalrymple) it appeared that, instead of any effectual measures having been previously adopted for its defence, every thing remained to be done. After mentioning the appearance of the enemy in Bantry Bay, the general says, that he will proceed to put every thing into the most proper train for defeating their designs.

Was this (continued Mr. Whitbread) a proper defence against so active and enterprising an enemy as we have to contend with? There was not at the time more than three thousand regular troops to oppose the whole force of the French; the city of Cork in particular was in the most imminent danger of falling into their hands, had not that God alone, who has so often favoured and protected this country, prevented it. In Cork were contained stores and provisions of various kinds to the amount of a million sterling in value: amongst those stores were the whole of the provisions intended for the use of the British navy for the following year, so that, had they been taken or destroyed, our navy would have been for a year to come annihilated. He proceeded to state the motions of the French fleet, and of our own, from the time of their quitting Brest. Admiral Colpoys, with a fleet of fourteen or fifteen sail of the line, was lying off Brest harbour for some weeks; the French fleet however, in defiance of this, sailed from Brest on the 15th of December: on the 20th they arrived on the coast of Ireland, and some of them dropped anchor in Bantry Bay
previous

previous to that, and during the time that admiral Colpoys was with his squadron lying off Brest, admiral Richery, with six French ships of the line, passed our squadron and got safe into Brest; so that the enemy were at sea, and on the coast of Ireland, from the 18th of December to the 6th of January. On the 20th of December news arrived in England that the French fleet had quitted Brest, and on the 31st that it was off the coast of Ireland. On the same day exactly admiral Colpoys with the fleet under his command arrived at Portsmouth: the reasons given for his return with his squadron are various and contradictory; one was, that his force was insufficient to encounter that of the enemy. If this be the real cause (said Mr. Whitbread), it furnishes additional reason for inquiring into the conduct of ministers, and of the first lord of the admiralty in particular.

There was another circumstance which had occurred very remarkable: admiral Elphinstone arrived in Ireland in the *Monarch* of 74 guns, accompanied by a frigate. He gave notice to the castle of Dublin that he, with the ship under his command, and with the frigate, was ready to join any other force that might be allotted for the purpose of going in search of the enemy. Admiral Kingsmill also issued orders for several frigates to sail on the same errand; yet on the 3d of January admiral Elphinstone arrived at Spithead with the *Monarch*, without having seen any of the enemy's fleet. Lord Bridport, who sailed the same day from thence, and went first to Brest, and then shaped his course to Ireland, returned to Spithead equally unsuccessful; and the designs of the enemy were only

frustrated by the winds, and the safety of Ireland entirely abandoned to the chance of the elements.

Another reason assigned for the return of admiral Colpoys' squadron into port was, that it was short of provisions; but, continued Mr. Whitbread, is it possible to conceive that, in all the time it lay off Brest, either fresh ships could not have been sent to relieve him, properly victualled, or transports have been forwarded to re-victual the fleet? When information had been received of the active and extensive preparations going forward at Brest, after the large sums consumed in secret service money, and with the immense navy in our possession, shall we be told they ought not to have sent out fresh ships to have reinforced that squadron? He concluded by moving "that it might be referred to a committee to inquire into the conduct of ministers respecting the late attempt of the French to invade Ireland."

Mr. Dundas replied to Mr. Whitbread in a speech of some length. He exonerated the admiralty from any want of foresight, or failure of duty; said it was impossible to decide whether Portugal or Ireland was the object of the French fleet; asserted that it was the wisest measure our government could adopt to divide our fleets, stationing one off Brest (to watch the enemy and intercept the sailing of the expedition) and the other at home, to relieve it if necessary, or join it if expedient. He contradicted a statement that had gone abroad, that no frigate or squadron had been appointed by the admiralty to watch over the enemy in Brest harbour, and give an account to admiral Colpoys as circumstances should require. Sir Edward Pellew was ap-

pointed, and did actually cruise there. But notwithstanding the diligence and skill of the admiral, and the experience and courage of sir Edward, their exertions were in vain: for the state of the weather was such that it was impossible for the admiral to keep his own fleet under his observation, and the air was so hazy that the fog guns were continually fired. Could any man doubt sir Edward's inclination to have given, if possible, the intelligence to the admiral that the enemy had put to sea; or that admiral Colpoys was not desirous to see it? was it likely he should be unwilling, when he had a fleet under his command so superior to that of the enemy? It was the wisest resolution he could take, not to follow them to Portugal or Ireland till he knew their certain destination; and he kept his station for the chance of intercepting all or part of the fleet in case of dispersion by a storm; he recollected also, that the circumstance of their having sailed would be known to the admiralty, and by remaining where he was, he should receive such authentic intelligence as he could not otherwise expect to obtain.

Respecting the charge of the want of provisions, Mr. Dundas could not but admit the squadron had remained longer on its station than was at first supposed necessary, and not relieved as soon as the admiralty had intended; the reason was, sir Roger Curtis should have been in port the beginning of November, and did not come till the 18th. He had been appointed to cruise off Rochfort, where he remained a fortnight longer than was expected, to intercept the return of Richery's squadron from Newfoundland. Sir Roger's squadron consisted of seven

fail of the line, and was to have been sent to the relief of the fleet off Brest; but the wind was so adverse as to render it impossible for them to come to Spithead before the 18th of November. As to the interval which took place between the arrival of admiral Colpoys and the sailing of lord Bridport, the instructions of sir Edward Pellew reached the admiralty on the 20th of December; and on the 21st he received information of the sailing of the French fleet from Brest, and immediately returned for answer, that all the fleet would be ready four days after, namely, the 25th. [Here Mr. Dundas read the orders of the admiralty, issued on the 21st, and another order issued after, counteracting some part of them, and desiring him to proceed off Cape Clear immediately.] He wished it to be observed, that, although the French fleet arrived off the coast of Ireland on the 21st of December, no intelligence of them was received in this country till the 31st; the admiralty had taken the chance of finding admiral Colpoys on the station where they expected him to have been, off the Lizard in case of any adverse winds removing him from the French coast. Lord Bridport had always been not only a gallant but a successful admiral; yet it so happened, that, although admiral Colpoys had been hovering with his squadron off Brest to intercept the enemy upon their leaving that harbour, although lord Bridport afterwards proceeded off Cape Clear and the Irish coast with the same design, and although the Duke and the Majestic, with two other ships of war, were sent in search of them, they were so covered by the fog, and protected by fortune, as to escape them all. The honourable
gentle

gentleman, Mr. Whitbread, had said, that Ireland was saved by the elements; but he should have remembered that the same wind which dispersed the enemy prevented our fleets from meeting them.

Mr. Dundas considered *invasion* as nothing but a bugbear; yet did not wish us to relax in our precautions on the one hand, or to despond on the other. Exclusive of our naval forces in the East and West Indies, the North Seas, and the Mediterranean, we had fifty sail of the line for the defence of Britain and Ireland, and upwards of two hundred thousand men under arms. Hitherto both the government and force of this country had been calumniated; he hoped he had proved satisfactorily that no blame was imputable to the admiralty or to the officers, though he by no means wished to prevent inquiry; their conduct he thought could well sustain the test.

Mr. Grey observed, that ministers had for a long time laboured to create an alarm in that house and in this country; they had so far succeeded as to secure the confidence of a majority of parliament, who upon all occasions during this war had uniformly voted against any inquiry into their conduct; but they had abused that confidence so much, and had brought the country into so deplorable a state, that even their most confidential friends and adherents began at last to speak of the necessity of inquiry: how far they were sincere would be seen by their votes. But ministers now began to be alarmed for themselves; that was, for their own safety; and, to restore confidence, they found it necessary to do away the alarm themselves had created: whilst it continued it suited the purpose of

the right honourable gentleman well enough; but when it was such as to make his adherents think it proper to inquire into the conduct of administration, it became essential to do it away as soon as possible.

But to pursue the idea of the "bugbear," *invasion*, Mr. Grey observed, that in the place where an attack of the enemy was apprehended, and where it was actually made, there was neither a cavalry nor a supplementary militia bill; in the place where there was no apprehension of attack, there were both: the place against which it was not expected to be made, was to be defended in an extraordinary manner, and the place where it was likely to be made, left perfectly defenceless! And he would say, that the enemy's not succeeding in Ireland was not owing to the wisdom of his majesty's ministers, but to the interposition of Providence.

The right honourable secretary had stated, that on the 21st of December instructions had been sent to lord Bridport to put to sea immediately. Why did he not do so, when the wind was fair, on the 22d, 23d, and 24th? It was no excuse to say that his squadron was not ready, or that admiral Curtis had not returned from his cruise: the admiralty ought to be impeached for not having a fleet ready to sail on the 22d. Mr. Grey ascribed it wholly to the neglect of administration, that the enemy's fleet had remained fourteen days unmolested off the coast of Ireland; there was no adequate force in that part of it to oppose them. The expedition had been considered as a fortunate event, as it had proved the loyalty of the Irish in that quarter. Their loyalty, indeed, he said, was meritorious in proportion

to the few obligations which they were under to their government; he condemned the restrictions on the catholics, and insisted that nothing could add more to the discontents of Ireland than the neglect which the people of that country had met with at different periods from administration.

Mr. Wyndham, in reply to the last speaker, stated, that general presumptions of neglect were sufficient causes for inquiry, but those presumptions ought first to be substantiated. He vindicated the conduct of the admiralty; affirmed it was impossible to keep a fleet for any length of time in such a state of preparation as to be ready to sail at a moment's warning, and that it would have been rashness to have sent lord Bridport out with an inferior fleet when government did not know but that the French were out with sixteen sail of the line. He denied the possibility of Cork falling into their hands, even had the enemy landed; complimented the inhabitants of the southern parts of Ireland on their loyalty, and observed, that it was singular those very men who were supposed the most oppressed in that kingdom, had manifested the most firm attachment to government; while those in the North, who were not said to have any cause of complaint, had shown a disposition to insurrection. He thought this went a good way towards proving that it was possible for men to make groundless complaints against those by whom they were governed. He did not absolutely charge the opposition with evil intentions, when they talked of those parts of his majesty's dominions most liable to attack, but he wished them to recollect, observations of this kind

partook of the nature of a two-edged sword: they might happen to convey information to the enemy what place might be most successfully attacked, as well as expose the negligence of ministers.

Mr. Fox took up this part of the speech first. It was, he said, a stale and profligate argument always used against those who had opposed the measures of administration; and when ministers were charged with neglecting the defence of the country, the real patriots were considered as holding out an invitation to the enemy to invade us. If this were true, we had better at once put an end to the forms, as we had done to the substance, of the constitution; and, instead of making members take the oath against transubstantiation, let no man enter the house who would not previously declare that he would never in any way say any thing against the conduct of the executive government.

In a state of war every complaint must be of the nature of a two-edged instrument. If we point out that one part of the country is weak, we may be told, it is communicating to the enemy which is the least defensible side of the empire. But to whom is this complaint to be made? Are ministers the only persons permitted to give advice in such exigencies?

Ireland, Mr. Fox said, was divided into two parties; the contented, and the discontented: the catholics were in a state of unjust exclusion, but he was far from affirming, that the protestants had no reason for complaint, or that they were not shut out from the essence and the substance of the British constitution. He conceived the north, the south, and the eastern part of Ireland to be in such a state, that,

that, if a speedy remedy were not applied, the minister would not do justice to the British empire.

The grievances of Ireland were real, deep, well founded: but whether they were so, or not, we heard the people in the South were loyal; yet all the reward they obtained for their loyalty was not a redress of grievances, not a cessation of exclusions. No! it is empty praise, and barren testimony! He admired the conduct which they had manifested upon the late occasion, and he should have expected it would have been deemed an unanswerable reason for giving the people without delay those privileges to which they were entitled by justice. No such project, however, had yet been adopted, and that country remained in the same state in which it was at the recel of lord Fitzwilliam. He left them after having had the authority of government for their tantalizing expectations, and the cup of happiness was on a sudden dashed from their lips. Would the right honourable gentleman assert, that those who supported lord Fitzwilliam were inclined to jacobinism, of which the true patriots of England had been so often accused? Look, continued Mr. Fox, to men of as great respectability and of as splendid talents in that country as any in this: look to the name of Grattan, and say whether Ireland has no grievances! But perhaps I shall be told I am holding out an invitation to the French; far from it: he was inviting, he said, his majesty's ministers to remove that discontent, and to redress those evils of which the Irish had so much reason to complain. Mr. Fox ridiculed the secretary of war, who had asked how we possibly could be invaded having a superior force,

when the subject of inquiry was, how came the enemy actually to invade us? Without expressing dissatisfaction at the conduct of admiral Colpoys, he said, we ought to have had a second fleet at home, ready to sail from Portsmouth as soon as the news reached England. Mr. Fox ended his speech with strenuously maintaining that it was the duty of that house not to take the words of one set of ministers in defence of another. It might be injurious to the reputation of lord Spencer, as it had been to his predecessor, lord Chatham; for the former had a majority of the commons in his favour, when an inquiry was moved to examine his conduct, and yet shortly after he was compelled to resign his office of first lord of the admiralty.

Mr. Sturt complained of the repeated insults offered to our coasts, which he insisted fully justified inquiry. Admiral Colpoys' ship came into port short of provisions. He was astonished at nothing which Mr. Dundas asserted, well knowing his boldness, confidence, and assurance; his whole statement of the security of Ireland was a misstatement; he read a letter to prove it; and he hoped that the present ministers would not much longer have the direction of affairs.

Mr. chancellor Pitt re-echoed all that his friend Mr. Dundas had said—affirming, that nothing more could have been done than to have one fleet on the French coast, and another ready for sea. The French admiral and general Hoche (he said) who were in the secret, and failed in the same expedition, as well as other captains of the fleet, had never been able to join it from the same causes of weather. *He expatiated on the prodigies of valour which might have been expected, had*

our

our fleets been so fortunate as to have met the enemy! He much complained, at the conclusion of his speech, of Mr. Fox's inflammatory language respecting the state of Ireland—especially of the catholics, who never had had more indulgencies granted them than within these few years, and the allegation he declared was untrue, that they had been oppressed under the present government.

Mr. Whitbread animadverted on the arrival of admiral Elphinstone in Ireland, whilst the French squadron was in Bantry Bay; which, as he afforded no assistance against them, demanded explanation.

Lord Keith (late admiral Elphinstone) said he had always discharged his duty to the best of his abilities, and for the service of his country. If he conducted himself ill as an officer, he was amenable to a court-martial; if he had offended as a member of parliament, he professed himself ready on any proper occasion to answer any inquiry which might be demanded of him.

Mr. Whitbread disclaimed the least intention of throwing out insinuations against the character or services of the gallant admiral, for whose valour and merits he professed veneration. The circumstance which he had slightly mentioned, incidentally occurred among other facts which he thought it his duty to bring forward, without personal censure to the admiral, who was clear from all blame in the transaction alluded to.

The house divided on the previous question.—For it 201, against it 62.

The same subject was brought under the consideration of the upper house on the 16th of the same month.—On that day, the order of the day for their lordships being

summoned having been read, for an inquiry into the naval defence of Ireland, during the late attempt at an invasion. The earl of Albemarle rose to make the motion of which he had given notice on a former day—assuring the house, that he did not mean to hint the smallest disrespect to the officers, or to the admiralty. The object he had in view was, inquiry. The opinion that considerable blame lay somewhere was universal: it was necessary to ascertain where, and to whom imputable. The great importance of Ireland as a component part of this empire, admitted no doubt: ministers must have been informed long before the meeting of the present parliament, that an invasion either of this country or Ireland, or both, had been meditated by the enemy. It is evident they did know this, from the language they held forth to the public in the commencement of the present session. How came it then, that with a perfect knowledge of this intention so early as September last, when an armament of the enemy was openly preparing at Brest, no fleet of ours should be stationed on the coast of Ireland for its protection?

Facts attested, that the French fleet, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, several frigates, and numerous transports, all full of troops, actually sailed from Brest, anchored in Bantry Bay, remained there, some of them during eleven days, and afterwards (with inconsiderable loss, the whole of which was owing to storms) returned to their own ports without falling in with a single ship of the English navy to impede or molest them. His lordship said, he did not doubt the anxiety of admiral lord Bridport to sail as soon as possible, and therefore his sailing down

down the channel must have been in consequence of orders received from the admiralty. Another thing which appeared extraordinary, was, that after the admiral had found the whole of the enemy's fleet had left that coast, he still continued cruising off Bantry Bay for a day and a half before he proceeded any where else in quest of them. It here struck him forcibly as negligent and blameable, that, after ministers had so long been informed of the armament at Brest, the fleet under lord Bridport was not more numerous, and all ready. He then adverted to that under admiral Colpoys; many of his ships were in want of those essential articles on ship-board, water and fuel. Lastly, he adverted to the squadron under admiral Elphinstone, which, instead of joining the squadrons then at sea, came to St. Helens the very day lord Bridport left it. He moved an inquiry, therefore, into the measures of government for the defence of Ireland, when an invasion was attempted by France.

Earl Spencer replied, in vindication of the admiralty, that a government might sometimes have too much as well as too little information respecting the plans of an enemy, — and when from different quarters they derived different intelligence, it became a matter of uncertainty how they were to act. He confidently affirmed, they had acted in the best manner from the information they had received. He denied that the fleet of admiral Colpoys was obliged to come into port for want of necessaries; it was driven up the channel by tempestuous weather. Water, indeed, they had not in any great abundance; but in some ships more was used than in others, and in this manner more consumed than was

necessary — though he did not mean to reflect upon the gallant commander. After vindicating the conduct of lord Bridport, who could not (he said) know that there were seven ships of the enemy in Bantry Bay, nor put to sea owing to adverse winds, he gave his decided negative to the motion of the noble lord.

The earl of Carlisle and the marquis of Abercorn, voted for the inquiry; the latter observing, that for the justification of ministers four points ought to be proved; — first, that this country had a sufficient fleet ready for sea; secondly, that admiral Colpoys' fleet was strong enough to keep the sea; that it was provided amply with stores; and fourthly, that he had received particular orders to turn his attention to Ireland, and proceed thither as soon as he had intelligence that the French fleet had sailed. None of these points had been proved — but, on the contrary, it was evident, a sufficient fleet was not ready; the admiral had been too long at sea; he was not provided with stores, and, above all, no positive orders had been given him to make the safety of Ireland his principal object.

Earl Spencer considered an inquiry as a censure on the admiralty board, to which no blame was imputable. If admiral Colpoys' fleet, together with lord Bridport's, had gone to Ireland, the channel would have been left open to the Dutch fleet, in which case the noble marquis would not have spared the lords of the admiralty. He contended that a discretionary power ought to be vested in those who had the management of naval affairs in this country.

The earl of Moira said, that the generosity of the noble earl had involved and perplexed his own defence;

fence: he had combined with it the impracticable attempt of likewise clearing the character of his colleagues. The point to be considered was, why admiral Colpoys had not received orders to proceed to Ireland as soon as he received information that the French fleet had failed. If the best means for securing that country were not taken, it was the fault of administration in general; orders must have issued from the council: they had certain intelligence of the enemy's design, and it was a criminal neglect that no proper modes of defence were adopted. Of any blame on this head he fully acquitted the first lord of the admiralty. What was the state, what were the resources, what the prospects of this country at the present moment? If we are to go on with patience, to call it by the gentlest name (said his lordship), the nation never will rise from its degraded situation. To be ruined it is not necessary that the island should be sunk in the sea, or that its inhabitants should disappear—but when the adverse circumstances in which it is placed, involve confusion which no longer allows things to move in their usual course, or to be managed as they have been for centuries past, then that country may be said to be ruined: they should learn to appreciate their real situation; and he should vote for the inquiry, in the hope that they would proceed farther, and shew to whom the disasters of the war were attributable, and examine why the ministers did not improve the favourable opportunities presented to them?

The earl of Liverpool, upon the whole view of the matter, professed himself perfectly satisfied that every thing had been effected which human prudence could suggest.—His

lordship threw all the blame upon the elements, and could not agree to censure any part of administration, by assenting to such an inquiry.

The duke of Bedford examined very dispassionately every branch of the subject, and concluded with casting the blame upon the ministers. He thought the house had nothing more to do, than to read the papers upon their table, and to attend to the speech of the first lord of the admiralty, in order to be satisfied of the necessity of inquiry: and the question was, whether, upon an *evident necessity*, their lordships would inquire for their own sakes, and the sake of the public, or continue a blind confidence in ministers, and deceive the public?

Lord Hood expressed his decided opinion, that such a motion could be of no good, and would produce much harm: that this was a time when the hearts and hands of every man should unite in the support of the country. He saw no blame in his majesty's ministers, and could not, therefore, assent to the inquiry. He hoped, by means of our naval power our wishes would soon be gratified by a speedy peace. He should have been glad (he said) to have served in this *just* war, if he had been permitted to do so.

Lord Auckland opposed the motion. He could see no reason for terming this a miscarriage on our part. The enemy had failed in the expedition, and had lost one fourth of their ships, and nearly five thousand of their men. Our country had sustained no calamity by sea; she had risen to glory, and in the course of the contest destroyed 100 ships of war belonging to the enemy.

The earl of Guildford said, that having

having more than once in the present war (which all persons now, he believed, would join with him in asserting to have been calamitous) proposed inquiries such as this, he should now go over the same ground again, in the same line of unsuccessful argument; but he could not refrain from addressing those lords who had been in the habit of prevailing so often upon the judgment of the house. He would put it to others also, whether they could refuse to institute an inquiry! That some was necessary upon the occasion, was not denied; for no sooner had the subject been mentioned, than the noble earl at the head of the admiralty was ready to produce papers, which had been laid upon the table. That they had been garbled, he would not say; but he would contend they had been, for the purpose of conveying information, very badly selected. He could find no good reasons in them for the admiral being kept so long at sea. Ireland obviously ought to have been the first point of defence, and it had not been protected.

The earl of Scarborough quoted an expression of sir George Saville, "that to vote for an inquiry into the cause of disaster, was not to vote censure." The present moment demanded it: every thing had been sacrificed to confidence; he took shame for having gone so long in that track, and now voted for inquiry.

Lord Grenville declared he had listened with astonishment to the mode in which the noble lords had supported this motion, and more than once was in doubt whether they were not wholly mistaken in the facts upon which they were to decide. Whenever any expedition failed, the whole blame was thrown

upon ministers, without stopping to ascertain whether they were guilty or not. It was supposed they could at pleasure command the winds and waves, and send a fleet up and down the channel at a minute's warning! but it would be impossible to conjecture the truth of this transaction from what had fallen during the debate. Though without any loss on our part, it had been represented as a national disgrace: whatever failure had been, was upon the side of the enemy, who actually had lost near five thousand men in this wild attempt. — A stranger might imagine the French fleet had completely triumphed over ours, whereas they merely had *escaped it!* And their escape was in consequence of events which it was not possible for us to foresee, or to prevent.

In no former war had this country ever been able to keep two fleets in the channel, nearly equal to that of the French; and yet in this war two constantly had been maintained, one ready for sailing, the other blocking up Brest. As to Ireland, his lordship admitted its defence must rest upon the fleet, as well as England; but they were by no means in such a state as to render such an invasion alarming. The French affected to have some hopes of being joined in Ireland, but the event shewed how much they were mistaken. Whatever might be regretted respecting our miscarriages on the continent, in our naval attempts there was nothing but success and glory — whereas the only triumph of our enemies was escape!

The marquis of Lansdowne strenuously enforced the necessity of an inquiry. He spoke of the new subject of discontent which had arisen in Ireland: gentlemen who

who had formally taken the part of government, now acknowledged that that country had been neglected: applications had been made for protection, and it had been abandoned. Ministers had pledged themselves to keep up a great land force, which had been withdrawn; and that a naval force should be kept up on the Irish coasts in all future wars, was a stipulation made in the last war. Were he minister at this time, he would station a fleet in the Cove of Cork immediately. The marquis censured the ministers and the admiralty concerning their whole conduct in the late attempted invasion—their procrastinations—their neglects; and their mistakes were likely to be as fatal as they had been disastrous. The subject, he said, lay to-day between the house and the ministers; to-morrow it would lie between ministers and the public, who would not fail to see the inability imputable to the admiralty.

Earl Fitzwilliam thought the conduct of our marine, as to its great operations, belonged equally to all the cabinet. There had been blame, and there ought to be inquiry.

Lord Grenville affirmed, that Ireland, so far from having been neglected, had been the object of particular attention!

The house divided on lord Albemarle's motion, contents 14, non-contents 74.

Notwithstanding the defeat of the opposition party in this effort, the state of Ireland was again brought under the consideration of the upper house, by a nobleman particularly acquainted with that kingdom, and as particularly interested in its welfare.—On the 21st of March, lord Moira made a motion, of which he had some time

before given notice, respecting Ireland: he began with observing, that where two separate and independent legislatures existed acting each within its own sphere for the happiness of two countries united under one common head, and identified by a common interest, it certainly was of the utmost importance for them mutually to respect the line by which their authority was bounded. They ought to be careful not to exceed the line of demarcation, and to employ the utmost delicacy in agitating questions in which the privileges and independence of each other were involved. Although this general truth could not be disputed, circumstances might occur in which it might be meritorious for them mutually to manifest their attention and anxiety for objects in which their common interests were concerned. Upon these grounds, he therefore rose for the purpose of moving an address to his majesty, “that he would graciously be pleased to interpose his paternal interference, to remedy the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and created the most serious alarm for that country and the dearest interests of Britain.” This was no question of internal regulation, it was a point of common concern and mutual interest, upon which both countries had an equal right to stand forward. He did not wish to make any odious allusion to any former discussion: but suppose, as a possible case, that such a disposition of the British fleet was intended as should leave Ireland defenceless, might not the Irish house of lords interfere, by address to his majesty, praying, that such a measure might not be adopted? If in the course of negotiation with France, any conditions were stipulated which

which would prove particularly prejudicial to Ireland, would it be incompatible for the Irish nobles to entreat his majesty to interpose to prevent its taking effect?

The time was now past for their lordships to be amused with unprofitable disputations; substantial vigour and energy of conduct were now required: the universal sentiment prevailing was, that the exertion of every honest man was necessary to save the state from the calamities in which it was plunged. If their lordships refused to contribute their part, they would forfeit their credit with the public; they would entail upon the house reproach equally dishonourable to themselves and pernicious to the country. In advising his majesty to the effect proposed, they would not only exercise one of their most important privileges, but fulfil one of their most important duties. They were the hereditary counsellors of the throne, and no occasion could occur which called more strongly for the exercise of the right. If it appeared that the counsellors more immediately about his majesty's person—his ministers—had not given that advice which was calculated to insure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordships to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. To act in this manner, was to evince the strongest proof of attachment to the sovereign, and was the best pledge of their interest in the public welfare. But it might be said, what influence could such an address carry with it to change the councils by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the British cabinet, he need only appeal to a fact which had occurred not long ago. He meant the recall of the earl Fitzwilliam, at

a time when all Ireland was in favour of the measures he pursued,—when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity—and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed. To the impolicy of that measure, the distracted state of Ireland was now to be imputed. If the British cabinet could interfere so successfully for what he deemed an impolitic and mischievous purpose, could they not for the salutary end of recommending wisdom and producing good? He was convinced, that the general sentiment of Ireland was that of cordial attachment to this country, and that it was the determination of the majority to stand or fall with it. But amidst the present distractions, the jealousies which now prevailed, and the system which now subsisted, it should be recollected, that incalculable advantages were given to insidious and disaffected spirits to represent the bad effects resulting from their connection with England. He trusted, that the army, on which he relied for the defence of Ireland, would remain ever faithful to his majesty; but was it not unwise to rely entirely on this resource? Would it not be impolitic to trust to it, before they had done every thing to obtain a better security? Circumstances might be conceived in which this support might be overthrown. A similar reliance in another country had plunged it into the utmost misery. But it might be asked, what was the plan he wished to pursue? This, he said, was indicated in the motion itself. When they addressed his majesty to interpose his paternal care, the known goodness of his nature left no room to doubt the result:—it was by temper, equity, and good faith, that the distractions

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of Ireland were to be appeased, and the affections of the people conciliated; no good could be expected by a prosecution of the present measures: the adoption of any calculated to impress the people with confidence in the government, would quickly call out that fond affection from the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud, but could not extinguish; inspire that zeal so needful in the present moment, and furnish those resources requisite for the critical situation in which we were engaged.

Lord Grenville rose. He hoped he should prove satisfactorily, that the present motion could not be adopted, but by breaking the solemn contract which had been entered into between the two countries—without tearing asunder every bond of union, and spreading distraction and division between the members of the British empire. He should, therefore, give his most decided opposition to the present motion, and to every proposition of a similar tendency.—It was stated, that dissensions and discontents prevailed in Ireland, and it was truly said that the benevolence of his majesty's disposition must be anxious to remove them. In the proposed address, however, the cause of these dissensions was not stated; such an address was wholly unnecessary. In the beginning of the present reign the people of Ireland had been disunited, but to a much greater degree than at present, and to a greater extent. He would desire any one to compare the state as it was left by his majesty's ancestors, with its situation now; he would bid them look at the catholics admitted to the exercise of their political rights—to the enjoyment of their property—and to the participation

of every civil and social blessing; freely permitted to engage in every species of commerce, and apply themselves to every profession of honour; sharing the rights of voting for members of parliament, and manifesting in their whole conduct the effects of benefits received, in the best manner in which benefits could operate upon the human mind. He desired their lordships to consider their conduct upon the late occasion, when the French embarked in the hope of succeeding in their design by the disaffection of the inhabitants. For a proof of the loyalty of the catholics, he could refer to the testimony of the reverend prelates who worthily demeaned themselves as guides in religious matters. [He then read some passages of the circular letter from the catholic bishop of Cork]. Thus it appeared, his majesty's exertions had already been crowned with success. That this success was not complete, was a subject of regret; jealousies had appeared in some degree, but they had been conciliated by the benevolence and paternal care of our king, and what stronger pledge could be given of his intention to persevere in the same course? If the motion was meant to remedy the discontents which prevail, it was unnecessary: but it was more; it was highly dangerous and fraught with mischief; it was designed to apply to the internal state of Ireland, and to the frame of its independent legislature. About fourteen years ago, when discontents were represented to exist on account of the right not much exercised, but broadly asserted in the statute-book of the legislature of this country, to make laws to bind Ireland, his majesty advised parliament to disclaim that right, and repeal the obnoxious statute; this

this accordingly was done, and the act 6 of George I. was repealed. A paramount jurisdiction had existed in their lordships, and appeals were brought before them in their last resort. Upon this occasion, their lordships very properly passed an act renouncing in future all such right, and enacting that parliament should be restrained from entertaining any bill which pretended to bind the inhabitants of Ireland. Now it seemed they were called upon to interfere in a point most exclusively relating to its internal state: such an interference was obviously improper: it was also impossible for them to proceed with sufficient information, which lay much better within the reach of their own legislature. As to the general proposition, therefore, he hoped they would be aware of the danger of adopting it: with regard to the happiness of Ireland, it was an object to which no one could be indifferent. But the whole subject was out of its place; instead of remedying discontents, it would inflame them, and induce the Irish to imagine their own legislature was careless of their welfare. As they had given to their country a free constitution, the best way to fix their attachment to it, was to engage their confidence in its favour.

Earl Fitzwilliam said, he never could concur with the noble secretary, that this country ought not to give any opinion upon the public situation of Ireland. Such interference for the purpose of averting evils from both was proper, and the right was clear. What had been said concerning the improved state of the Irish was certainly true; but whatever circumstances might have contributed to that prosperity, there still remained something far-

ther to be done. A certain class of the people had long been held in degradation: and was it not the duty of the house to call upon those who had the authority to remove the grievances which yet remained? The people of Ireland, were, alas! reported to be tranquil and happy. Was it a proof of this, that acts of indemnity had been passed in the Irish parliament, for proceedings "beyond the law," which must have been called for by a conduct not very consistent with tranquillity? If no circumstances of disorder appeared, why were whole parishes, baronies, and even counties declared to be out of the king's peace? It was likewise stated, that they were disarming the people in certain districts, from which it was evident they had been in arms. Was this tranquillity? was this a state of things by which this country was in no danger of being affected? Connected with each other by the ties of individual friendship, and by a common public interest; was it beyond the proper sphere of consideration in that house, to address his majesty to employ his paternal care to quiet the minds of the people, and to restore the inhabitants of Ireland to happiness? This was a period of awful portent; dangers and storms impended, and it was their duty to allay every discontent to which wisdom could extend—and to fortify the the "country" by every resource which policy could secure.

The earl of Liverpool gave it as his opinion, that the motion was improper, whether intended to induce them in their legislative capacity to interfere in the affairs of Ireland, or to advise his majesty to exercise his executive authority in a particular way over that branch of the empire. Granting even, for the

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sake of argument that all the evils complained of really existed, still he would contend, they ought to be remedied by the Irish parliament, not by the British legislature, whose interference was calculated to aggravate not remove discontents. The motion was as mischievous in its tendency as it was unconstitutional in its principle; and the first magistrate in that country had in one of his speeches alluded to the bad consequences resulting from motions of the same kind.

The earl of Moira, after granting that the legislature was independent, maintained, that the British legislature had a right to interfere where the common interest was concerned. The noble secretary had entered into a long detail of the advantages enjoyed under the present reign, which he justly stated to be numerous and great; but was he not informed that the catholics of Ireland insisted upon their right of being elected members of the legislature, upon the ground that, if they had some of their body in parliament, the persecutions which had existed would not have taken place? Perhaps it would be said that he was speaking of persecutions as vaguely as he had done of discontents, and that the one had as little foundation as the other. He knew, however, of ninety-one householders who had been banished from one of his own estates, after being plundered of their property, and many of them wounded in their persons. The discontents were not confined to one sect only, they were common to the protestants as well as the catholics. Did the lords who argued against his motion recollect, that district after district, parish after parish, at the last whole coun-

ties, had been put out of the peace of the king? Did they recollect, that in the county of Down the whole of the inhabitants had been declared out of this peace; that a general disarming even of the protestant subjects had taken place; that military parties had been sent in the night to various parts of that county to effect these purposes; that these military men were empowered to act with a *vigour beyond the law*, and were told that they were not to wait for the aid of magistrates, but to use force for their purpose, if force was found necessary? Lord Moira allowed that the secretary had a strong reason as an individual to object to the motion, as it went to convey a censure on the king's servants:—but at this awful conjuncture were their lordships met to compliment? No. And he trusted that the house would overlook all private considerations, and adopt measures most conducive to the safety of the empire. This would be best effected by giving the people of Ireland confidence in their sovereign, and inspiring that activity to the tender and paternal disposition of his majesty, which had been only and unfortunately suspended by the advice of his ministers.

The earl of Guildford said, that the argument of the secretary went not to protect the independence of the Irish parliament, so much as to secure ministers from responsibility. Neither the British cabinet, nor an Irish lord-lieutenant were responsible to the Irish parliament; and if they were exempted also from the controul of the British parliament, to whom were they responsible? He could not admit that ministers had shown any attention to the interests of Ireland since lord Fitzwil-

Fitzwilliam was recalled, whose administration gave such universal satisfaction. If the advice therefore was not necessary to the king, of whose concern for the people he entertained no doubt, it was highly requisite to his ministers. He concluded, therefore, with giving his hearty assent to the motion.

The marquis of Lansdowne observed, that the lord lieutenant of Ireland, as a minister, was accountable to the British as well as the Irish parliament, and therefore they had a right to watch over the measures of his administration, and to censure or advise him as they might deem proper. An elaborate display had been made of the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed under the present reign: but had not these immunities been fully justified by their consequences?—and that too, after they had been refused by their own legislature? It was in every body's recollection that, upon a petition presented to the Irish parliament by a numerous and respectable body of that kingdom, the prayer of it was rejected with something little short of indignation; but when deputies were sent over to this country, they were graciously received, and their mission was attended with its desired effect. He did not profess to have such accurate information as some of their lordships, but he had heard that the catholics had formerly been persecuted by the protestants in a horrid manner; that the former had been driven by a small number in the North, but were now returning; and that the protestants were rebuilding those houses that had been destroyed, and a union was forming between them which might be productive of the most fatal effects. There were two descrip-

tions of men in Ireland: the first were well known for their daring spirit; there were not wanting persons among them celebrated in arms, in arts, and in literature; they were men over whom courts could never have any influence; and who were to be led, not driven; such were the men in the North. Those in the South were characterised by unruly passions, which were always the prominent features of men unemployed. What the event might be, it was impossible to say—he warned them however, that it might be such as to shake the empire to its centre. The motion now in question was couched in terms so wise, so prudent, and so moderate, that he could scarcely have supposed it would have met an objection. What was its purport? It said to his majesty, Sire, you have by a happy conduct attached the people of Ireland to your family and government; there is but one small cause of discontent remaining, and it is only necessary that you follow up those wise and salutary measures which you have hitherto employed, to remove that also.

If the grievances of the catholics had been redressed last year, the house would not have heard of reform. Next year perhaps other points might be urged, and the breach would grow wider. Mr. Erskine had wisely said in his pamphlet, “Give the people of Ireland their rights, and you will neither require fleets or armies to protect them. Three millions of loyal people would defy the power of France;” and he begged it might be remembered, that, if they were united, they might defy the strength of other countries too! The example of Genoa was before them.

The marquis of Townshend

thought his majesty needed not the advice of their lordships to entertain a tender regard for the interests of his subjects, and therefore dissented from the motion.

The marquis of Landsdowne admitted there had been considerable improvements in the regulation of the internal affairs of Ireland. The having ten sessions in the year, instead of four, for the trial of offences he looked upon as a great good. Murders had been too frequently committed in that country, and the bringing to justice the perpetrators of such horrid acts was the duty of the executive government; and it was also the duty of every individual to support government in that respect. He had heard it said, "property was the creature of law;" this was so far from true, that law was rather the creature of property. He saw the necessity of doing much in favour of the poor people of Ireland. It was a fact well known that there was a great quantity of land which produced nothing there, but which might be productive of much; and that there was a great number of people who had nothing to do, who might be well employed in the cultivation of these lands. He should be glad to join in any plan, either in or out of parliament, for public utility. Perhaps it might be promoted by dividing a large estate into separate properties: he had written abroad with a view to some scheme of this kind; but it ought to be voluntary, for he had no idea of force in the distribution or management of any man's property—nor indeed could any benefit accrue to the lower classes of society, till an end was put to this disastrous war.

The earl of Darnley observed,

the motion evidently pointed to the emancipation of the catholics, as the means of ending discontents. He opposed it upon the grounds that the situation of Ireland did not call for it, for there never was a time when all descriptions of men were so well satisfied with administration as at present. Discontents there might be among a certain description of people, but by no means amongst the general mass of the people on whose behalf the popular cry of catholic emancipation was supposed to have been raised, though in fact it was made use of for a very different purpose by persons who had no interest in the cause of the catholics, but as it served to cover the designs of subverting the government. The discontented were not the poor catholics of the South, who had shown such attachment to their country, but the rich inhabitants of the North, who had manifested a very different spirit. Besides the great body of the Irish catholics, the lower orders of the community never could be interested in the question, having received every indulgence. For these reasons he gave his negative.

The duke of Bedford confessed, that, but for the assurance which the noble lord had given, it would have been to him a matter of wonder that the catholics were contented, because it was extraordinary that they should be so, when proscribed all benefits of the state under which they lived, where they were marked with disgrace and put entirely into the hands of the executive government. But it seemed they gave an instance of their attachment to government in the late threatened invasion; was this the proof that was to be given as a reason that their complaints should

should be passed without notice? Had we shewn any inclination to reward this generous attachment? Quite the contrary! He had often observed the conduct of ministers in all public affairs; he had seen how they evaded all questions which could lead to discussions bearing hard upon themselves. But of all their attempts to screen themselves the present was the weakest: they had not used one argument; they had only made a few assertions, and pretended to found them on the principles of our constitution. The secretary of state had endeavoured to protect himself by a shield which was in itself impenetrable, but which the secretary was not entitled to use. He meant the sacred character of the sovereign upon the throne. There existed not one person more disposed than himself to pay all due reverence to that: but although he knew he was treading on delicate ground, yet he must perform his public duty. Many of those acts which had the sovereign's name to sanction them, ought to be considered as the acts of ministers who advised them, and were called so in the language of common sense. It was to this source we might trace the distresses we had sustained; to this was owing the loss of thirteen flourishing colonies, the disaster of the present national bankruptcy, and those discontents in Ireland which it was the object of the motion to remove. There was a character in that house, well known to their lordships, and to both countries, of whom he could say much in commendation (though no praise could exalt him)—were he not present. To ministers, however, he would offer this advice: Restore to the Irish the person you have recalled; give back

to them the man whom they have tried, and whom they admire: act on the principles on which he acted, and *discontents will cease*. If you do not, heaven only knows what dreadful consequences await you.

Lord Grenville, evidently exasperated at the remarks of his grace, rose (he said) chiefly “for the purpose of doing away the impression they might leave:” he was far from endeavouring to shield himself behind the virtues of the sovereign: he only paid his majesty that tribute which all the world knew to be his due: he ascribed no part of that merit to himself, or to any administration. He had said, and he contended for the truth of it, that the interest of the people of Ireland had invariably been a principal object with the executive government of this country. The noble duke proposed to do the very thing which he seemed to dread, namely, to create a disturbance in Ireland; for that must necessarily be the tendency of recalling the present lord lieutenant of that kingdom. If his talents, virtues, and exertions could not preserve tranquillity, he believed it would be out of the power of any individual whatever.

The duke of Bedford in return accused the noble secretary of misrepresentation. He said, he had answered his remarks, as if he had called upon the house to address his majesty to recall the present lord lieutenant; he had done no such thing. He professed as high a veneration for the sovereign and his character as any lord could feel, but he must add, that, notwithstanding all his own good acts and good intentions, his ministers had contrived to counteract them so effectually, that England was in a

a state of public bankruptcy, and Ireland nearly in rebellion.

The earl of Darnley again affirmed there never was a period when the Irish showed more loyalty; and all representations of their being disaffected towards government were without foundation.

The earl of Moira concluded the debate by a few observations: It was known that after the catholics had been led to expect relief, a member of the house of commons of Ireland started up in a debate, and pronounced on their hopes an absolute interdiction. Another member in the other house of parliament pronounced one sweeping condemnation on the north of Ireland. The noble lord and himself differed with respect to the state of the country. He alleged there were great and alarming discontents there; his lordship had declared the mass of the people were contented: now, as the veracity of one could not be tried against the other's, the only mode of decision was to refer to facts. Was not a whole county, exposed to invasion, and that a maritime one, disarmed on its being alleged to be in a state of insurrection? Had not many persons been accused of high treason? And when all ranks surrounded those who were accused, protesting they were innocent, but marked out as victims of the vengeance of government—when a general assembly in Dublin resolved and declared it to be their firm persuasion that Ireland would be lost if there was not a change in the executive government—were these proofs of the general satisfaction of the mass of the people? Yet these were the facts, their lordships were to judge concerning the accuracy of the representation.—The numbers on the

earl's motion were, contents 20, non-contents 72.

The general state of Ireland was, on the 23d of March, brought before the house of commons by Mr. Fox. He began his speech with observing, that in the year 1782 very great discontents existed in Ireland, and it appeared to him indispensably necessary, that every thing should be done on the part of the government to appease them. With this view he himself proposed the recognition of the complete independence of that country: it was not of consequence whether that recognition was a boon or a right; but having been the person who proposed the act, he considered himself bound to follow up the principle of it, which was to make Ireland free and independent, and, above all, to adopt such measures as should admit her to all the advantages of that independence, and restore that cordial affection between the two countries so requisite to the prosperity of both.

The parliament of Great Britain was now called upon to inquire how it had happened that those concessions had not produced the salutary consequences which might have been expected from them; and it was the duty of every member of that house, and his own in particular, to direct the attention of the British legislature to the present state of the sister kingdom.

Ireland, he said, was in a state of disturbance; and, though a variety of circumstances had concurred to produce this state, there were two or three leading points to which he proposed chiefly to confine his observations. These were, how far, in consequence of our concessions, Ireland had in fact and in substance enjoyed the ad-

vantages

vantages of an independent legislature; and whether in that form of a free constitution which they obtained, the people possessed that political weight to which they were entitled? It had been generally calculated, that five sixths of the inhabitants of Ireland were Roman catholics; several of the grievances under which they laboured had apparently been removed. But if upon inquiry it should be found that the mode in which these grants had been made, and the acts of the executive power by which they were accompanied, had produced the severest persecutions of a political nature; it would appear that the catholics had not been redressed, and in point of right and real possession had been worse off than before.

These were the principal, but not the only points involved in the inquiry. There were others, unconnected with the catholics: the inhabitants of the North had been considered by some in a less favourable light, and their complaints had been heard with a less favourable ear: their discontents had arisen from the pressure of a war in which they had no interest, from the distresses entailed thereby upon their trade and commerce; and from the abuses which they conceived to exist in the constitution by which they were governed. They complained that it did not resemble that of Great Britain; they had not a legislature in which the people were even virtually represented, and they enjoyed as little political liberty as those who lived under monarchies in which the principles of freedom were unknown: the advantages which the form of a free constitution seemed to promise, had been counteracted by the influence of the executive govern-

ment and of the British cabinet. Mr. Fox then observed, that, at the time of his majesty's unfortunate indisposition, the legislature of Ireland took a decided part: the parliament censured the lord lieutenant for his conduct, and expressed a decided opinion on the state of public affairs: immediately after this, however, and during the administration of the same lieutenant, a great accession of influence was gained by the crown, and the parliament was prevailed upon to unsay all they had said, and to retract every opinion they had given. It was matter of notoriety, that a regular system was then devised for enslaving Ireland; and this plan of corruption was followed up by suitable measures. Mr. Fox affirmed, it had been offered to be proved by men of the first character and talents (and when he mentioned Mr. Grattan, it was enough), that it had been the system of government, by the sale of peerages, to raise a purse to purchase the representation of the people of Ireland. The manner in which these events were considered in that country was this: You have granted us, said the people, a legislature certainly independent of your parliament, but dependent on your executive government. The concession, therefore, they viewed not as a blessing, but an insult. When earl Fitzwilliam went to Ireland in the capacity of lord lieutenant, it was understood that he left London with the approbation of ministers in favour of the complete emancipation of the catholics; and though no such vote ever passed the legislature, no doubt was entertained that the measure would take effect, and would have experienced the firm support of parliament: but after the hopes

which had been raised, after the known preparation of parliament to vote, he was suddenly dismissed, the system reversed, and the question, which a few weeks before would have been carried with unanimity, was rejected by a vast majority. Was not this a proof beyond a thousand arguments, that the measure of 1782 had been rendered inefficacious, that Ireland in fact had gained nothing, and was in a state of degradation beyond any former period? Here Mr. Fox strongly expressed his abhorrence of that diabolical maxim, by which Ireland was to be regulated — *divide et impera* — and of that policy which weakly and wickedly sought to separate the higher from the lower rank of catholics. At the same time our proceedings (he said) were such, as to convince them all that our concessions were extorted, that the hostile mind still existed against them, and they continued to be marked out as victims of the most cruel proscriptions. Suspicions were insinuated against men of the first respectability, of considerable property and of undoubted loyalty: numbers were taken up for high treason; and when acquitted, it was proved, no grounds of just accusation could ever have been entertained against them. The remedies applied tended to foment the evil: the authority of the laws was superseded; those whom it would have been impossible to convict were transported in great numbers *without trial*; an act called the insurrection-act was passed to enable government to pursue those violent measures — and the lapse of a very short time had shewed them the consequence of such conduct, and the fallacy of such reasonings!

There were persons who supposed

ed that the prejudices of the Roman catholics and the dissenters would prevent them from forming a union; but was this likely to be prevented when we were daily declaring so many districts out of the king's peace, and in a state of disturbance? and, instead of conciliating the minds of the catholics, were telling them, that they had nothing more to expect? An opinion had gone forth that the catholics had no substantial grievances to complain of, and the presbyterians less; that the catholics can vote for members of parliament, and are not distinguished from the protestants but by being excluded from the high offices of state, and from being members themselves. "It is objected (continued Mr. Fox) that it is not civil liberty which they wish, but power and emolument which they pursue. And why should they not? To ask civil liberty without political power, would be to ask the possession of a right for which they could have no security. Is it improper that any people who contribute so largely to the support of government as the catholics do, should be desirous to share the emolument it bestows, as a compensation for what they sacrifice? They are men, and are to be governed, the expense of maintaining all governments is considerable, and that of Ireland is certainly no model of œconomy — but justice and candour will allow that the catholics ought to share in its advantages when they contribute to its support." He then proceeded to make some remarks on the discontents of the dissenters: they considered their grievances, he said, to consist in the abuses of government which they had not means to remedy: they wished for the substantial blessings of

of the English constitution and the political principles on which it is founded. Were they unreasonable when they complained of not having the advantage of even virtual representation? To suppose that a large industrious and intelligent body of men could be governed against the principles they had imbibed and the prejudices by which they were guided, was absurd. We were now precisely at the point in which we stood in 1774 with America; and though the distance, and its population extending over an immense tract of country, were disadvantages peculiar to that contest, he remembered when this circumstance was stated as an advantage, as it would prevent sudden collections of people. He remembered also at that period the expression of the American "war," which he was the first person in that house to use, was treated with the utmost ridicule, and to call some riots at Boston by that name was regarded as absurdity. Some might treat the idea of a war with Ireland with the same contempt, and he sincerely hoped experience would not decide so triumphantly in his favour as on the former occasion. But when he saw, as in the present instance, a government desirous to decide by force against the will of a majority; he clearly saw the danger of a civil war. Ireland was in that state which one well acquainted with the subject defined to be despotism; "where the executive power was every thing, and the rights of the people nothing." Suppose we were to succeed in disarming the whole of the north of Ireland, they must be kept in subjection by force. Could we convince them by the bayonet that their principles were false, their pretensions unjust; and de-

monstrate that they enjoyed the blessings of a free constitution by martial law? Never! The history of their country proved that, though repeatedly subdued, it could not be kept in awe by force. The character of the people of the North had been severely stigmatised as men of the old leaven. They were indeed of those who rescued their country from the tyranny of Charles I. and James II. they were of that leaven which asserted and defended the principles of liberty which fermented, when kneaded together, the freedom of the British constitution. If these principles were carried to excess, it was an excess to which he openly professed himself partial; the opposition they had suffered was some apology. The mode now adopted was this; it was necessary there should be a certificate from the magistrates to declare a county out of the king's peace; many of these magistrates were Englishmen, and officers of the fencible corps. Were the people to be told that these men were acting only in a civil capacity? Several of the principal inhabitants of Belfast were arrested; and the law was in such a state, that men might be kept in prison without trial.

The people of the North, attached to these men, were determined they should not suffer in their property; they worked for them for nothing; they reaped their harvests, to shew their good will to the arrested parties, or their detestation of the conduct of government. This, however, was construed to be a heinous offence; the people were dispersed by the military; and when some of them were killed, the persons who attended their bodies to the grave were deemed criminal, and this act of humanity

humanity regarded as an act against the state. What must be the effect of such measures? Was it not likely to influence even to insurrection those who before had preferred monarchy, and to induce the most loyal to question the excellence of a monarchical state, on witnessing these consequences from its abuses? If the Irish were subdued (Mr. Fox said), it would be necessary to keep up a large military force; or supposing they would submit, we could not trust them; submission to laws which they detested could last no longer than our force and their impotency. Was it the way to persuade the catholics to assist us, to refuse all their demands? An application had been made, not from the peasantry but the nobility, a strong and urgent application to the government to grant the remainder of their requests: it had been unsuccessful. For himself, he professed he knew of no way of governing mankind but by conciliating them;—and what could we lose by such methods? If Ireland, by conceding to all her wishes was governed, would she be less useful to Great Britain? What was she now? Little more than a diversion for the enemy. Even if we could retain her by force, what should we do in all future wars? In the first place secure her from insurrection, which would be no easy matter whilst she considered herself aggrieved. The consequences of a war with her were dreadful to contemplate; public horrors would be so increased by the laceration of private feelings, as to spread universal misery through both countries. The connection was so interwoven between the individuals of each, that no rupture could happen without wounding the most tender friendship and the

most sacred ties. Rigour had been already attempted, let conciliation be tried before the last appeal is hazarded. Let the whole people of Ireland enjoy the same principles, the same system, the same operation of government, and all classes an equal chance of emolument. In other words, let the whole Irish government be regulated by Irish notions, and Irish prejudices; and the more sure is under them, the more will she be bound to English interests.

Mr. Fox touched next upon the removal of earl Fitzwilliam; he asked those who best knew the country, whether the day of his departure was not a day of sorrow? The catholic petition was rejected, and the present distracted state of Ireland had been produced by the hopes of the people being disappointed, and by the cup of enjoyment and liberty having been suddenly dashed from their lips. He concluded his speech by moving an address to his majesty, “that he would be pleased to take into consideration the disturbed state of Ireland, and to adopt such lenient measures, as might appear best calculated to restore tranquillity and conciliate affection.”

Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion; he described pathetically the present situation of Ireland; its fields desolated, its prisons overflowing with the victims of oppression! He lamented the contrast between a profligate extravagant government, and an enslaved impoverished people. One person he said, whom he knew to be as incapable of treason to his country, as he was capable of every thing great, generous and noble for the good of his country, was now immured within the walls of Dublin castle:—a man whose private virtues equalled,

qualled, they could not surpass, the integrity of his public conduct: and of whom it might best be said, *nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut sensit, aut fecit*. He named Mr. O'Connor; adding, that when such men became the objects of hatred and fear to government, it was not difficult to ascertain the nature of the government. He ended with declaring there was but one way of saving Ireland—of saving England: and that was, by divesting the present minister of the power he had so long and fatally abused, and calling him to a strict account at the tribunal of his country.

Mr. Pitt expatiated on Mr. Fox's considerations, in a speech too long for the limits of this work to detail. The substance of his answers was, that the parliament of Ireland was considered to be the natural source of legislative arrangements in that country, whose peculiar interests were entrusted to its care: nor could any interference be admitted after the concession of 1782, by which we had declared the parliament to be independent, and placed it utterly out of our controul. Nor could we, under pretence of advising his majesty, induce him to give effect to measures which constitutionally could only owe their effects to the Irish legislature.—He asked Mr. Fox if we could say to the parliament, "You are an independent legislative body; but we, the parliament of England, shall at the end of fourteen years revise and examine, and direct how you shall exercise your functions, and afterwards feel it our duty to tell the Irish people that you are no longer entitled to their confidence, no longer possessed of those *unalienable*

rights to independent legislation which we conceded to you."

The right honourable gentleman, he said, had taken notice of the demands of the catholics in the South, and of the dissenters in the North, with a view of proving that farther concessions would be prudent and even absolutely necessary on our part. He was himself quite of another opinion: no remedy could be rendered serviceable to them, by a measure which would operate as an entire alteration of the form of the parliament—an alteration too, which, as far as it would arise from the remaining claims of the papists, and the wishes of the presbyterians, would be particularly dangerous. The remedy hinted at, though not so high in point of legislation, was one which could only fall within the province of the parliament of Ireland—he meant an alteration of the laws, which might not only affect the right to a large mass of property, but the practice of the church as to the present established mode of worship. This was the principle by which, under the term "lenient measures," he supposed Mr. Fox meant to lay the foundation of the future peace of Ireland. At the commencement of his majesty's reign, the catholics were prevented from voting: they laboured under many disabilities, all of which had been removed by his majesty; nor could it fairly be brought forward, that no pledge had been given by the crown, to extend to that people the benefits enjoyed by the other parts of the community. But it had been asserted, that it was possible to satisfy the catholics; if it were, it might be made the subject of advice to the executive government. The right honourable gentleman

tleman (Mr. Fox) would satisfy them indeed, by giving them the privilege of sitting in parliament. But this could not be done, without reversing the whole of its present form, and new-modelling the constitution from the beginning to the end; and to make this change when such principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in the country where we lived, would be attended (and he appealed to the house if it would not) with the most pernicious consequences. He would not enter into the subject respecting the wishes of the catholics and dissenters in the North, to change the form of the Irish parliament; as it would lead to discussions which, whether they were to be decided upon those old English principles which Mr. Fox admired, or on the new French ones of modern liberty, might be dangerous. If, indeed, they included the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, it was contrary to the duty of parliament to give the least sanction to the measure. He stated, he said, all his reasons, trusting that the English house of parliament would not for a moment hesitate in rejecting a motion calculated to alter the fundamental principles of the independence of Ireland.

Mr. W. Smith contended that the address could not interfere with the independence of the parliament of Ireland, and as he was unconvinced by any thing which he had heard, he was called upon in duty to the public to vote for it.

Colonel Fullarton asked whether we were or were not on the eve and in the crisis of impending invasion and commotion respecting Ireland. If we were not—he had nothing to say, but beg pardon and sit down; if we were, how

preposterous was the conduct of those who wasted their precious moments in idle and pernicious words, instead of dedicating all their powers to purposes of preparation or precaution? It was time, he said, to put an end to palliatives and self-deceptions, and to place these kingdoms on a footing of impervious defence, whilst the delay of the French still offered us the opportunity.

General Hoche would find in the province of Ulster alone 50,000 Irishmen united, with pikes in their hands and arms concealed, busily employed in secret discipline, in order to qualify themselves to reinforce the French army. This was no secret, except in London. These people had long since communicated their force, their numbers, their intentions to France; and, unless we counteracted their schemes by a speedy peace with the common enemy, we were mutually lost.

Lord Wycombe declared it as his opinion, that the present situation of Ireland was owing to the conduct of our ministers towards that country. The disturbances which had taken place in it, proved a manifest disaffection to the British government: conciliation instead of rigour ought to have been tried, for it was time enough to employ force when mildness failed. He could have wished, that the Irish parliament had been left to themselves to settle this, but that he knew they had entirely lost the confidence of the people, and therefore the minister's observations on the independence of it were thrown away. Indeed, he had quite omitted to prove (for it was impossible to prove) that the Irish parliament was independent; the truth was known to be, that a majority of it was at the will of the
the

the cabinet of England. As to the fear of the religious sentiments of the catholics, it was singular such a fear should be entertained, when every body knew that religion to be on the decline all over Europe. He more dreaded, that, if we did not interfere, we should lose Ireland altogether, which would be more severe to us than the loss of America.

Lord Hawkesbury re-echoed the sentiments of Mr. Pitt, and was convinced, he said, by the arguments so ably alleged, that its government was capable of managing the concerns of the nation, and that there was no necessity of our interference, supposing (which he knew was not the case) that it could be done with propriety.

Mr. Curwen said, it was not the motion of his right honourable friend, but the observations of the chancellor of the exchequer, which were really mischievous. It was far from wise in him to fix a charge of jacobinism upon any body of his majesty's subjects. So far, indeed, was the present motion from being mischievous, that even the discussion would do good, inasmuch as it would shew the Irish nation, that there was a part at least of the British parliament who were mindful of their interests.

Mr. Courtenay adverted to colonel Fullarton's account of there being 50,000 men in the province of Ulster, with arms in their hands, ready to receive the French; he believed that there were; but not to support them—on the contrary, they were prepared to resist an invasion, if ever it should be attempted. The people in that province had a strong spirit of liberty, and were attached to the popular, or what had been called the republican, branch of the constitution. But

was this a reason to stigmatise them as jacobins?—a banditti without laws, without principles, without order! Mr. Courtenay stated, that many most respectable persons had been arrested at Belfast, and were now languishing in gaol without being brought to a trial. And why? Because government dared not, knowing they could not establish their guilt; and their acquittal might disconcert the plan on which they were proceeding.

Mr. Fox again rose: he thought the discontents in Ireland might be quieted by his majesty removing from places of trust many persons now at the head of public affairs; men who libelled the character of a nation, at a moment when its zeal, patriotism, and courage were most eminently displayed; men in short, whose administration might be considered as the source of those calamities with which the country was afflicted. The chancellor of the exchequer had affirmed, that the principles contended for respecting liberty, were not English but French; if they were also Irish, they were worthy the attention of government. But even allowing them to be French (and he certainly would not recommend such in this country), still it was better to overcome them by conciliation than to go to war with them. Was the house prepared to begin another four years' war, to squander millions of treasure, and to shed rivers of blood? If it was, he bade them go on with their noble enterprise; he would, however, warn them, that, by literally fighting against French principles in Ireland, they might in the end be introduced into Great Britain itself. Unfortunately he had been a long time deprecating coercive measures. He had deprecated the adoption of them

them against America, in 1774; he deprecated them against France, in 1793; and he now deprecated the same system in Ireland. Though his advice had not been followed, it was a consolation to him individually, that it had not been withheld. Measures of coercion had proceeded from the same source; war had been preferred to negotiation, and force to conciliation; because, instead of regulating our plans by a mild and enlightened policy, we had acted upon the maxims of bar-

barous times. He concluded with the words of Cicero, recommending them to the serious consideration of every person to whom the important task of legislation was assigned:—

Carum esse civibus, bene de republica mereri, laudari, coli, diligere, gloriosum est; metui vero et in odio esse, invidiosum, detestabile, imbecillum, caducum.

For the motion, 84; against it 220.

CHAP. VII.

Popular Meetings for the Purpose of petitioning for the Dismissal of Ministers. Motion to that Effect in the House of Lords—in the House of Commons. The Duke of Bedford's Motion on the State of the Nation. Mr. Grey's Motion on a Parliamentary Reform.

IN the course of the spring several popular meetings were held agreeably to the restrictions of the new act, the avowed object of which was to petition his majesty for the dismissal of ministers. In most of these meetings the petitions were carried unanimously, particularly in the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark and the county of Middlesex. The petitions contained heavy charges against the ministry, but that of the city of Westminster was fuller than most, and equally strong with any. It commenced with charging the ministers with having wantonly involved the nation in a ruinous war, in consequence of which they had squandered upwards of ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY MILLIONS OF MONEY; and laid on taxes to the amount of SIX MILLIONS AND A HALF annually. The lives which

they had sacrificed, and the sum they had added to human misery, it was added, were incalculable. The petition proceeds:—

“We humbly represent to your majesty, that in the hands of those ministers nothing has succeeded.

“Instead of restoring monarchy in France, they have been compelled to recognize the republic there established, and to offer proposals of peace to it. Instead of dismembering the territories of that republic, they have suffered it to add to them the Netherlands, Holland, and great part of Italy and Germany; and even a part of these kingdoms, which the fleets of that republic have insulted, has only been preserved from the calamities of an invasion, by the accidents of the seasons.

“In their negotiations for peace, they have been equally unsuccessful. It was to be expected. When they

they asked peace, they were abject, but not sincere; they acknowledged their impotence, but not their errors. They discovered the most hostile dispositions towards France, at the very time they proved their utter inability to contend with her.

"When they wanted to obtain our consent to the war, they assured us that it was necessary for the safety of our commerce. At this moment, most of the ports of Europe are shut against us; goods to an immense amount are lying upon the hands of our merchants; and the manufacturing poor are starving by thousands.

"They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of property and public credit. They have rendered every man's property subject to an order of the privy council, and the bank of England has stopped payment.

"They assured us that the war was necessary for the preservation of the constitution. They have destroyed its best part, which is its liberty, by oppressive restrictions upon the right of petitioning, and upon the freedom of the press; by prosecuting innocent men under false pretences; by sending money to foreign princes without the consent of parliament; while, by erecting barracks throughout the kingdom, they give us reason to suspect their intention of finally subjecting the people to military despotism.

"They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of the unity of our empire. But they have so conducted, and are still so conducting, themselves in Ireland, as to alienate the affections of that brave, loyal, but oppressed and persecuted nation, and to expose the most flourishing of its provinces to all

the horrors of lawless military violence.

"These are no common errors. They are great crimes; and of these crimes, before God and our country, we accuse your ministers. Our affections to your majesty's person, our loyalty to your government, are unabated:—your majesty's virtues are a pledge for the one; the constitution which makes you king, for the other. But duty to our fellow-countrymen, and to our posterity, which is but another name for that affection and loyalty, impels us to represent to your majesty, that your ministers are defrauding us of the benefit of those virtues, by destroying the channels through which they flow. They have tarnished the national honour and glory; they have oppressed the poor with almost intolerable burthens; they have poisoned the intercourse of private life; they have given a fatal blow to public credit; they have divided the empire; and they have subverted the constitution."

Thus far we have thought proper to insert; because from the substance of one, the reader will be able to judge of the general tenor of these petitions. The success which the petitions experienced in the public meetings, and the general clamour and dissatisfaction at the conduct of ministers, which appeared to prevail throughout the nation, encouraged some of the leaders of opposition to bring forward motions to the same effect in both houses of parliament. The first of these motions was made on the 27th of March, when the earl of Suffolk addressed their lordships on a subject which, he said, it was the duty of every Englishman to discuss. The present situation of the country was become truly alarming;

ing; and it was a matter of the highest importance, that its safety and protection should no longer be left in the hands of a man who had shown himself so totally incapable in every respect, except in the arts of deception. His lordship, after adverting to the neglect and ill treatment given by ministers towards brave veterans who had distinguished themselves by valor and patriotism, as the late lord Rodney, lord Howe, and sir Charles Grey, spoke of the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, which he said could only be mentioned in the strongest terms of disapprobation. A language had frequently been used, he remarked, tending to throw an odium on all who spoke freely on the state of affairs, insinuating that they were friends to commotion and to French principles: his lordship reprobated such insinuations with severity; asked how it was possible any one could suppose he could be so lost to all sense of honour, to the reverence and respect he owed to a long line of ancestry, to the paternal affection he had for his present children, and the regard due to posterity, as to countenance principles which might be subversive of those honors and that rank which he had received and was bound to transmit? Such an argument was absurd—but it also deserved public refutation; it was unfair, uncandid, and untrue. After more observations of this nature, his lordship declared he considered it as his duty to himself, his family, his king, and his country, to move, “that an address might be presented to his majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils his minister, the first lord of the treasury, whose pernicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country.”

Lord Grenville opposed the motion, because he thought the noble earl had not founded his objections upon facts. He warmly vindicated his friend, the first lord of the treasury, respecting the measures of which he stood accused; he was confident the neglect and failure of any of them was attributable only to those errors to which human nature was at all times liable, to those accidents which no human prudence could prevent, or to those dispensations of Providence which no human wisdom could controul. The public cause was said to be injured by removing some officers from the public service to make room for others more serviceable to private views. Gallant officers it was affirmed had been neglected; but, without entering into the invidious task of scanning deserts, his lordship begged to remark, that admiral Rodney had received the peerage he so well deserved, besides certain pecuniary grants, sufficient, with œconomy and management, not only to have secured the possessor from inconvenience, but to have supported his title with becoming splendour. If occasions occurred when his majesty found it difficult to employ all the talents, ardour, and activity of individuals, according to their zeal and merit, it was imputable to the vast fund of abilities and energy in the nation, which rendered it perplexing where to make a preference.

He then came to the consideration of the conduct of the war. That the allies had not been as successful as they expected, he was ready to admit, and also that such accidents had happened as were incidental to all wars; but he hoped all parties would acknowledge that the exertions of this country had been

been unparalleled in the page of history, and had been attended with unparalleled success; our naval victories had been more brilliant than ever before distinguished any age, and it appeared peculiarly hard that all the honour, all the praise, and all the glory should be reaped by individuals, whilst all the censure and all the responsibility were thrown on ministers.

Lord Hay (earl of Kinnoull) said that he never was more surprised than to hear a motion of this important nature—no less than for removing the prime-minister of the country from his high station, without one single proof of misconduct whatever brought against him. He praised the *conduct of the war*, and gloried in the successes. He therefore gave the motion his decided negative, and only observed further, that lord Rodney's family were perfectly satisfied with his remuneration.

Lord Suffolk desired to retract part of what he had said relative to admiral Rodney; he believed the pension had been rightly stated by the noble lord—still, however, it was certain that this brave officer was afterwards, from a variety of law-suits, reduced to a state of great poverty, and his body for a considerable time seized upon, and denied the rites of burial.

The duke of Norfolk scrupled not to condemn the measures of administration, which, he contended, only required to be fairly and critically examined to be universally reprobated. The noble lord (Grenville) had insinuated that the charges were not substantiated upon facts; and demanded proofs: the proofs were every where: they presented themselves to every eye; they made impressions upon every heart; they composed a living epi-

taph upon the insatiation of ministers, and, in the language applied to the memory of sir Christopher Wren, by pointing out his sublime production, that astonishing piece of architecture, the cathedral of St. Paul, he might exclaim—

Si monumentum queris, circumspecte.

The marquis of Townshend and the earl of Warwick opposed the motion. The latter said he was convinced there was a considerable faction deeply infected with French principles in this country, and it was not impossible that a part were to be found within the walls of the two houses of parliament. He would advise noble lords not to indulge themselves in those irritating and intemperate expressions which too frequently were uttered. He was sorry to read such language had passed in another house for granting the people all they asked. He was for granting all such rights as were demanded in a constitutional manner, but not to those who demanded them with arms in their hands.

The earl of Derby expressed his astonishment that any advice should be thought necessary for their lordships respecting the language they ought to use in that house; for himself, he always endeavoured to use parliamentary language, and was not conscious of any failure in this point. He was apt indeed to speak warmly, and it was his duty to do so, when he described the misconduct or incapacity of ministers, and the pernicious effects of bad measures. Allusions were made to what passed in another house, and disapprobation manifested on granting rights to men with arms in their hands. He hoped they had not yet procured those arms, and that they never would: but if it ever should

be the case, he was convinced the impolitic and oppressive measures adopted by the present ministers would be the occasion of those disastrous consequences.

Lord Romney said he was concerned to hear persons on all sides, both within and without the walls of that house, talk of the situation of the country in the most desponding manner; for his own part, he thought very differently of it, and that nothing was wanting to restore it to its former strength but active energy. He was clear that a plan might be adopted which would raise an immense sum, and would serve to convince the enemy of the British spirit—this was, to set on foot a subscription for a voluntary gift, as far as the generosity and circumstances of individuals would allow. He would subscribe five thousand pounds, and thought there would easily be found a hundred thousand who would subscribe their one hundred each. He proposed that this should be paid by instalments, for instance he would commence on the 1st of January 1798, and pay five hundred pounds a month, so that in ten months he should have paid the whole. Each subscriber to do the same, according to the sums subscribed, even so low as fifty: the whole of the money to be subject to the controul of parliament—Such a measure, if carried into execution, would counteract any impression which might be made on the French government to our disadvantage, by the desponding ideas of some as to our state, or by the language of others as to the mismanagement of our ministers.

The earl of Moira thought the present motion highly necessary; the mismanagement of ministers had brought us to this present de-

plorable condition, and they could not too soon be deprived of the power of continuing to do so; the war had been conducted, he said, in a shameful manner; the wealth and resources of the country expended in making conquests of distant settlements, when the French should have been attacked nearer home. His lordship applauded the plan of lord Romney, and did not doubt but it might produce a considerable sum of money; but it was a question how far the house of commons might approve of money being raised to carry on the war through any channel but their own. He concluded with giving his hearty assent to the motion.

The earl of Carlisle lamented, that the finest opportunity of forcing the enemy to make peace had been lost by the conduct of the admiralty, which had given such absurd orders to admiral Colpoys. Had we destroyed the Brest fleet, we should have ended the war.

The marquis of Lansdowne blamed the admiralty on this occasion also. He said he would sooner see one minister justly punished than see twenty changes. It was not a change of men but measures which he wished, consequently did not approve the motion: changes of ministers had sometimes done mischief to the country. Sir Robert Walpole was removed by popular clamour at the time he was carrying the sinking fund into execution, and the nation suffered very considerably by his removal. The alteration he proposed would be in the system of government, which ought to be conducted on the old constitutional principles of the country. Any one who wished to know the present system, might peruse the army extraordinaries, and would find millions squandered

squandered in the most improvident manner. What would the intended subscription of 500l. do to stop such flood-gates? He wished to ask what we now were fighting for? Was it Belgium? If so—let the country be asked if they would persevere in the war for such an object. Was it for any territorial possession? Had the French insulted us? If they had, he would be one, and he was assured the nation unanimously would unite in obtaining reparation.

Lord Grenville again arose: he observed that of late ministers had declined sending troops to the continent: they had turned all their attention to the navy and colonies; and though they had been so successful, still they were blamed. The noble marquis had affirmed, that it was not a change of men but of measures which was desirable: to which he replied, that any change in our government would throw the country into immediate confusion. Had not ministers preserved it from French principles, and was this a small advantage? But why was the war carried on? It was not for this or that province; it was, whether the French should possess the whole of the maritime coast of the continent; another reason was, the haughty manner in which they had rejected our overtures for peace. No minister had ever been more ignominiously treated than ours. Professions of unanimity had often been heard in that house, if the country were to be insulted; but they never were made good, when the occasion occurred. His lordship ended with condemning the language of despondence, and vaunting the abundance of our resources.

The marquis of Lansdowne answered, that it was not extraordi-

nary that the French should have shown some haughtiness: they could not but remember the opprobrious terms used towards them by our ministers, and it was probable they would resent it. He denied having recommended a change of government; he only desired the present should be changed into a constitutional system, and he would contend for this point, though he was well aware it had been the custom for ministers to insinuate that those who recommended it were Jacobins. He reprobated Jacobin principles, because he was convinced they went to a community of goods, and other absurd and pernicious doctrines, even beyond the agrarian law. He did not believe there were many of such principles in England, and he knew of no such *practical Jacobins* as his majesty's ministers; they had banished gold and silver from London at the time they began to be plenty in Paris; they had taken up the paper system at the time France had laid it down. Forced loans, military force, and every Jacobin project had been adopted here, as France had rejected them. The immortal jury of 1794 had sufficiently exposed the falshood of Jacobin pretended plots. To the noble conduct of that jury he did not know how many of their lordships were now indebted for their lives and fortunes; it was that jury which defeated the Robespierrian system, attempted to be established in this country by the ministers.

The duke of Bedford professedly wished, he said, both for a change of ministers, of the system on which government had been conducted, and, he might say, for the restoration of the constitution. His grace quoted the papers on the table, to show the concealment ministers had

made of the public expences to enable them to prosecute the war. He asked if the way to destroy French principles, was to ruin the country? He did not think they were so fascinating as to be dreaded. The reason peace was not restored, truly was because it could not be made but on terms disgraceful to those ministers who had held such lofty language during the war. His grace then took a view of the enormous taxes, and strenuously supported the motion.

For it 16—Against it 86.

May 19th, alderman Combe rose to make his promised motion for the dismissal of his majesty's ministers. He prefaced his speech with great diffidence, and with a deep consciousness of inability undertook the discussion of so important a subject.

It was, he said, the general opinion of the people of this country, as well as that of his constituents, that the calamities which pressed so hard upon the people were in a great measure, if not wholly, owing to the ministers having plunged us into the present war. He would not deny that at the commencement it appeared to be popular, but it long had ceased to be so, and nothing had so contributed to produce this effect as the incapacity of those who had carried it on. By ministers it had been declared to be both just and necessary; in both these points he had always differed from them: but, even allowing that it was so, it was reasonable to expect that the public should have been informed of the real or ostensible ground on which it had been entered into; and surely in a contest between two great nations nothing less could have been expected. In vain, however, had the people fought for some fixed and settled

principle by which their governors had been guided; sometimes we were said to fight for one purpose, sometimes for another, and still we were in the dark! The cause of the war in January 1794 was "*the restoration of monarchy in France.*" That form of government appeared so necessary for the welfare and interests of this country, it was held out as a sufficient reason for all the expences we might incur, and the calamities likely to attend it. This cause, however, did not long remain: events of the most melancholy nature rendered such ground no longer tenable; it was found necessary to chuse a new one; and the most ostensible excuse and justification of ministers was, "*indemnity for the past and security for the future.*" This in its turn was given up, and then we were bound to fight till France was settled into some stable government, capable of "*maintaining the relations of peace and amity.*" After that event took place, we were assured ministers would seize the earliest opportunity of negotiating; and in December 1795, a sort of overture was made through the medium of Mr. Wickham, the success of which was too well known to render recapitulation necessary. Since that time the war had continued with every possible degree of misfortune and disaster to us and our allies. We now were left indeed alone in the contest, and the distresses of the country had arrived at such a pitch, as to render peace essential; it remained now only to be considered whether the present ministers, who had so rashly precipitated the country into the war, and had manifested such incapacity in the conduct of it, were likely to be more successful in obtaining that desirable blessing, tranquillity. He was perfectly of opinion with
his

his constituents that they were not: it required men of greater minds and more upright intentions to bring about this object. He would take up no more of the time of the house than by moving "that an address be presented to his majesty, beseeching him to dismiss from his councils his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a permanent and speedy peace."

Sir William Milner said, that in seconding this motion he followed the opinion of his constituents, and, though he despaired of its success, he was convinced, that if the sense of the people were to be taken upon the subject, the ministers would no longer continue to heap distresses upon the country.

Mr. I. H. Browne opposed the motion in a speech of considerable length, in the course of which he took a view of the whole conduct of administration for the last twelve years, and declared he approved of their measures. The gentlemen who had spoken had both of them declared they thought themselves bound to follow the instructions of their constituents; and as the representatives of the two first cities in the kingdom, their opinions were certainly entitled to the highest respect. He had, for his own part, the honour to represent a very populous place; his constituents consisted of about two thousand; in returning him their representative, they had enabled him to act for them to the best of his judgment: If his constituents chose to instruct him, he should follow his own judgment if he differed from them in opinion; and if they were displeased at this, they might reject him at the next general election. He therefore dissented altogether from the worthy alderman and the honourable baronet on the subject of

obeying the instructions of his constituents. He looked upon himself as really an independent man, and had neither received nor solicited any favour from ministers. With regard to the present administration, he thought the country owed every thing to them: the three greatest blessings which could be possessed, liberty, internal tranquillity, and general prosperity!

He first enumerated the liberties—that juries had been invested with the right which had been disputed, of judging of all the circumstances of the case, in point of law as well as fact: it was under the auspices of the present administration, and against very high and powerful authority that the continuance of an impeachment had been carried. It was under the same administration that the bill so obnoxious to the people of Canada had been repealed, and a system of freedom established in its stead. Even the abuses of liberty had been touched with a lenient hand, and the bill for preventing and punishing sedition had been limited to the term of two years.

Mr. Browne dwelt upon the instances of what he called lenity, and then proceeded to notice the second point, tranquillity, which, he said, were so clear from the excellent measures which had been adopted, that it was unnecessary to go farther into the subject. He then came to the third, the general prosperity of the country. In the year 1784 the present minister came into office; and from that time to 1792 no country had ever flourished more. By means of his financial abilities he raised the funds, which he found at 64, during the course of that period to 98. In the same proportion with the funds the trade, manufactures, agricul-

ture, and ingenuity of the country kept pace in their increase—there was indeed a period to which he must now allude that formed a painful reverse: those evils, however, which had caused it were entirely owing to the French revolution, which had suddenly risen to a head, and, like a torrent, burst every natural and artificial bound, and swept away all before it. It threatened destruction to every civilised state and regular government in Europe. Much, he observed, had been said on the possibility of avoiding the war, and great blame imputed to ministers for not doing so: he denied its having been possible to avoid it, and attributed our present tranquillity to the wisdom of the ministers. The French had demanded the most dreadful requisitions from every power on the continent; and the grand duke of Tuscany had been obliged to sell his jewels to raise the last 100,000 crowns which they had levied on him. From these evils we had been saved by this administration—and could we change it for any set of men more likely to be of more service to our real interests? No! He took then an average of the bills of inclosures and canals, during four years before the war and the same period since its commencement, shewing that they had greatly increased in the latter. He concluded by giving his decided dissent to the motion.

Aldermen Curtis, Anderson, and Lushington; Mr. Bootle, and Mr. Brandling opposed the motion.

Mr. Curwen said it was common for persons in the house to pretend that they were right in exercising their own judgment in opposition to that of their constituents: it was his opinion that members of parliament were not only bound to listen

to the instructions of their constituents but to obey them; they ought to speak the sense of the people, which could not be done but by faithfully representing it. He confessed he had never heard any arguments which could convince him that the prosperity of the country was at all owing to the present administration; the commencement of the war undoubtedly belonged to them, nor did they negotiate for peace when a favourable opportunity presented itself, by the French being driven back within their territory; it was obvious they might then have made better terms than at any other period, and their neglect was a sufficient proof of their intention to interfere with the government of France; it proved that the war was, as it had been called, a war of kings against the people.

Mr. H. Browne had made the passing of the correspondence bill, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, grounds of defence for the ministers; it was rather extraordinary that these violations of the liberties of the people should seriously be urged in defence of those who had committed them. From these two bills which had passed, the country had experienced the most disastrous effects: the navy had been disorganized, and disaffection widely diffused, and, if the present system remained, and was persevered in, these discontents would increase till at last they would burst forth, and carry all before them. He was not for such a change as should only have for its object the putting one man into the place of another. The influence of government must cease—that influence by which the right honourable gentleman had created about one-half of the present house of peers.

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The measures which ministers had pursued in Ireland, had reduced that country to a state of the greatest disorder. Nothing short of the complete emancipation of the catholics, and a thorough reform in the representation of the people, could now prevent that kingdom from being totally separated from us. He did not believe the present ministers could make peace for this country; and as the situation of the nation depended upon that blessing, and upon its being speedily procured, he felt it to be his duty to support the motion.

Mr. M. A. Taylor argued strenuously for the dismissal of the king's present ministers; the more he reflected upon the dreadful waste of blood this war had occasioned (for the waste of treasure was comparatively an insignificant calamity), and of the opposition he had given it for these four years past, the more was he satisfied with his own conduct. That the restoration of monarchy in France was the object of the war, was acknowledged in the protest of lord Fitzwilliam. But it had been asked, if you cannot trust ministers, whom will you trust? perhaps it might be supposed that he would answer, his friend Mr. Fox. This gentleman certainly had opposed all the acts of ministers by which such misery had been heaped upon the country — of those ministers whose incapacity was so notorious: and surely, in any situation of life, we should not be inclined to trust people who had led us into difficulties and dangers instead of those who had always sought to extricate us. Gentlemen of rank, fortune, and high station, were daily requesting his majesty to dismiss his present ministers. Only a sense of duty could make these gentlemen act as they did; for the

opposition had nothing to allure them with, nor the minister to corrupt them by. For himself, he wanted neither place nor pension; there was but one thing which he ardently requested — it was the restoration of our excellent constitution.

Mr. William Adams thought this was a time to oppose every motion which tended to diminish lawful authority or impede the operations of the executive power. All party, all prejudice, should be thrown aside, and every description of individuals should unite to support the dignity of our national character. Unanimity was our best resource, added to confidence in ministers.

Mr. Hobhouse rose: he begged to advert to the subject which had so often been discussed — the necessity of the war: it was of little consequence, he said, which party first had issued declarations; the question was, who had commenced hostilities. He stated the following facts as reasons for affirming that we were the aggressors: the prohibition to export foreign corn to France whilst it was permitted to be sent to other countries; the passing the alien bill with a view to exclude Frenchmen from our territories; the correspondence between M. Chauvelin and lord Grenville, the former of whom appeared as solicitous to preserve peace, as the latter to disturb it; and, finally, the dismissal of M. Chauvelin, which alone, in consequence of his official situation as ambassador, was, according to the treaty existing between France and us, to be considered as a declaration of war. These plain matters of fact were proofs that the cabinet of St. James's was determined upon a war with France, and that France

on her part was amicably inclined towards Great Britain. But, if another proof were wanting, he appealed to an occurrence in the winter of 1792. General Dumouriez wrote to the executive council for leave to seize upon Maestricht, without which he could not defend the Meuse or the territory about Liege. This city he proposed to keep in his possession during the war, and afterwards to return it to the Dutch, its owners. The executive council refused to comply with his request, because an attack upon the ally of England would give offence to England, and become a certain ground for war.

Mr. Hobhouse then stated all the opportunities which ministers had lost of making an honorable peace: When M. le Brun wrote to lord Grenville on the 16th of April to request a passport for M. Maret, who was to come with full powers to terminate the horrors of war, not even an answer was returned. When the French army was in a state of disorganization at the defection of Dumouriez, we might have offered terms which would have been acceptable. After the capture of Valenciennes we might have negotiated advantageously; — in short, with ministers, no time was proper for it — they were bent upon the prosecution of this disastrous war, in which they had expended one hundred and thirty-five millions, laid upon the people annual taxes to the amount of six millions; in which they had shed a profusion of English blood, without having attained one of the objects for which they professed to contend. Was it for Holland we had drawn the sword? Holland was no longer our ally, but that of our enemy. Was it for the re-establishment of monarchy? We had been com-

pelled to *solicit* a peace with the republic of France, to make a tender of reconciliation to the very men who had imbrued their hands in the blood of that sovereign whose death we had been so desirous to avenge. Had one of our menaces been carried into effect? We were to march to Paris and seize upon the persons of the convention! we now were preparing to defend our own coasts against the invasion of the same enemy. We had encouraged the nation to prosecute the war upon an assurance that the French were on the verge, nay in the very gulph of bankruptcy — but alas! what was the state of our own finances? How low had our own credit been sunk by the discontinuance of the bank of England to make its accustomed payments in specie?

———— Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur.

He appealed lastly to the representatives of the people; — Did they wish to extricate the country from a ruinous war, and ensure to themselves the blessings of a solid peace? let them address the king for a removal of his ministers. Did they wish to repair their shattered finances? let them address the king for the removal of his ministers. Did they wish to restore the British constitution? — he concluded with the only method of doing it — address the king for the removal of his ministers.

Mr. Dent thought that before the house could adopt the present motion, it would be necessary to know who those gentlemen were, to whom it was wished that the administration of public affairs should be committed. He lamented that in the course of the debate assertions had been converted into accusations, particularly when

when ministers were charged with occasioning the discontents of the seamen and the disturbances of Ireland.

Mr. N. Jeffreys said he would answer one question by another: it had been demanded, if the present ministers were dismissed, where should we find others? He replied, where could we possibly find worse?

Mr. Ellison professed to speak as an independent member for a respectable city (Lincoln). He always listened to the advice of his constituents with deference, claiming, at the same time, the privilege of acting from his own opinion. He could not think this was the proper season for agitating questions for reform, and bringing charges against ministers: it would be like attempting to reform a family when their house was beset with thieves and robbers. Unanimity at home, and valour abroad, was the best mode of obtaining peace for the country.

Mr. C. Sturt execrated the conduct of ministers in the strongest terms for their having plunged the country into the miseries of war—their having cheated the nation of their money by pretended overtures of peace—their abominable expedition at Quiberon—enlisting prisoners who were notoriously attached to republicanism, to re-establish monarchy in France—their sacrificing millions of money at St. Domingo, and the flower of the British army—their opposing the just claims of our gallant protectors, the sailors. [Here he was called to order.] But Mr. Sturt declared, no cries of order, whilst he was not disorderly, should deter him from delivering his sentiments; and all the success, nay, the very existence of the country, depended on the support of the present motion.

Mr. Pierrepont averred that neither political predilections nor party views in the least influenced his vote; *he had much to lose*—and the motion under discussion was of a tendency to introduce confusion, and to hazard property.

Mr. Burdon could not but think, he said, that the dismissal of ministers was a measure which would retard rather than accelerate peace; and, instead of allaying the present ferment in the public mind, kindle and foment disturbances. Viewing it in this light, he had nothing to add but his negative.

The question was loudly called for. Ayes 59, noes 242, majority 183.

Tuesday, the 30th of May, the duke of Bedford rose to make a motion for taking into consideration the state of the nation. The substance of his excellent speech was as follows. Our calamities, he said, were great, and the extent of them unexampled: in stating their causes he must necessarily advert to the conduct of ministers; it was not his inclination but his duty he must consult in going over this painful part of the subject. But he did not mean to draw inferences, only to lay before them facts. It had been said, this was a war for the preservation of law, religion, and morality—a war in defence of our liberty, our constitution, and our property. What was the state of our property now? had our laws been ameliorated? On the contrary, had not the best of them been suspended, and others made against that very liberty which we were said to fight in defence of? But it was for the preservation of religion. Alas! did we expect to protect the altar by surrounding it with blood, or to secure it from violation by piling it with

with carcases of the dead? Had we supported morality by this war? What examples could we produce? the king of Prussia? the dungeons of Olmutz? or could it be discovered in the conduct of those petty tyrants who buzzed about us when they had hoped for success, and disappeared when our case became desperate?

His grace then went over the negotiations, much condemning ministers in making Belgium a *fine qua non*, when the bank was menaced, and the public credit in imminent danger. He next called the attention of the house to the state of our finances; the annual amount of the new taxes was seven millions and a half, but he believed that a very considerable additional sum would be requisite to cover the whole expence which had been incurred. Should the war continue three months longer, or for the whole of the year, three millions more must be raised to defray the interest of the debt which it had created. No one year had the people yet borne the burden of more than three millions, so that the dreadful weight of seven and a half annual tax never yet experienced, must be added to the pressure under which they already groaned! It was a principle of the British constitution that the country should be apprised as early as possible of the burdens which they were to support; and it had been the boast of the present minister that he had observed it — surely without foundation. Our difficulties, our dangers, and our expences, had been concealed till they could not be hid any longer, and our state was deplorable. There were several points on which his grace said he was obliged to curtail his observations, especially upon the correspondence

between the chancellor and the bank. From the beginning of the year 1795, the bank-directors were frequent and earnest in their remonstrances to him; they reminded him of the advances which they had made to government, and his promises of payment:—they stated the amount of their advances on the treasury bills to be between two and a half and three millions. These representations were uniformly answered with promises that the subject of complaint should be remedied, and the advances repaid: but they never were performed, and new applications for fresh advances were made. On the 6th of August the chancellor applied for an advance of two millions and a half on the consolidated fund, pretended the utmost concern for the bank, and expressed his surprise that the directors could once imagine that its interest was a less object with him than with them. The event proved his sincerity. The directors again acceded to his demand, on the express condition, however, that 1,000,000*l.* should be paid on account of their advance on the treasury bills in the month of October, a proportion in April, and that the amount of them should never exceed 500,000*l.* — a regulation to be adopted in November.

All these conditions were neglected, the remonstrances despised, and the amount continued to advance. They continued to warn him of the fatal consequences of the drain of cash to the emperor, and the ruin which must ensue from such a system. But he was indifferent to warnings and solicitations, procured advances upon renewed promises which he continued to break, and on conditions which he never performed; and, if the whole correspondence between the chancellor

cellor and the bank, to the very moment when he was compelled to stop payment, did not excite the indignation of the house, his grace said he despaired of adding any thing to its influence. The bank of England was reduced to the situation of stopping payment, and public credit exposed to utter ruin, to supply an expenditure which parliament had not sanctioned, to support the mischievous schemes and wasteful prodigality of ministers. Had the real object of the war been fairly avowed, or the expence stated, peace would long before now have been concluded. The laws which had passed on pretence of preserving tranquillity was another proof of the pernicious system on which ministers had acted. But for the most striking illustration of their wretched policy we needed but to look at Ireland. Earl Fitzwilliam had been sent out as lord lieutenant, as was understood, upon the wise and salutary plan of making those concessions which would satisfy the expectations of the people: he was deceived by ministers, and sacrificed to their injudicious measures. He went out to carry into execution a system dear to the wishes of Irishmen. Lord Camden went out to direct a plan far different, and avowedly hostile to that on which the people of Ireland had fixed their hearts. What had been the consequence? Every attempt to coerce had spread more widely the spirit of discontent; blind perseverance in coercion had heightened discontent into disaffection, and endangered the connection of the two countries. At home also, we had much to regret under the conduct of ministers. The first appearances of dangerous events he did not mean to attribute to them; but he must al-

lude to the disturbances of the navy, in order to perform his duty to his country. Silence would add to the mischief. When the mutiny first broke out, the sailors made demands, many of which were reasonable in every body's opinion; some of them were not so. It was certain that the admiralty made offers to certain requests which were rejected, and afterwards raised their offers, and the agreement was made. What had been granted, was only thought to be just; and ministers, in offering less than they afterwards granted, proved that they could not judge, or did not act with uprightness: these were examples of incapacity which they had manifested. He had already stated the evils which their measures had produced; and he now asked, if the English were determined to devote their country to destruction? [Here there was a great cry of "Hear! hear!"] His grace proceeded: "I come with as great an interest as any man in the house in the safety of the country. Will you leave its affairs to men who have already involved you in complicated calamities? I entreat your lordships to reflect upon our state as a nation; that you would devise some means of avoiding the complete ruin with which we are threatened: and I therefore move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, earnestly soliciting him, by dismissing his present servants, to give to the people of Ireland the strongest proof of his disapprobation of that system of treachery by which their discontents have been fostered, and of his majesty's intention of securing the connection between the kingdoms, by extending to men of all descriptions in that oppressed country the blessings of the constitution under which they were born; and

and, finally, to dismiss those ministers from his presence, for ever, whose measures had impaired the liberties, and whose extravagance had injured the property of his subjects: to restore the spirit of the British constitution, and to adopt such a system of retrenchment as was alone consistent with the prosperity of his exhausted people."

Earl Strange (duke of Athol) agreed, that the present crisis called for exertion; but the measure moved by the noble duke was not calculated to meet the exigency of the times. Into the conduct of the chancellor respecting the bank he did not mean to inquire—but he was convinced that a satisfactory explanation could be given of every part of it. In reply to the question, "What had we gained by the contest?" we had gained, he said, the privilege of sitting and debating in that house; and if we had not entered into the war with France, neither he nor the noble duke would have been peers of the realm. Of the sedition and treason acts, though he acknowledged them to be infringements to a certain degree upon the constitution, he approved, as measures dictated by urgent necessity. He opposed the address, as tending to detract from the energy of government—to unhinge the administration—and even to unhinge the country.

The duke of Grafton rose; and, after taking a review of our wealth, our manufactures, our military force, our naval power, and the prosperity of England till the year 1792, he reviewed with much apparent concern the picture of our present state. Great Britain (said his grace) is at this moment stripped of, or deserted by, every ally on the continent which could bring any essen-

tial aid. The bank of England, owing to the most fatal neglect of the lords of the treasury concerning the circulating specie of the kingdom, when many schemes might have been proposed, probably to prevent, certainly to lessen, the evils which had happened—the bank had received a wound which could not be remedied; our credit, a blot that could not be expunged; his grace said he meant the effect of the order of the council. His next subject of regret was St. Domingo; which without many conflicts, without a battle fought, besides the millions lavished there, proved to be a grave for the greater part of the troops sent thither; the numbers of officers and men who had fallen victims to the climate, exceeded what would be credited, and their relatives had to thank the wild project of an incompetent minister, who might callously assert, "such was the chance of war!" He did not dare acquaint their lordships to what a small remnant the regular infantry of England was reduced. He knew what it was, and mentioned it as a warning to the lord in office that he, with his colleagues, might not be weakening this defence still farther, by employing them on more fatal projects when it ought to be the principle of all measures to give security at home. The navy afforded a fresh proof of the want of sagacity in administration. Who but themselves, did not see the necessity of assisting the seamen, when, at the moment of the high price of provisions, considerable indulgencies had been granted to the soldiers? As to Ireland, that kingdom was to be considered in so critical a state, that, unless there was a *temperate* reform in parliament, and a full emancipation of the catholics, with a total change of the

the men who now conducted the affairs in that country, we soon should see it added to the list of republics which our fatal measures had been the cause of erecting all over Europe: but with this consequence—if a revolution took place in Ireland, it inevitably would produce a revolution in Great Britain. To prevent these evils, there was but one effective remedy, which he earnestly recommended to the consideration of their lordships—a parliamentary reform; without which our constitution would slip from under us. There were not wanting people who might say, these disasters had befallen us by chance; but (continued his grace) let us not condemn chance for our situation or our sufferings, but the ministers who were now before us, and had brought us hither. Their lordships had to this day given them their support; but let them give it no longer: wisdom was never more conspicuous or amiable, than in the acknowledgment of error—but all assistance bestowed on the same ministers from this moment ought to be bestowed openly, and in the eyes of the public, that it might involve the person with the minister in the guilt of every future fatal project. For himself, he protested, that, so far from abetting the pernicious councils which had brought on the downfall of the empire, he had endeavoured by constitutional means to avert them. If this motion was to be received with the same cold indifference which had had been shewn in common times, and if the same confidence was continued to the ministers, he should not think it necessary to trouble the house with his remarks again. But before he retired to fortify his own mind against the approaching calamities, and prepare

his family for what they would probably have to undergo, it was a duty incumbent upon him to lay before his sovereign the reasons for his conduct, flattering himself that he should be allowed that gracious hearing which his majesty had so often given to one from whose lips he never heard but the dictates of the heart, as sincerely as they were now delivered to their lordships.

Lord Romney said, he differed from the noble duke in every sentiment, except the sincerity which he professed. He asserted that the war was necessary, and had not been disastrous. One passage in the proposed motion might produce, he thought, the most pernicious consequences: speaking of the people of Ireland, he mentioned their being “*an oppressed people*.” What would they say, if this address was voted, and the sentiments of that house made known as such upon the subject? He contended that our ally, the emperor, was faithful and magnanimous—that the mutiny on board the fleet was owing to French intrigues—and that, if the sailors would be true to their country, we might defy the combined attack of every nation upon earth.

The earl of Guildford attributed the aggregate sum of our calamities to the mis-conduct of ministers, nor could there be any hope of peace without their dismissal. To all the other effects which the proposed measure would produce, would be added a correction of the extravagance in blood and treasure for which the present administration had been distinguished. He beseeched their lordships to weigh well the side on which they gave their approbation this evening. It was an important crisis, big with the fate of empires.

The earl of Suffolk supported the

the motion as a step towards the salvation of the country. It was as idle as false, to affirm that England did not at this time suffer from the most alarming disorders which only could be remedied by changing men and measures. If those in power yet denied the existence of such circumstances in England, let them turn their eyes to Ireland, where would be found a great deal to fear and to lament. He produced a letter from a private friend of his own, in which it was stated, that Ireland was nearly in an insurrection: but the earl of Westmoreland calling him to order, and censuring the impropriety of giving the opinion of any private individual upon that subject, the earl of Suffolk declined proceeding with the letter.

The marquis of Landdowne expressed surprise, that ministers would not give the public any satisfaction upon subjects so interesting to the country; and that they carried their secrecy so far, as to put a negative upon information offered from another quarter. The present calamities, he said, might all be traced to their mysterious conduct, and it had uniformly proved mischievous to the community. As he wished rather to hear than to speak, he had come down on that day, prepossessed with an idea that some notice would be given by the ministers, that a negotiation had commenced between this country and France. Had this been announced, he should have been silent; though he confessed he had no ground for the supposition but public report. He was utterly at a loss to divine what could retard such overtures: we had no longer the opening of the Scheldt to resist; the fate of the Low Countries was decided: de-

serted by our allies, we only had to consider our own interest; and the cause therefore, to him, was inexplicable. He trusted they had not the madness to make Austria renew the contest. He remembered its having been stated, that it was impossible for the king of Sardinia to desert us. It had been said, that the ministers of his Prussian majesty were the best in Europe! When he himself had mentioned the sending a subsidy to the king of Prussia, ministers had exclaimed, "Do you call it a subsidy? it is a cheap economical contract." The marquis observed, we had had plenty of such contracts; whether the Prussian was an economical one or not, he could not pretend to say; perhaps it was cheaper than those entered into in St. Domingo. He expected to have heard that the bank of Vienna, upon the return of peace, would have resumed its payments, and that not only the interest of the money we had lent to the emperor would have been punctually paid, but that the capital would have been gradually liquidated. Not one word had the noble secretary uttered upon this point: he even smiled at having cheated the country out of six millions of money—and it deserved to be so cheated, whilst it submitted to be taxed in light and in air, without one remonstrance! As to prospects of peace, he confessed he had the sin of believing that the French government were always inclined to pacification, and he recommended it to the ministers to make a declaration that they were willing to negotiate; which, if it served no other purpose, would at least solve a problem which had never yet been solved—what had been the real object of the war. He adverted with much severity on their silence
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when their measures were attacked, and on the mystery in which they involved every thing belonging to the country. He reminded their lordships, that about two years ago he had stated the necessity of reformation in the navy, but without success. He declared upon the best authority of the most enlightened men in Ireland, that country was then placed in a situation of imminent danger. He could not express in a manner too forcible the evils likely to arise from the system pursued by his majesty's present ministers. They were laying the foundation of animosity between both kingdoms, by sending over troops thither. He concluded his speech with the advice given by M. Necker to kings on the subject of coercion: "Wise statesmen strongly advised them never to provoke the people; to avoid with the utmost caution coercive, and adopt conciliatory, measures, even in cases of the most pressing nature; as the most effectual to make their subjects comply with their just views, and reconcile them to a state of tranquillity."

Lord Grenville affirmed, that the tone of distress imputed to the country began and ended with the lords who supported the motion. Were the question to be carried in the affirmative, he said, it would impart to him the most serious concern; not on account of his own personal ease or safety, but that he should be prevented from giving his efficient support to the executive government for the happiness of the whole community. If, in fact, the ministers had ever opposed those noxious political principles which aimed at the subversion of all regular governments, they were called upon at the present moment to continue with additional firmness

that opposition. With respect to the subsidies made to Prussia, on which the marquis of Lansdowne had been so pointedly severe, he should merely observe, that it was the best mode of hiring troops for public service. As to our alliance with Austria, could any one assert with justice, that we had not gained by that proceeding great and successive advantage to the real interests of the nation? It seemed to be considered by those who supported the motion, that the removal of ministers would be grateful to the public mind; but would it be equally so, that these lords should occupy their places? The present ministers had prevented that anarchy to which the language of the opposition immediately tended, but which he had not heard before now expressed, nor expected to have heard in that house. A reform of parliament was a chief measure proposed. For himself, he objected to that innovation as a complete alteration of our constitution. He had even opposed a *temperate* reform; but this now offered for discussion was peculiarly objectionable—it went to pluck up by the roots every right planted by the constitution: it would exchange every election over the kingdom into the nature of a Westminster election—with which every one of their lordships was necessarily acquainted. Parliament did not possess so unlimited, so extraordinary a power as to authorise such a reform; and if the flood-gates were once opened to innovation, the torrent of anarchy would spread so forcibly and so wide, that it would not be in the power of their lordships, by opposing their feeble hands as a barrier to destruction, to prevent the constitution from being overwhelmed in ruin.

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The duke of Leeds entreated both sides in the most earnest manner, to proceed calmly in a discussion which involved in itself consequences of the utmost importance. He thought the noble secretary had made the constitution depend, as it were, upon the continuance of the present ministers in office, rather than on its own intrinsic merit. He did not assert that these ministers were intentionally wicked, but he could not help considering them as peculiarly unfortunate. His grace disapproved of parliamentary reform.

Lord Grenville protested, that if the motion merely concerned the removal of ministers, he should not have risen to oppose it; but he believed the object was to promote not a change of men, but a revolution in the country.

The earl of Moira denied that the motion was of a personal nature; and vindicated the noble duke who made it on constitutional grounds. He, for one, was not disposed to ascribe to ministers that prosperity which arose from the energy of our merchants. Their genius and enterprising spirit would ever carry the country to the height of glory, if administration did not put bars in their way. The motion, indeed, was meant to inflict a penalty on ministry for the ill success of the war. It had been opposed, lest the constitution should be overturned—but this was a fallacious and pernicious mode of argument, because then all our present evils and disasters would be attributed to government, not ministers; and the subversion of it might insidiously be pointed out as the only remedy. Of Ireland he wished to speak with caution: when the catholics had shown their loyalty at the time that the French

were off Bantry Bay, the Irish government, under the influence of the British cabinet, hesitated in refusing them a community of privileges. He hoped, however, that it was not too late to conciliate; but this could not be done by half measures: ministers must speak out fairly and explicitly, and not leave a loop-hole for suspicion. He denied the affairs of Ireland being foreign to the British cabinet; and therefore, should a convulsion happen in that country, it would be but justice to inflict punishment upon those on this side of the water who had not laboured to avert consequences so ruinous. He concluded with lamenting the slumber into which the house had fallen in this season of danger.

Earl Spencer objected to the motion on the same ground with lord Grenville. It was connected with a change of measures which would prove ruinous to the country; and if our situation was really dangerous, every one should support the constitution.

The duke of Bedford was surprised to hear the secretary assert, that there were fundamental rights of the people which the parliament could not take away: what (said his grace), not after repealing, in fact, the bill of rights, and striking at some of the most valuable and indisputable privileges of the people?

The question being called for, the lord chancellor rose. He said, the drift of the motion was not only to criminate ministers, but to introduce a new system of government, under the pretence of a parliamentary reform; that it tended to disfranchise all corporations, to empower the house of commons to uncreate their creators, and destroy the rights of the very men who made

made them members of parliament. The term *freeholder* had hitherto been the pride of the best part of the nation; but by the plan proposed, this was to give way to the more favourite appellation of *pot-boilers*; it would cut up by the roots whatever entered into the nature of franchise-property or privilege, and introduce, instead, the principle of an agrarian law. He asked the duke how he would like the application of this doctrine to his own estates? He reminded him of all which had happened in France in the years 1789 and 1790. There, it was observable, that those who were foremost in the revolutionising the country, fell amongst the first victims of the pernicious principles they had laboured to infuse. He entreated their lordships to pause, and consider the tendency of the motion, and then did not doubt their strenuous disapprobation of it.

The duke of Bedford, after an observation on the uncandid proceeding of speaking after his reply, denied the interpretation put upon the plan of reform; and pointed out the fallacy of comparing the elective franchise, a right possessed by individuals for the good of the whole, to private property. Were votes to be considered as private property because they were bought and sold? It was a right, which, so far from being injured by being extended, would be improved, because extension would give efficacy. But whatever objections there might be to the bill, they were no arguments against its introduction, since it was meant to be printed, and left open for discussion till next year.

The house divided, contents 12; non contents 65.

May 26. Mr. Grey moved a
1797.

reform in the representation of the people. He said, he was sensible he thus exposed himself to many uncharitable imputations; and if in resisting the destructive system of ministers, he with his friends had been accused of a wish to gratify personal interest and private ambition, of a wanton desire to thwart the executive government, they could not in the present instance expect to escape similar, or still more odious, imputations.

His speech was of considerable length, and he stated with much strength of argument and brilliancy of language our former prosperity, and our present distresses. He solemnly affirmed, that he sought not to alter any part of the constitution; his sole object was, to obtain for the people a full, fair, and free representation in the house of commons. He wished our establishment should remain as it was, composed of king, lords, and commons. He proposed that the county representation should continue nearly upon the same footing—there were, however, a few alterations which he thought might take place: instead of ninety-two county members which there were at present, there should be one hundred and thirteen; for instance, instead of two for the county of York, there should be two for each riding, and so in other counties where the present representation was not proportionate to the extent of the population.

In order to put an end to compromises, &c. each county or riding should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return one representative. The next proposition he had to make was in the qualifications of electors. Instead of confining the right of election to freeholders, as it now

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was, it should be extended to copyholders and leaseholders, who were bound to pay a certain annual rent, a certain number of years. But the reform which he had to propose in the other branch of representation, was of a much more extensive nature. It was, that the remaining four hundred members should be returned by one description of persons, which were householders. If it were possible, one person should not be permitted to vote for more than one member of parliament. In order to prevent expense, the poll ought to be taken through the whole kingdom at one time: this was the outline of his plan to state that it could be obtained at first with exactness, or was not liable to difficulties, would be presumptuous and absurd; but he flattered himself there would be found no insuperable or fundamental objections to it. The landowner would find his property suitably represented, the merchant support in the householders, and men of respectability and talents in the different professions would find a fair door open for admission into parliament. The only persons whom he wished to exclude from that house, were men who were neither possessed of landed property, nor engaged in commercial enterprise, nor professors of any particular science, and who without property, without industry, and without talents, obtained seats in the house of commons by the influence of great men, for the purpose, not of consulting the good of the people, but of promoting their own interests. The members would then hold their seats, not on the basis of universal suffrage, but of universal representation. The qualification would be so fixed, that no man, however

mean, might not hope by honest industry and fair exertions to raise himself to distinction. And he begged to observe, that a man arrived at the respectable situation of being a father, and consequently master of a family, having given hostages as it were to society, as an assurance of his interest in its welfare, was not unworthy of a share in the legislation of his country. If the reform in the representation was adopted, but not otherwise, the duration of parliament should be limited to three years. One objection had always been made to similar motions, viz. that it was an improper time to agitate the question: so far from this appearing of any weight, to him, the time was one of the great inducements to bring it forward. In prosperity we were told that there was no need of reform: and though Mr. Pitt at one time had contended for its necessity, if we would shun the recurrence of the evils of the American war, he quite forgot his promise on coming into power. We were now in a state very far from prosperity: calamity had succeeded calamity, and every effort of the friends of their country had been ineffectual in stemming the tide of its misfortune; for himself he should despair of any endeavours which he could make after this night being successful, and though he always would be present to vote for or against measures which might be prejudicial to his constituents, he would not again trouble the house with his observations.

Mr. Erskine seconded the motion, and with all the powers of eloquence, with all the knowledge and perspicuity which the subject required, he pointed out the advantages it was calculated to produce, and

and its consistency with the principles of the constitution.

In entering into an examination whether the present constitution of the house fulfilled its office in the government, it was necessary, he said, to reflect what the office and character of the house of commons really was in genuine theory, and original practice: its office was to balance the other branches of the government, to watch with jealousy over the executive power, which for the ends of good and active superintendence ought to be strong and powerful, to protect the popular privileges against the encroachments of aristocratic influence: and unless the house of commons was sufficient to maintain this character, it was a branch of the constitution cut off: the principle of government was lost, and the people had no more political existence than slaves who groaned under the scourges of despotic power. That the house *once* fulfilled this office, was certain; that our liberties were established by its constant exercise was acknowledged: we could recollect with pride and triumph the glorious exertions of our fathers within those walls, when tyranny, century after century, was combated and defeated, and the freedom of England, and of the world, was established. It may be asked, wherefore was it, that when the house of commons in its present frame had so balanced the crown, and so reared up the British government from infancy to maturity, we were called upon to restore it to its original purity and vigour? Why, in such a moment of danger and disgrace, was it requisite to alter what had for ages past accomplished the purposes of its institution? *Because the circumstances of our situation were no longer the same.*

Whilst the English were engaged in a struggle for their liberties against an arbitrary executive, acting by prerogative, and not by corruption, it was enough that there was a house of commons. Whoever sent the members, they had, when assembled, a common interest with the whole body of the nation. Common danger united them against the crown, and they had nothing wherewith to buy off individuals from the performance of their duty to the whole. When the crown could not buy this house it was driven to curb its privileges. This made the house as one man; and the representatives of ten or of ten thousand had the same spirit and the same interests on all political objects. Mr. Erskine said, if illustration was necessary, we had only to look back to the struggles of the commons during the reigns of the Stuarts; there we might behold it in its genuine office and character, reflecting the image of the constituent body, partaking its feelings, and contending with firmness and wisdom against every encroachment of the crown. But human institutions were not made for immortality; they must change with the insensible changes in human affairs, or perish by violence. The revolution of 1688 was a glorious æra in the constitution of England: it established the true principle of all political constitutions, in maintaining the immutable right of the people to correct its government — but unfortunately, too little care was taken to guard against abuses so corrected. The formidable prerogatives of the sovereign were, indeed, reduced within the bounds of a just executive authority, and limited by the strict letter of the laws. But the terror and jealousy of the people were quieted

by this victory, and the seducing dominion of venal influence stole upon us in its stead, bestowing a more fatal authority than ever existed in the most arbitrary periods of government. The crown, instead of being balanced and curbed in this house, had, during the greater part of this century, erected its standard within those walls, and thrown the privileges of the people into the scale of the prerogative, to govern the nation at pleasure. So far was the house of commons from being any controul upon it, that it was the great engine of its power. Appearing to act with the consent of the people, through their representatives, yet in fact carrying on a system which the most absolute prince in our history could not have fastened upon England for centuries past. The celebrated judge Blackstone, with all his leanings to the crown, had confessed, that such a system could not have been intended by our patriot ancestors, who struggled to curb the prerogative, but by an unaccountable want of foresight had established a principle more dangerous in its stead. So said lord Chatham, sir G. Saville, and lord Camden; so, lastly, said the right honourable gentleman himself (Mr. Pitt), and he would not have said so in vain, had he honourably persevered in that glorious course, which was the pledge and promise of his youth to his country and to the universe. Mr. Erskine declared, that he did not bring this to the memory of the house for the purpose of personal insult and mortification, but to add the authority of the minister's understanding to the other great ones he had cited. He begged the house to judge of his opinion then, as it stands on record—"Whatever al-

terations time may have introduced, this character can never be sustained unless the house of commons be made to bear some stamp of the actual disposition of the people at large. It would be an evil more natural and tolerable, that it should be infected with every epidemical phrensy of the people, as this would indicate some consanguinity, some sympathy of nature with their constituents, rather than be wholly unmoved by their opinions and feelings. By this want of sympathy they would cease to be a house of commons; for it is not the derivation of the power of that house from the people which makes it, in a distinct sense, their representative. For the king is the representative of the people, so are the lords, and so are the judges; all are their trustees as well as the commons, because no power is given for the sole sake of the holder; and, although government certainly is an institution of divine authority, yet its forms, and the persons who administer it, originate from the people. A popular origin cannot, therefore, be a popular representative, which belongs equally to all parts of government, and in all forms. *The virtue, spirit, and essence of a house of commons consist in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation.* It was not instituted to be a controul upon the people, as of late it had been taught, but a controul for them. A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial magistracy—an anxious care of public money—an ear open to public complaint—these are the true characteristics of an house of commons. *But an addressing house of commons, and a petitioning nation; a house of commons full of confidence, when the nation is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony with ministers whom*

whom the people regard with abhorrence; who vote thanks when the public opinion calls upon them for impeachment; who are eager to grant, when the general voice demands reckoning and account; who in all disputes between the people and administration decide against the people; who punish their disorders, but refuse to inquire into their provocations, this is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in this constitution." "And this (continued Mr. Erskine) is the degraded and disgraceful state of this assembly at this moment. There was a time, when the right honourable gentleman admitted this to be the truth. He confessed, during the American war, what he now denies, in order to maintain the cause of his own war. It had been said, that the American was at first the war of the people; it was so, as every act of government would be popular which began from the people's representatives, instead of the crown. The crown secures all the men of influence, property, and consideration in parliament, and they carry the people with them until they are brought at last to their senses by calamity and impending ruin. By the crown having in its hands the management of our mighty revenue, together with the manner in which the members of the house were elected, the house of commons had totally lost its original office and character as a balance against the crown. By the concurrence of accidents, rather than by the operation of permanent causes, great events of the world were brought to pass. The seeds of reformation came up at first but slowly, but they had been carefully gathered and re-sown by the right honourable gentleman himself. "That which a man soweth shall he also reap." It was

in vain, at the head of a corrupt government, that he now endeavoured to repress the doctrines which himself had propagated, or to extinguish the popularity of a reform in parliament, without which he had himself solemnly maintained that the liberties of this nation were undone. The only cure for the evils of government was, to make it what it had been in the days of our fathers, when it preserved the freedom of the people, and was crowned with their love and veneration. Upon that sound principle, Mr. Grey had brought forward his former motion in the year 1793, which Mr. Erskine said he considered it his duty to second, as he was now seconding the motion of this night; that they then thought as they thought yet, that the only mode of giving a safe direction to a spirit turbulent in the demand of liberty, was to give to Englishmen the substantial blessings of their own government. The surest antidote against those visionary and dangerous theories which constantly spring up from the heat of revolutionary movements, was to hold out to the people the real advantages which the British constitution in its native purities was calculated to bestow—to raise a standard, around which the lovers of English liberty might proudly rally, which would secure allegiance, not by terror (which always fails in the moment of peril), but by the enjoyment of solid happiness, by the return of lenient laws, of personal security, and the possession of the fruits of their own industry, which now were squeezed to the very husks by the grinding machinery of an overwhelming revenue. This was the proposition set forth, and rejected. The right honourable gentleman, not contented with a-

postating from the principles he had often professed, resisted them in a spirit and language of the loftiest pride and arrogance, which had since received their just rebuke in disgrace and humiliation—but unfortunately this once great nation had also been humbled and degraded. The cause of reform was to be put down, and all who maintained it were to be stigmatised, persecuted, and oppressed. The reformers had mixed with their cause an enthusiasm for the liberties of France, and for that reason the liberties of France were to be crushed. But the insolence with which the changes of the rising world were denounced within those walls, was an awful lesson to mankind. It had taught us, that there was an arm fighting against the oppressors of freedom, stronger than any arm of flesh, and that the great progressions of the world, in spite of the confederacies of power and the conspiracies of corruption, moved on with a steady pace, and would arrive in the end at a glorious consummation. The object of ministers, it seems, was to maintain the subordination of the laws, to uphold public credit, and preserve the regular system of things. What had been the consequence? In this new mode of supporting monarchic establishments, they had absolutely changed and were hourly changing into republican establishments the whole face of the earth; in support of public credit, they had broke the bank; in pursuit of public order they were driving Ireland, as America formerly was driven, to seek emancipation in the arms of France; and if the present system was not overturned, England would shortly be what Ireland was."

We regret that it is not within the limits of this work to present

to our readers the whole of Mr. Erskine's speech; the substance of its remaining part was an examination whether the plan proposed by Mr. Grey was likely to produce the practical benefits we desired; and if it was, whether the present was a fit moment for making any alteration in the constitution of our government? Respecting the former, Mr. Erskine was clearly of opinion that it would be beneficial; the house of commons, he said, ought to emanate from the people, and this plan attained the object with safety; the representation of land would continue, only be more equally extended and widely diffused. No good reason could now be assigned for excluding copyholders from the right of voting; their estates only differed from freeholds in the mode of conveyance, and the privileges of lords were no longer what they had been in feudal times. They were not privileges of property, but merely connected with authenticity of title. Leaseholders of a certain value, and for a certain term which amounts to property, were in the same situation. Inhabitants and householders paying scot and lot, through all their ranks and gradations, completed the system of rational representation. How could a people be better described? Who would pretend to say, that the masters of families, householders, every one of whom had some relation, some tie, some members of a little circle round his fire-side to whom he was attached, had no stake in the public fate, and were unworthy to enjoy political rights? Such a body of constituents would, to a considerable extent, remove the disgraceful practices which elections now exhibited. Suffrages were sometimes bartered for money, for a place, for a ribband,

a ribband, for the most trifling considerations. To remedy these abuses, make the electors vote each in their particular parishes: they would then come with calmness to exercise the most important of political privileges, and weigh maturely upon whom they were to devolve the guardianship of their civil rights. Such a plan would have all the advantages of universal suffrage without any of its defects; properly speaking, indeed, it was a universal right of suffrage, because all who were not included in it might be said, without a figure, to be virtually represented. All the people in their various degrees were represented, if not personally, in the persons of their fathers or their nearest kindred, and bound in every feeling as well as every interest which arose out of social existence to support an assembly proceeding from such an universal national will; whereas the personal inclusion of every individual might give an undue influence inconsistent with the true spirit of independent elections. Mankind have a right to be well-governed, but they can have no right to insist upon any mode incompatible with the very end proposed. The system laid before the house was practicable; it had no tendency to disorganise society, or to shake the establishments of the nation.

Mr. Erskine then discussed his last point—"was the present a moment fit for making any alteration in the government." He professed to think it singularly and critically seasonable, and that those who denied it would lay the same hold on prosperity if the same motion were proposed on the return of peace. That which men were determined to oppose from a corrupt interest in abuse, they would

equally oppose at all times, though dissimilar occasions would be alternately used as pretences. It had been the opinion of the celebrated Mr. Burke (whose extraordinary talents had since been so misemployed in supporting prejudices, and diffusing errors which had been fatal to all Europe)—it had once been his opinion, "that the criterion which more than all the rest distinguished a wise government from an administration weak and improvident was this, well to know when and in what manner to yield what it was impossible to keep. Early reformations were amicable compromises with a friend in power. Late were terms imposed upon a conquered enemy. Early reformations are made in cool blood; late are made in a state of inflammation. In such a state the people see in government nothing respectable; they will look at the grievance, and they will look at nothing else: like a furious populace provoked by the abuses of a house of ill fame, they no longer think of regulation; they go to work the shortest way; they abate the nuisance, they pull down the edifice." This, said Mr. Erskine, is a sort of epitome of universal history; above all, of the times we live in. From the rejection of these maxims of policy and prudence, the governments of Europe fall into ruin by sudden violence, instead of being insensibly altered by peaceable reformation. To this cause the independence of America is to be ascribed: in the beginning she sought only the reasonable privileges of a dependent community; we refused to look at her grievances, while they were curable, and America was separated from us for ever. He protested he saw no alternative between an immediate re-

form and a revolution involving this country in blood and perdition. We were now in the most perilous predicament; government called upon the people for greater exertions than at former times; burdens which appeared insupportable and impracticable even in speculation, were now to be endured, and carried into effect: this must be done by affection or coercion, and this was the moment for the choice.

"Grant, (said he) to the people the blessings of the constitution, and they will join with ardour in its defence; raise a standard, around which the friends of freedom may rally, and they will be attracted by the feelings of confidence and of attachment. It will unite all who are divided, and create a general spirit to bear up against the calamities impending."

Mr. chancellor Pitt stated his reasons for giving his decided negative to the motion. The honourable gentleman, he said, who had introduced it had disclaimed very distinctly, and as far as he went very satisfactorily, all those abstract principles of imprescribable right on which those without doors had rested the propriety of their demand, and upon which alone they would be contented with any species of parliamentary reform; but in disclaiming these views upon the subject, he had not stated all the considerations by which the conduct of a wise statesman was to be regulated, and the judgment of an upright senator to be guided. The question was not, whether some alteration might not be attended with advantage, but whether the degree of benefit might be worth the chance of the mischief it probably or possibly might induce. The danger of introducing an evil of a much greater magni-

tude than that we were desirous to repair must be considered, and how far it was prudent to give an opening to principles which aimed at nothing less than the annihilation of the constitution.

The learned gentleman (Mr. Erskine) had remarked somewhat indifferently, "that those who formerly supported parliamentary reform, had sown the seeds of eagerness for it, which were now displayed;" to which he answered, that it was no inconsistency to forego a present advantage for a future benefit, or to avoid impending evils: was it not better to endure some little inconvenience rather than hazard the annihilation of a system under which this country had flourished in its prosperity, by which it had been supported in its adversity, and acquired energy and vigour to recover from the distresses which it had endured?

This moderate reform was proposed, to separate those whom such a plan would satisfy, from men who would be satisfied with none; but who by this means would only labour with more success to subvert the whole constitution. Men who could treat parliament as usurpation, and monarchy as an invasion of the rights of man, would not receive that reform which was not a recognition of their right, and which they would conceive as vitiated if conveyed in any other shape. Mr. Pitt affirmed, that there was no call upon the house to adopt this measure, in order to satisfy men friendly to moderate reform, for such men had not expressed any wish upon the subject. Before the practical expediency was discussed, the practical necessity must be established. The war with France, the inroads upon the constitution, the profusion of public expenditure, were the

the evils which, it was asserted, might have been avoided, had parliamentary reform been adopted. But he would contend, that the war originated not with us; that what had been called inroads were bulwarks for the defence of the constitution, and that the feelings of the people went uniformly along with the proceedings of the parliament; never did it enjoy the confidence of the country more than at this crisis. (Here Mr. Fox showed some signs of dissent). Mr. Pitt said he could maintain this assertion; for was the house of commons so far from being the image of a representative assembly, that a general election afforded no opportunity to the people to express their sentiments? He desired gentlemen to recollect how far the opposition, and the support of administration, were grounds of pretension in different popular elections, and what had been the result of these contests? They might recollect also, that in the city of London, where they were most confident of their strength, where they were so assured that the voice of the livery was in unison with their efforts, they were confuted by the result of a poll. They could therefore produce no proof that parliament had acted in opposition to the voice of the country — the reverse was truth. He objected strongly in the next place to the introduction of numerical representation. On what experience, on what practice, was it to be introduced? Were we to renounce the benefits of a tried system for a monopolizing theory which had no example in its favour! It never had been contested, that the inequality of the representation had been attended with any practical disadvantage; that the interest of Yorkshire had been ne-

glected, because it sent only two members to parliament; or that Birmingham or Manchester experienced any ill consequences from having no representatives. The proposition was new, extensive, overturning all the antient system without substituting any real benefit. In the mixed representation which now subsisted, the scot and lot elections were those which had been thought most objectionable; and the honourable gentleman had formerly agreed with him, that burghage tenures and small corporations were even less exceptionable than open burghs with small qualifications: yet from this extension of them it had been a general complaint, that much confusion, debauchery, and abuse of elections had arisen, which, notwithstanding formed the principal feature in the plan. Upon these grounds, seriously surveying the situation of the country, examining facts with attention, unless we would belie the testimony of our constituents, and seal our own dishonour, Mr. Pitt avowed his total disapprobation, and gave his negative to the motion.

Sir Francis Burdett declared it was his most ardent wish to preserve the country from ruin. He wanted (he said) to protect the rights and liberties of the people, but not the undue influence of a junto of nobility and placemen. He deplored that humiliating confidence which had enabled the minister to bring us into so deplorable a condition: it had supported him in a war, which, like that of America, was a bold and daring but unsuccessful attempt to stifle the flame of liberty. The minister had endeavoured to restore monarchy in France, he had procured its utter annihilation; he had endeavoured to destroy the principles

principles of the French republic; he had established them on a basis not to be shaken. The motion laid before the house had his concurrence, as a measure highly necessary, and one that should be adopted without delay. Had the people been fairly represented before the war had been undertaken, it never would have been undertaken. It was in vain for the minister to talk of preserving the bulwarks of our constitution: he had himself destroyed them. It was in vain to deny the existence of abuses: they were to be seen in the barracks which had been erected all over the country; they were to be found in the laws by which the people were prohibited from saying what they thought; they were to be lamented in the practice of sending away the public money without the consent or even the knowledge of parliament. All these were abuses of the ancient constitution, and never could have crept into it but by the corruption of the executive government, and that corruption, unless we had a reform, would become its euthanasia.

Mr. Robert Thornton denied that the system of government had been as corrupt as the last speaker had represented. Some reform was requisite, but these were times unfriendly to reformation; in a few years he hoped it would be otherwise. He gave his negative to the present motion.

Sir Richard Hill said, he was far from considering the present as a weak administration; there never had sat in that house one more able. As to their wickedness he charged them not all; he would join neither side in abuse; he believed there was much virtue in both, and he wished to see them united to save the country. From

the first moment he saw the propriety of so doing, he had voted against the war. He disapproved of sending money to the emperor; a loan he would not call it, for he did not believe any of it would ever be repaid. He wished well to reform, there was much of it wanted, and the best way to set it on foot was for every man to reform himself. He wished we had paid more devotion to that Being without whose will we could do nothing. He concluded with voting for the motion.

Lord Hawkesbury was decidedly against it. The time (he said) rendered it peculiarly improper, but that was not his principal objection. The advocates for the plan of reform differed so materially in their modes, that, in fact, it was impossible to unite them. The reason for so much dissension was obvious: the evil of which they complained had no existence; if it had, there would have been no difficulty in fixing the remedy. He observed, there had been many wars in which this country had been engaged that might not have been just or necessary; many that were actually so, had been protracted longer than was wise or prudent, but none in which the house had persisted against the will of the people. The American war was, at its commencement, a popular war; the house of commons and the people went hand in hand together; the opinions of the latter changed in the course of that war, so did those of the former; and the reason that administration was afterwards supported was, because some riots happened in the metropolis, which made the house, out of a sense of common danger, rally round the executive government to support the state from impending ruin.

ruin. This was a striking instance of the parliament acting in unison with the people. And at this moment, so far was the house of commons from speaking any language but that of the people of this country, that they expressed the very sentiments of the majority; and so far from innovating upon their privileges, that he would pledge himself to prove the popular power was continually improving, and that the house was more popular than ever it had been before this time. In short, his lordship professed himself convinced that the motion would lead to the overthrow of monarchy and the house of commons together.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed with a great deal of ingenuity the alleged proof, "that because there was difficulty in fixing the remedy, the evil did not exist." It reminded him of the old adage, "When doctors differ," &c. If that was to be the answer, it would follow, that if they differed about the remedy, the patient, though apparently dying, was in perfect health. He knew not where the noble lord had studied his logic, but certainly it was not in the college of physicians. Much had been said of throwing the country into confusion; the minister and his advocates affected to dread the principle of the present measure, because it seemed to proceed upon the Rights of Man, and these principles were adopted by the French, and led to all the horrors which had been transacted in their revolution. But for his own part, he must deny that the horrors of it were produced by the rights of man: bloody calamities there had been; but that they originated in these principles, he disputed. There was not one individual who was concerned either in writing or

publishing them, that was concerned in any of the massacres in that country; and here he repeated what he had said on former occasions, that excess was the natural effect of all revolutions, when men shook off their slavery. Under the necessity of recovering their liberty by force, they were naturally intemperate. If the question was asked him who were the real authors and abettors of these massacres, he should not hesitate to place certain despots in the front of his accusation. Mr. Sheridan said nothing could be more unjust than the view which the minister had thought proper to take of the reform and the reformers. He had desired the public to look upon the one as so many masked traitors, and upon the other as a latent mode of overthrowing the constitution. He knew not why universal suffrage should have been brought into such contempt; he remembered having signed his name with the duke of Richmond at some meetings in favour of it and of annual parliaments. He considered it as the right of every man to propose that, if he thought fit; its expediency was matter of discussion and deliberation; if any other plan was better, there was no reason for its not being preferred. But it seemed now to be treated as a species of treason; nor would he admit that every man who thought universal suffrage the best method, would necessarily wish for anarchy and confusion. It had been stated, that the number of those who desired a reform in parliament, was small; he did not believe it. The whole body of the dissenters wished it, without pulling down the fabric of the constitution. He had himself been accused of seeking to join the friends of anarchy — he begged to ask, what temptation he could have?

have? What provocation to oppose the aristocracy of this land or the monarchy? He had possessed, during the time he had filled an office of considerable trust, some confidence from the monarch. He had been honoured with the distinguished favour of an illustrious personage; he had been treated with civility by many of the first families of this country; he knew of no occasion to regret the want of attention from that house; he therefore expected credit for his sincerity, when he declared that he supported this motion, because he thought it tended to restore to the people the purity of their excellent constitution, and to save the state from ruin.

Sir William Young avowed himself an enemy of every plan he had ever heard suggested for the alteration of the form of our representation; and the present, in his opinion, was as objectionable as all the preceding. Every such plan would finally extend to universal suffrage, and the multitude would convert it into the most mischievous consequences.

Mr. Barham thought, that in this season of so much difficulty and alarm, it would be unwise to call the attention of the house to a subject which must excite very strong emotions in the country, and create divisions injurious to the common interest. When the proper time arrived he would give his countenance to a well-digested scheme of reform, by which the house of commons should be the efficient representative of the country.

Mr. W. Smith warmly espoused the motion. Parliamentary reform, he said, could no longer be treated with indifference by good subjects or real patriots; it little signified whether the landed representation

had the superiority over the commercial, or the commercial was greater than the landed; the question was, whether the crown had not a domineering influence over both; and if this was the case, they ought not, they could not long resist the imperious demand of the people for a reform. But it had been said, at what point will you stop? To this the answer was easy: if you concede in time you may fix your own bounds; protract the measure until calamity shall have made men desperate, and it may be impossible to reform at all. It had been urged as a proof, that the present house of commons spoke the sense of the country, because, at the general election, the people had it in their power to chuse men who had opposed the war, and their having done the contrary was a proof of its popularity. Before this argument could be admitted, it must be assumed that the voice of the people was free, and the election spoke the genuine sense; if that were true, there would be no necessity for reform. But it was obvious that where popular spirit did prevail, men gained or lost the election as they had opposed or supported the present war—he was an instance himself of this fact; and an honourable baronet had lost his election in the same place, because he had given his countenance to the minister.

Sir Gregory Page Turner professed never to have had but one opinion; that it was madness to change a system which had been handed sound and entire down to the days of his father; and if every body would confide in administration as he did, this country would soon be enabled to contend with the combined force of France and Spain.

Mr.

Mr. Pollen voted for the motion.

Mr. Fox arose, and in a long and able speech lamented the want of unanimity upon a subject which involved our dearest interests, and our future security. He expressed his regrets and his astonishment that there should be any difference in sentiment respecting the circumstances of the country, or the measures which its situation so obviously required. Arguments had been used, he said, to persuade us we were in a state of peace and tranquillity, that we enjoyed internal concord and outward prosperity. To persons who made such assertions, every proposition tending to meliorate our condition must be a subject of jealousy and alarm, and, if the difference of opinion was so wide, he saw no probability of an agreement in any measure which could be proposed. According to his own views, he could not but think every argument against reform, which pointed out the danger of innovation, was strangely misplaced; and it was only by a reform that we had a chance of rescue, not only from extreme danger, but from absolute perdition. Mr. Fox took notice of the frequent insinuations thrown out by the gentlemen on the other side of the house of *party feelings*; and he particularly wished that his reflections, proceeding from a principle of free enquiry, might not be attributed to the bitterness of party. He said it was necessary for him to remind the chancellor of the exchequer, that he himself had brought forward the subject of reform in the year 1782, which was a time of war and of public calamity; and that the motion had had his feeble support. The right honourable gentleman again brought it forward in 1783,

when he (Mr. Fox) was in an office high in his majesty's service, and gave it his strenuous assent. Again, in 1785, when the right honourable gentleman was in place, and renewed his proposition, it received from him the same countenance, and invariably had he continued to declare himself a friend to parliamentary reform, by whomsoever proposed. Now, particularly, he could have no hesitation in saying, that it was become a *desideratum* to the people of Great Britain. Between the alternatives of base and degraded slavery on the one side, or of tumultuous, though probably short-lived, anarchy on the other, though no man would hesitate to make a choice — yet if there was a course obvious and practicable, which, without violence or innovation, might lead us back to the vigour we had lost, to the energy that had been stifled, to the independence that had been undermined, and yet preserve every thing in its place, a moment ought not to be lost in embracing the chance which this fortunate provision of British system had made for British safety. Mr. Fox then touched upon Ireland: had reform been conceded to the eighty or ninety thousand moderate petitioners, we should not have had this day to deplore the union of one hundred thousand men, bent on objects so extensive, so alarming, so calamitous. Every argument which had been used that day in the house had been used at Dublin. Unwarned, untutored by example, would we still go on with the same contemptuous and stubborn pride? He said he did not mean to assert that Great Britain was at this moment in the situation, or presented the aspect of Ireland; but he deprecated the course pursued in that country.

country. What England is now Ireland was in 1791: what was said of the few they had now applied to the many; and as there were discontents in this nation, which we could neither dissemble nor deny, let us not, by an unwise and criminal disdain irritate and fret them into violence and disorder, nor leave to the operation of chance what we might more certainly obtain by the exercise of reason. It had been affirmed that the ministers possessed the confidence of the country in the same degree as ever, since the majority of the house supported the measures of the government, and gave their countenance to all the evils we were doomed to endure. He was surprised to hear the noble lord advance a proposition so unaccountable, when a number of petitions had been presented to his majesty for a dismissal of his ministers. Why was the question of reform agitated, but because a general election did not afford the people the means of expressing their voice, because this house was not a sufficient representation of them? When we contend (said he) that ministers have not their confidence, they tell us that parliament is their faithful representative; and when we prove that the house does not speak their sentiments, from the petitions to the throne, we are desired to observe the general election, as, at this period, they had an opportunity of choosing faithful organs of their opinion. Lord North had made use of the same argument in the American war: "What! can you contend it is unpopular, after the declaration in its favour which the people have made by their choice of representatives? The general election is the proof that it continues to be the war of the people

"of England." So spoke lord North; and yet it was notoriously otherwise—so notoriously, that the present chancellor of the exchequer made a just and striking use of this fallacious argument to demonstrate the necessity of a parliamentary reform. "You see (said he) that so defective, so inadequate is the present practice, at least, of an elective franchise, that no impression of national calamity, no conviction of ministerial error, no abhorrence of disastrous war is sufficient to stand against the corrupt influence which has mixed itself with elections, and drowns and stifles the popular voice." Upon this statement he acted in 1782, and repeated this warning in 1783 and 1785: it was the leading principle of his conduct: "Without a reform (these were the words) the nation cannot be safe; this war may be ended, but what will protect us against another? As certainly as the spirit which engendered the present actuates the secret councils of the crown, we shall, under the influence of a defective representation, be involved in new wars and similar calamities." This was the right honourable gentleman's prophecy (continued Mr. Fox), and it has been fully accomplished—another war did take place, equal in disaster, and at least equal in disgrace! In what a state of whimsical contradiction did he now stand! After having complained of "the defect of representation being the national disease, and unless we applied our remedies here, we must submit to the inevitable ill consequences;" after having affirmed, "that without a parliamentary reform we could not be safe against bad ministers, nor could any good ministers be of use;" it seems as if his

his whole life, from that period, had been destined by Providence for the illustration of the warning ! During the whole course of the present war every prediction which the chancellor of the exchequer had made, every hope that he had held out, every prophecy he had hazarded had failed ; he had disappointed the expectations he had raised, and all the promises he had given had proved fallacious. Yet, for those very declarations, and notwithstanding their failure, we had called him a *wise* minister ; though no event he had foretold had been verified, we had continued to behold him as the oracle of wisdom ; but in the only instance in which he really predicted what had come to pass, we had treated him with stubborn incredulity ! But the gentlemen on the opposite side of the house tell us that a reform in the representation of the people is not called for by the country ; and though petitions have come up for the dismissal of ministers, they have not expressed a wish for reform. In answer to this argument it was only necessary to observe, that the restrictions recently laid on meetings of the people, and on popular discussions, accounted for the question of reform not being mixed with that which was the subject of their immediate consideration. The purpose of the meeting was necessarily specified in the requisition to the sheriff ; and if any other business was attempted to be brought forward, the sheriff would have the power of dispersing the meeting — This had actually been experienced ; for at a meeting of a respectable county in Ireland (Antrim), after the business for which they had assembled was transacted, that a petition for the dismissal of the minister, and Catholic emancipation

and reform, should be presented, a motion was made for thanks to earl Moira and himself, on account of the steps taken to induce government to attend to the critical state of that kingdom, but the sheriff declared he could not put the question, not because he personally objected to it, but because it did not make part of the business mentioned in the requisition. Mr. Fox said he did not mean to complain of this refusal as wrong, but to show the power of the sheriff in such a case ; and it was an example to prove, that, however well the people might be disposed to parliamentary reform, they could not introduce the matter into petitions agreed upon by meetings called for a different purpose : but granting that the people did not yet call for a reform, was it not probable that the universal demand for it, which had just burst from the people of Ireland, would be speedily communicated to England ? The nearness of the two countries, the sympathetic interest, the similarity of language, of constitution, almost of suffering, made it likely that one nation would catch the disease of the other, unless we interposed a seasonable cure, or rather a preventative, of the malady. France was the phantom that was continually held out to terrify us from our purpose ; let us then look at France ; it would not be denied that she stood upon the broad basis of free representation : whatever other views its government might exhibit, and which might afford just alarm to other nations, it could not be denied that her representative system had proved itself capable of vigorous exertion ; that it had given her, in truth, gigantic strength. Europe felt it too sensibly for denial. Mr. Fox avowed, that he had no wish we should imitate

imitate France: yet we ought to take example of what was good in it, and if it was demonstrated beyond the power of subterfuge to question, that genuine representation alone conferred solid power, and that, in order to make government strong, the people must make the government; we ought then to act on this grand maxim of political wisdom thus demonstrated, and call in the people, according, to the original principles of our system, to the strength of our government. In doing this we were not innovating, we did not imitate, we only should recur to the genuine constitution of England. When we looked at the democracies of the antient world, we were compelled to acknowledge their oppressions to their dependencies, their horrible acts of injustice and ingratitude to their own citizens; but they compelled us to admiration by their vigour, their constancy, their spirit, and their exertions in every great emergency in which they were called to act*. We could not deny that it gave a power of which no other form of government was capable. Why? Because it incorporated every man with the state; because it aroused every thing which belonged to the soul as well as to the body of man; because it made every individual creature feel that he was fighting for *himself* and not another; that it was his *own* cause, his *own* safety, his *own* concern, and his *own* dignity on the face of the earth, and his *own* interest on the identical soil, which he had to maintain, and accordingly we find, that whatever may be ascribed, whatever be objected to the turbulence of the pas-

sions which they engender, their short duration, and their disgusting vices, they have exacted from the common suffrage of mankind the palm of strength and vigour. Ought Britons to refuse to take advantage of this invigorating principle? refuse to accept the benefit which the wisdom of our ancestors had resolved it should confer upon our constitution?—with the knowledge too, that it could be re-infused into our system without violence, and without disturbing any of its parts? Without disguising the vices of France, without overlooking the horrors that had been committed, it could not be denied that they had exemplified the doctrine, that if you wish for power you must look to liberty. Let us then try the people, said Mr. Fox, by the only means which experience demonstrates to be invincible; let us address ourselves to their love; let us identify them with ourselves; let us make it their own cause as well as ours. To induce them to come forward in support of the state, let us incorporate them in it; and when we have given them a house of commons, which shall be the faithful organs of their will—when we have made them feel and believe that there can be but one interest in the country, we never should call upon them in vain for exertion. Could this be the case as the house was now constituted? Could they review the administration of the right honourable gentleman, without being convinced that the present representation was a shadow and a mockery? He then took a review of the circumstances under which the minister came in-

* If this be the best reason for the strength of democratic governments (and it is to be feared it is) namely, the promoting a spirit of national aggrandisement, every philanthropist would prefer a monarchy.

to power; it was against the sense of the majority of the *then* house of commons, and armed with the corrupt power of the crown, he stood, and successfully resisted the house of commons. He then declared it was not the representative of the people—that it did not (for it opposed him) speak the sense of the nation. What was the doctrine here promulgated? That the house of commons, so long as it obeyed the will of the minister, was the genuine representative of the country, but the moment it presumed to be the censor of government, it became nothing! Ministers had affirmed that the present war was popular at the commencement; the same had been said of the American war; nor would he deny, that through the artful machinations of ministers, a clamour had been raised, which they called the voice of the nation: but whatever had been the case in the outset of both, the progress in the public opinion had been the same in each; it had indisputably changed, though no change had been produced by the general election in the American war, and the present war had been unpopular for the two last years in England, though its voice had not been heard in the choice of representatives. Mr. Fox then pointed out the conduct of the candidates in populous places, on both sides, during the elections. The opposition boasted of having reprobated this war, and resisted every one of the measures by which government had brought the country into their present situation. The ministerial party apologised for their past offence in supporting it, they used whining canting explanations, they described alarms, and misrepresent-

ed facts: such was the sentiment conveyed by the general election, affording conviction to every candid mind, that if the representative system had been perfect, or the practice pure, the new parliament would decidedly have voted against the continuance of the war. How could the people have confidence in the house that had countenanced misrepresentation through the whole course of it! He gave it as his opinion, that however averse gentlemen might be to any specific proposition of reform, if they were friendly to the principle they ought to vote for the question, that it might be freely discussed in the committee, in hopes that the united wisdom of the house might shape out something which might be generally acceptable. There was enough of enterprise and vigour in the plan to restore order, and not enough to produce confusion. Mr. Fox thought the best and most advisable plan of reform was to extend the right of election to housekeepers; it was the most perfect recurrence to the first known and recorded principles in our constitution, according to the celebrated Glanville, in all cases where no particular right intervened. The common-law right of paying scot and lot was the right of election in the land; but it had been said, extending the right of voting to housekeepers, might in some respects be compared to universal suffrage; he himself had always deprecated universal suffrage, not so much on account of any confusion to which it might lead, as because we should in reality lose the object we desired to obtain: it would embarrass and prevent the deliberate voice of the country from being heard, and would draw forth numbers who,

without deliberation, would implicitly act on the will of others. The best plan of representation was that which should bring into activity the greatest number of *independent* voter.—it would be a defective system which would bring in regiments of soldiers, of servants, and of persons whose low condition necessarily curbed the independence of their minds; universal suffrage would extend the right to three millions of men, but there were not more than seven hundred thousand houses which would come within the plan proposed, and he begged that gentlemen would decide whether it would not be sufficiently extensive for deliberation on the one hand, and sufficiently limited for order on the other. But would this reform protect us against bribery and corruption? He dared not say that it would; we had alas! for a course of years, habituated the people to that sordid vice, and we certainly could not wonder that a poor man should not scruple to take five guineas for his vote, when he knows that the noble lord in his neighbourhood took four or five hundred; but it might be hoped, that when this baneful encouragement was removed, these regulations would tend to diminish, if not remove, the evil. Contracting the duration of parliament would be one strong connective, and this would be easy by the scheme on which elections would be made. Mr. Fox then adverted to a question often discussed both within and without those walls, “how far representatives ought to be bound by the instructions of their constituents.” He acknowledged that he inclined to the opinion (though he did not entirely espouse it), that having to legislate

for the empire, they ought not altogether to be guided by instructions dictated by local interests—yet he could not approve of the ungracious manner in which he sometimes had heard expressions of contempt for the sentiments of constituents; they were made with a bad grace in the first session of a septennial parliament, especially if they should come from individuals who had not scrupled to court the favour of the very same constituents, by declaring that they voted against their conscience in compliance with their desire, as was the case of an alderman of the city of London. There was one class of constituents, indeed, whose instructions it was considered as the implicit duty of members to obey. When gentlemen represented populous towns and cities, then it was disputable whether they ought to obey their voice, or follow the dictates of their own conscience; but if they represented a noble lord, or duke, it became no longer a question of doubt; he was not a man of honour who would not obey the orders of a single constituent, he was to have no conscience, no liberty, no discretion of his own; he was sent here by a lord or duke, and if he would not follow the instructions he had received, he could be no gentleman. Mr. Fox warmly reprobated this conduct—Is a gentleman (said he) to act in opposition to the sentiments of the city of Westminster, or London, or Bristol, with impunity, and if he ventures to disagree with a nobleman, whose representative he is, must he be regarded as unfit for the society of men of honour? It was, he observed, the tyranny of corruption, the consequence of a number of peers possessing an overweening interest in the

the country, so that a gentleman was no longer permitted to hold his situation, excepting he acted agreeably to the dictates of these powerful families. Having shown this to be the state of representation, he begged to know what remedy there could be for these corruptions but reform? If we would not apply it our fate was inevitable. Our most illustrious patriots, and the men whose names were dearest to Englishmen, had long ago pointed it out as the only means of redressing national grievances. Sir George Saville had been its most strenuous advocate, and the venerable Camden was its steady supporter—nay, Mr. Burke himself acknowledged its propriety for correcting the abuses of our system. The advantages in the present case would be many; we should ward off the evil of confusion growing out of accumulated discontent; we should save ourselves from the calamities which had befallen Ireland; we should satisfy the moderate, and detach from the violent their numbers and their converts. Pride, obstinacy, and insult, must end in concessions, and those concessions be humble in proportion to insolence: now was the moment to prevent degradation; the monarchy, the aristocracy, the people themselves might now be saved. Let those ministers

who had plunged us into our present state retire from the post to which they are unequal; and let us, with an earnest desire of recovering the country, pursue this moderate plan of reform under the auspices of men likely to conciliate the public mind. A new administration ought to be formed, but Mr. Fox solemnly avowed he had no wish of making part of it, and though he would readily and strenuously give his support to any measures which would restore our outraged privileges, his desire as to himself was retirement. He gave his vote to the proposition of his honourable friend.

Sir William Dolben expressed much satisfaction at the propriety of the motion, and the moderation of those who supported it. Something of the kind was absolutely necessary to save the country. He wished the plan might be adopted, and remain three months on the table for the consideration of members.

For the motion 63

Against it - - 258

The parliamentary session was concluded on the 20th of July, in the usual manner, by a speech from the throne, for which see our Public Papers, p. (237) of this volume.

CHAP. VIII.

The War—French land a Body of Troops on the Coast of Pembroke-shire—Surrender as Prisoners without Resistance—Conjectures as to the Object of this Expedition—The Spanish Fleet defeated by Admiral Sir John Jervis, off Cape St. Vincent, and four Ships of the Line captured—The Dutch Fleet completely defeated off Camperdown, by Admiral Duncan—The British Forces, under Admiral Nelson, defeated at Teneriffe—French Vessels captured and destroyed by the Squadron under Sir J. B. Warren—West Indies—Trinidad taken by the British Forces under Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Admiral Harvey—Unsuccessful Attack at Porto Rico—Proposal for raising black Regiments in the West Indies—negatived.

THE war between Great Britain and the French republic was, during this year, almost exclusively confined to naval operations, in which the skill and activity of the British seamen were eminently conspicuous, and almost invariably crowned with victory.

In one solitary instance, the French directory attempted to put in practice their pompous threats of an invasion of England; but the attempt appeared as if intended literally to burlesque the project; and to assure the government of Great Britain, that nothing serious was intended from their extensive preparations. On the 22d of February, that part of the coast of Devonshire, which lies at the mouth of the British channel, was alarmed by the appearance of an enemy's force, consisting according to report of three frigates, which, as was stated in a letter published by authority, entered the little port of Ilfracombe on that coast, scuttled some of the merchant ships there, and attempted to destroy all the vessels in the harbour. Their stay was, however, not of long continuance, and they steered directly across the channel towards the Pem-

broke side. They were first descried from the heights above St. Bride's bay, and the squadron then appeared to consist of two frigates and two smaller vessels, steering from the Bristol channel round St. David's Head. They displayed English colours, but were soon suspected to be enemies. After turning St. David's Head, and sailing a few miles to the northward in Cardigan bay, they cast single anchors to the north of a small promontory under Lanwinnwr. They remained there, however, but a short time, but moved farther up towards Fishguard, and finally anchored in a small bay near Lanonda church, when they hoisted French colours, and put out their boats. The cliff is here exceedingly steep and rugged, and a party of them were observed by a countryman climbing up singly on their hands and knees, and throwing their muskets before them. The spot which they made choice of for their landing, proved that they acted in concert with no party in the country, and that they had no persons among them who were well acquainted with the coast. As soon as this party

party had gained the ascent, they set fire to the furze and other combustibles, to apprise their comrades of their success. The debarkation of the whole was completed before the morning of the 23d, when numbers of them dispersed over the country to procure provisions and apparel. In these predatory excursions they ransacked those houses which they found abandoned, but took very few things from those in which they found inhabitants; they committed no wanton murder. Two of the countrymen were killed, but they provoked their fate by their own rashness, and one almost deserved it; for, after the Frenchman had surrendered, and in fact resigned his musket, the Welchman aimed a blow at him with the butt end of it, when he drew his bayonet which he had not relinquished, and ran his antagonist through the body.

The alarm was at first general, but the numbers and situation of the enemy soon appeared equally contemptible. They did not exceed 1400 men; they were without field-pieces, though they had seventy cart-loads of powder and ball, and a quantity of hand-grenades. The utmost exertions were made without loss of time by the principal men in the county, and before night about 660 men were collected who might be termed soldiers (though they had never been in action), consisting of militia, fencibles, and yeomen cavalry, besides a considerable multitude of colliers, and others who swelled the number without much increasing the force. Of this party lord Cawdor assumed the command, and, on approaching the enemy, he received at about ten o'clock at night a letter by a French officer, signed "Tate chef de brigade," intimating "that the

circumstances under which the body of French troops under his command were landed, having rendered it unnecessary to attempt any military operation, he proposed a capitulation."—The reply of lord Cawdor was, that he could only treat on the terms of their surrendering prisoners of war, which was presently agreed to, and on the succeeding day, at noon they laid down their arms. The frigates and other vessels, as soon as they had disembarked the men, set sail for France; but, as if every thing were adverse to this absurd and unfortunate expedition, the two frigates, *la Resistance* of 48 guns, and *la Constance* of 24, were captured on the 9th of the following month, as they were standing in for Brest harbour, by the *St. Fiorenzo* and *Nymphé* frigates, under the command of sir Harry Neale.

The conjectures have been various with respect to the object of this expedition. The troops which were landed were said by some to have consisted of a number of the Vendean insurgents, who had enlisted into the service of the republic, but could not be trusted in their own country. By others they were represented as a band of galley slaves, and other criminals collected from the prisons of Brest, and landed in England merely to quarter them upon the enemy. This report is most generally believed, and is countenanced by some debates in the French councils, in which Truguet, the minister of marine, was vehemently censured for having planned so disgraceful a measure. In opposition to this opinion, however, it may be mentioned, that the commander of the party declared, that he had with him 600 of the best troops in France, veteran and experienced

soldiers; nor is it very credible, that if the sole object was to quarter a set of banditti upon England, they would have sent with them such ample supplies. There are other causes, which to us appear more probable for this undertaking.—It was, in the first place, of some importance to demonstrate to France, that the invasion of England, in the face of her powerful marine, was practicable in any circumstances; and secondly, it is well known that the French have always been egregiously deceived with respect to the temper and sentiments of the British nation; we have little doubt, therefore, but the French ministry flattered themselves that these troops would have been joined on their landing by considerable numbers of the lower classes of the people, and that at least a considerable alarm would be excited throughout the kingdom. It was, therefore, an experiment to try at once the temper of the people, and the practicability of a descent.

The marine of France, if we except this feeble and ill-concerted enterprise, lay, during the whole of the year, ignominiously confined within their own ports; but their allies the Spaniards and the Dutch were grievous sufferers in two naval engagements, which, considering every circumstance, were equally glorious to the British arms.

The first of these memorable actions took place on the 14th of February, off Cape St. Vincent. The British fleet, or, to speak more correctly, the British squadron, under the command of admiral sir John Jervis, amounted to no more than fifteen sail of the line, four frigates, a sloop of war, and a cutter.—Of these six were three-deckers, eight were of 74 guns, and one of 64. The Spanish fleet consist-

ed of 27 sail of the line, one of which was a four-decker, and carried 136 guns; six were three-deckers of 112 guns each; two of 84 guns, and eighteen of 74.

The Spanish admiral, Don Josef de Cordova, had sailed from Carthagená on the 4th of February, and passed Gibraltar on the following day, having left in that bay three line of battle ships, supposed to be laden with military stores, for the Spanish troops before that garrison. On the night of the 11th, this fleet had been discovered by the *Minerva* frigate, which carried the broad pendant of commodore Nelson, then on his way from the Mediterranean to join admiral Jervis. Captain Foote, of the *Niger*, also kept company with them for some days previous to the 13th, and that night they approached so near the British fleet, that their signal guns were distinctly heard. The signals were, therefore, made that night to the British fleet to prepare for battle; and at day-break on the 14th, they were in complete order. The morning was dark and hazy; but about half past six, the *Culloden* made the signal for five sail in the south-west quarter; at eight o'clock, the squadron was ordered to form in close order, and in a few minutes after the signal was repeated to prepare for battle.

At a little after ten, the *Minerva* frigate made the signal for 20 sail in the south-west quarter, and in about half an hour after the enemy's fleet were visible to all the British squadron. The ships first discovered by the *Culloden*, were at this period separated from their main body, which was bearing down in some confusion to join the separated ships. It appeared to have been the British admiral's intention at the

the first, to cut off these vessels from the enemy's fleet, before the main body could arrive to their assistance, and with this view, the fast sailing ships were ordered to chace; but observing the near position of their main body, he afterwards formed his fleet into a line of battle a-head and a-stern, as most convenient.

At about 26 minutes past 11, the admiral communicated his intention to pass through the enemy's line, and immediately after the signal was made to engage. At about half past 11, the action commenced by the van ship, the Culloden, commanded by captain Trowbridge, firing against the enemy's head-most ships to the windward; as the Squadron advanced, however, the action became more general, and it was soon apparent that the British admiral had accomplished his design of passing through the enemy's line. In the mean time, the regular and animated fire of the British fleet was but feebly returned by the enemy's ships to windward, which were also completely prevented from joining their companions to leeward, and obliged to haul their wind on the larboard tack. Thus, a part of the Spanish fleet was effectually cut off from the main body, and they were reduced to the necessity of also forming on their larboard tack, apparently with the intention of passing through, or to the leeward of the British line, but such was the reception they experienced from the centre of the British; that they were obliged to put about, and did not appear again in the action till the close of the day.

The British admiral having thus fortunately obtained his first object, now directed his whole attention to the enemy's main body to wind-

ward, which was reduced at this time by the separation of the ships to leeward, to 18 sail of the line. At a little after 12 o'clock, the signal was made for the British fleet to tack in succession, and soon after the signal for again passing the enemy's line; while the Spanish admiral's design appeared to be to join his ships to leeward, by wearing round the rear of the British line. The intention of the enemy was, however, soon perceived by commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear afforded him an opportunity of observing the manœuvre. In order to frustrate the design, therefore, his ship, the Captain, had no sooner passed the Spanish rear, than he ordered her to wear and stand on the other tack towards the enemy. In executing this bold manœuvre, the commodore found himself along-side of the Spanish admiral, the Santissima Trinidad, of 136 guns, which is said to be the largest ship at present in existence. Notwithstanding this immense disparity (the Captain being only a 74), this brave officer did not shrink from the contest, though the Spaniard was also warmly supported by her two seconds a-head and a-stern, which were each of them three-deckers. While he sustained, however, this unequal conflict, his friends were eagerly pressing to his assistance; the enemy's attention, therefore, was soon directed to the Culloden, captain Trowbridge, and the Blenheim, captain Frederick; and the able support afforded by these vessels to commodore Nelson, and the approach of rear-admiral Parker, with four others of the British line, determined the Spanish commander to relinquish his design of rejoining his ships to leeward, and to make the signal for his main body to haul their

their wind, and make sail on the larboard tack.

The advantage was now evidently on the side of the British; and while the advanced division warmly pressed the centre and rear of the enemy, the admiral meditated with his division a co-operation, which must effectually compel some of them to surrender. In the confusion of their retreat, several of the Spanish ships had doubled on each other. It was, therefore, admiral Jervis's plan, to reach the weather-most of those ships, then to bear up and rake them all in succession, with the seven ships composing his division. The casual position of the rear ships in his own division, however, prevented his executing this design.—He therefore ordered the leading ship, the *Excellent*, captain Collingwood, to bear up, while, with his own ship, the *Victory*, he passed to leeward of the rear-most ships of the enemy. Captain Collingwood, in obedience to the admiral's orders, passed between the two rear-most ships of the enemy, and gave one of them, the *San Isidro*, so effectual a broadside, that, having been much injured before, she was obliged to submit. The *Excellent* then passed on to the relief of the captain, which was engaged with a three-decker, carrying a flag; but before she could arrive this vessel became entangled with her second, a two-decker. In this state they were both boarded by the captain, and the smaller of them, the *San Nicholas*, was in a short time in the possession of her opponents. The three-decker, the *San Josef*, followed the fate of her second, and became immediately a prize to commodore Nelson, who headed the party which boarded her from the *San Nicholas*. In the mean time, admiral Jervis had

ordered the *Victory* to be placed on the lee quarter of the rear-most ship of the enemy, the *Salvador del Mundo*; and threw in so effectual a discharge, that her commander, seeing the *Barfleur*, carrying vice-admiral Waldegrave's flag, bearing down to second the *Victory*, thought proper to strike.

Thus four of the enemy's ships were in possession of the British: while the van ships continued to press hard on the *Santissima Trinidad*, the Spanish admiral's ship, and the others which composed the rear of the flying fleet. The career of victory was, however, stopped by circumstances, not in the power of the British commander to controul. The ships, which in the morning had been separated from the main body of the Spanish fleet, were now able to make their approach; two fresh ships also, which had not appeared in the action, bore down from windward, and two of the flying ships tacked about to support their chiefs. These circumstances, therefore, with the lateness of the hour, and the necessity of securing the prizes, determined the conquering admiral to bring to. A little after four in the afternoon, the signal was made to this effect; and a strong line was formed for the protection of the prizes and disabled vessels. The enemy's fresh ships, on approaching, opened a fire on the covering ships, but though superior in number, and fresh for action, they contented themselves with a few irregular broadsides, and left the British admiral to sail off triumphantly with his prizes, which the reader will remember amounted to four, viz. two, the *Salvador del Mundo*, and the *San Josef* of 112 guns, the *San Nicholas* of 84, and the *San Isidro* of 74 guns. The Spanish admiral, which was greatly the

the object of attention to the British ships, was rendered a perfect wreck; her firing had ceased before the close of the action, and some even affirm, that she had struck her colours. The loss of the British in this engagement, in killed and wounded, was exactly 300 men; the loss of the Spaniards, in the ships which were captured, amounted to 693, and the ships which escaped must also have suffered considerably.

So important a victory with so decisive a disparity of force, is, perhaps, unparalleled in our naval annals. The ability displayed by the commander, was only to be equalled by the valour and adroitness of the seamen; indeed we have been informed by an eye witness, that the fire of the British was superior to that of their opponents, in the proportion of five or six to one, during the whole of the action: and the expenditure of ammunition was consequently beyond example.—The Culloden, it is said, expended 170 barrels of powder; the Captain 146; and the Blenheim, 180. The Spaniards fought bravely, but with little skill; and it is but fair to remark, that their fleet was ill-equipped and very indifferently manned, and in no respect fit for action; their flag-ship had not more than sixty or eighty seamen on board, the rest consisted of impressed landmen, or soldiers of their new levies.

As the port of Cadiz had been their original destination, and as many of their ships were disabled, the Spaniards manifested no inclination to renew the action, but took shelter in Cadiz, where they have ever since remained blocked up by the victorious admiral. Soon after the news arrived of the engagement, sir John Jervis was cre-

ated a British peer by the title of lord St. Vincent, in allusion to the place where this extraordinary victory was achieved.

The Dutch were still more unfortunate than the Spaniards in their naval operations, though their failure was, it must be confessed, less inglorious. It was known for a considerable time in England, that immense preparations were making in the ports of Holland; and the fleet of admiral Duncan had blocked up the Texel, during a great part of the summer. The Dutch fleet was ready for sea some time before it left the Texel, and the command of it was entrusted to admiral de Winter, a brave and judicious officer, who had been a lieutenant in the famous action off the Dogger Bank in the last war, and was afterwards advanced to the rank of captain; but having taken part against the Stadtholder in the memorable struggle of 1786, he was obliged to take refuge in France, where he was promoted to the rank of a major-general, and returned to his country with the army of Pichegru. When the order to put to sea was first issued by the Dutch convention, the admiral, conscious of his inferiority to the British force, remonstrated strongly (it is asserted) against the order, but having received a second positive order to that effect, he determined, whatever the force of the British might be, not to shrink from the contest, but to maintain the honour of his flag in every circumstance, however adverse to his wishes.

The destination of the Dutch fleet was never openly avowed; but it has since appeared that the invasion of Ireland was the object, and that a large body of troops under general Daendaels had been actually

tually embarked for that purpose, but were afterwards put on shore when the peremptory order was issued to admiral de Winter, to hazard an engagement with the British fleet, in opposition to his pressing remonstrances. The British admiral had, at this period of which we are now treating (the beginning of October), quitted his station off the Texel, and retired to Yarmouth roads to refit: a circumstance which might weigh with the Dutch ministry, in pressing the departure of their fleet. A small squadron only, under the command of captain Trollope, in the *Russel* of 74 guns, was left as a squadron of observation; and on the morning of the 9th of October, a signal was made by a vessel at the back of Yarmouth sands to admiral Duncan, intimating that the Dutch fleet was at sea. The whole of the British fleet, consisting of 16 sail of the line and three frigates, got under weigh with surprising alacrity, and were out of sight in the afternoon. At nine in the morning of the 11th, the admiral got sight of captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward. The admiral immediately bore up, and made the signal for a general chase; and in less than an hour came within sight of the enemy, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive him.

The Dutch fleet consisted of four ships of 74 guns; five of 68; two of 64; four of 56, and two of 44; in all 15 ships of above 50 guns, and 17 ships of force, besides a few smaller frigates. The British fleet consisted of seven ships of 74 guns;

seven of 64 guns; and two of 50: in all 16, besides frigates. The superiority in men and guns was, therefore, evidently on the side of the British, though, had it been otherwise, such is the skill and alertness of the English seamen, that there is little doubt but that victory would still have attended their exertions.

As the British admiral approached near, he made the signal for the fleet to shorten sail in order to connect them; soon after he saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy, and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, at half past 11 he made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent; and by these means he got between them and the land whither they were fast approaching. The Dutch admiral, perceiving the design of his opponent, made at the same time the signal to close; he was, in this instance, alertly obeyed by the vice admiral Reventjies; but rear admiral Story, with three other ships of the centre division, ran off in the very commencement of the action, and entered the Texel the following day.

The signals of the British admiral, on the contrary, were obeyed with great promptitude by the whole fleet. Vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear in a most gallant manner, and was followed by his whole division*. The action commenced at about 40 minutes after twelve o'clock, at which time every ship

* The British fleet was in two divisions, the starboard or weather division under admiral Duncan; and the larboard or lee division, under vice-admiral Onslow. The Dutch was in three divisions, the van commanded by vice-admiral Reventjies and rear-admiral Meuses, the centre commanded by admiral de Winter, and the rear by rear-admiral Bloys.

of the British had broken the enemy's line, and cut them off from getting into the Texel, the land being then distant about seven miles. While the rear was attacked by the larboard division under vice-admiral Onslow, the commander in chief directed all his attention to the enemy's van; and his own ship the *Venerable* was in close action for near two hours and a half, when he observed all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship go by the board; she was, however, defended for some time after in a most gallant manner, but being overpowered by numbers her colours were struck to the *Venerable*; admiral de Winter himself being, it is said, the only man left on the quarter-deck who was not either killed or wounded.

About the same time the vice-admiral's ship appeared dismasted, and surrendered to admiral Onslow. Several others of the Dutch (according to some reports, not less than 13 in all) had struck before half past three o'clock; but the British admiral finding himself in only nine fathoms water, and but five miles from the land, had his attention so much occupied in getting the heads of the disabled ships off the shore, that he was not able to distinguish the number which were captured; and the wind blowing constantly on the land, the British ships were unavoidably dispersed. Some of the vessels which had struck therefore took advantage of the night to escape, and two or three of them were seen going into the Texel the following morning. The prizes, however, which were secured, were eight ships of the line, two of 56 guns, one of 44, and a frigate. One of these, however, the *Delft* of 56 guns, foundered within sight of the British coast, and the frigate also was lost.

A more bloody conflict than this is not to be found in the naval history of this country. The loss in killed and wounded on board nine ships only of admiral Duncan's fleet was upwards of 700. The loss of the Dutch must have been immense. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the admirals' flags was (in the words of lord Duncan) "beyond all description;" there were not less than 250 men killed and wounded on board each of them, and none of the Dutch ships that surrendered, it is said, lost less than 100 men. The British lost in the action capt. Burgess, of the *Ardent*, and several other officers were killed and wounded. The Dutch vice-admiral Reventjies, died soon after his arrival in England. The battle was fought so near the shore that every manœuvre might be distinctly seen, and the whole coast for many miles was crowded with thousands of spectators, who had the mortification of observing the entire destruction of their own fleet, without the possibility of affording them relief.

The great merit of admiral Duncan in this action was the running his fleet between the enemy and a lee-shore; a step which none of his predecessors had ever dared to take in similar circumstances, and which was considered as too hazardous to be attempted even by admiral Kestel, who was not deficient either in judgment or spirit. This, it is obvious, and this alone, rendered the victory of admiral Duncan so decisive as it proved; and he showed that his judgment in closing the contest in proper time, and in extricating his fleet and prizes from so difficult a situation, was equal to his boldness in hazarding so decisive a measure. The gallant admiral

ral immediately on his return was created baron Duncan, of Lundie in the shire of Perth (the place of his nativity), and viscount Duncan of Camperdown, in allusion to that part of the coast of Holland where the victory was achieved.

We have often had occasion to remark, that while the English nation is invincible at sea, they should never engage without the most urgent necessity in military operations on the land. In the month of July the Spaniards received some consolation for their ignominious defeat off cape St. Vincent's, by the total failure of an attempt on the island of Teneriffe by a part of the same squadron which had defeated their grand fleet on the fourteenth of February. From a variety of intelligence which lord St. Vincent had received *, he was led to consider the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, as an attainable object. On the 15th of July therefore the commander in chief dispatched sir Horatio Nelson, now advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, with four ships of the line, three frigates, and two cutters, to make an attack upon that place. On his arrival before the town the rear-admiral, finding it impossible for the ships to approach sufficiently near the town, ordered, from the different ships under his command, one thousand men to be landed under the direction of capt. Trowbridge, of the Culloden, and captains Hood, Thompson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller. The boats of the fleet were accordingly manned, and the landing was effected in the course of the night. The party with little or no opposition entered the town of Santa

Cruz, of which they were in full possession for about seven hours. Finding it impracticable, however, to storm the fort, they prepared for their retreat, but in this they were prevented by fresh reinforcements having arrived to the garrison, and by the circumstance of the boats having been stove by the violence of the surge upon the beach. Thus circumstanced, the Spanish general summoned the British commander to surrender; but received for answer that he would not capitulate as long as a man remained alive. The conduct of the Spaniard on this occasion reflects the highest honour on his character, and on the military profession. On receiving the reply of the British commander, he immediately, it is said, dispatched a polite message to admiral Nelson, informing him, that, to spare the effusion of human blood, he and the remains of his forces were at liberty to return in peace to their ships; and that he would even provide them with boats, as their own were unfit for the service. — With a generosity worthy of a great man, it is added, he furnished the retreating invaders with a ratio of biscuit and wine, and conveyed them on board their respective vessels not as enemies but as friends. If there be any truth in this representation, which we have copied from the daily papers, it would have been becoming in the publisher of the gazette to have spoken of this magnanimity in the terms it deserved. Though the gazette, however, is silent both as to these facts, and as to the resistance which the British forces met with from the garrison, the loss in killed and wounded in this unfor-

* Thus it was stated in the gazette; but that the expedition was forced upon him by

some of the opposition papers have asserted the ministers,

fortunate expedition was yet considerable. Rear-admiral Nelson lost his right arm by a cannon-shot. Capt. Bowen, of the *Terpsichore*, an excellent and respectable officer, with his first lieutenant and the whole of his boat's crew, went to the bottom by a shell falling in the boat in which they were rowing to the shore. The captain of marines of the *Emerald* frigate was also killed, and capt. Freemantle wounded. The total loss in killed and wounded was something short of 300 men — a slaughter almost as numerous as in the memorable victory of the 14th of February.

It would exceed our limits, and render our narrative tedious to the reader, to enumerate the various captures which have been made in the course of the campaign by detached cruizers and single frigates. As connected with the general events of the war, it may be proper to mention, that on the 16th of July sir John Borlase Warren, with the squadron under his command, discovered in Hodiernne bay a French frigate, with fourteen transports laden with stores for the French navy under her convoy. Of these, eight became prizes to the British commodore, two were destroyed, and the *Calliope* frigate, which was the convoy, was driven on shore, and supposed to be scuttled by her crew. On the 11th of the following month a corvette was driven on shore, and a gun-boat sunk at the entrance of the river Sable d'Olonne by the same gallant commander; and on the 27th he was so fortunate as to make prizes of a convoy of five more near the mouth of the Garonne, which were laden with naval and military stores for the ships of war and privateers in the adjacent ports.

In the West Indies but little remarkable occurred in the course of the campaign, except the reduction of Trinidad, which was taken from the Spaniards in the month of February, by the British forces under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie and rear-admiral Harvey. On the 12th of that month the forces destined for the expedition were embarked at Fort Royal in Martinique. On the 16th the British squadron came within sight of Trinidad, and stood towards the gulph of Paria. At half past three in the afternoon the Spanish squadron was discovered at anchor in Shagrumus bay, consisting of four sail of the line, and one frigate, under a rear-admiral's flag. As the day was far advanced before he approached the bay, and the enemy appeared in force on Gasparaux island, the admiral ordered three of the ships of war to proceed a little farther up the gulph, and anchor with all the transports, while three others were directed to keep under sail during the night, to prevent any vessel sailing from port Espagne. At two o'clock the following morning the Spanish squadron was discovered to be on fire, and every one of them but one was consumed. This unexpected change of affairs directed the whole attention of the general to the attack of the town, of which he possessed himself with little or no resistance. Soon after a capitulation was entered into with the governor, and the whole colony submitted to his Britannic majesty.

An attempt which proved not so successful was soon after made by the same forces which had reduced Trinidad against Porto Rico. On Monday, 17th of April, the fleet under the command of admiral Harvey

Harvey made the island of Porto Rico, and came to anchor at Congrejos point. The next morning the troops under sir Ralph Abercrombie were disembarked in a small bay on the north side of the island with little opposition from about 100 of the enemy. On approaching the town, however, it was found to be too strongly fortified, and too actively defended by gun-boats and other craft to admit of any hope of success. After bombarding the town for some days on the south side near a large magazine, but without effect, the general re-embarked his troops on the 30th of April, and retired with the loss of about 200 men.

Soon after his arrival in Barbadoes, sir Ralph Abercrombie acquainted the council that he had it

in command to raise immediately and embody some regiments of negroes, to be procured chiefly by purchase in the different British islands. The general assembly of Barbadoes, in a committee of the whole house, took the subject under consideration in the latter end of January. The speaker, sir John Gay Alleyne, rose and stated his reasons for proposing resolutions adverse to government; and after some deliberation the assembly resolved, that the proposed measure would be more likely to prove destructive than advantageous to the defence of the island. A similar resolution, we have been informed, was entered into by the assembly of Jamaica—so little confidence have the traffickers in man in the fidelity of those whom they hold in chains.

CHAP. IX.

Campaign in Italy—Vast Preparations of the Emperor—First Movement of the Austrian Army—Advanced Guard of the French defeated—Buonaparte takes the Field—Austrians defeated near Verona—French driven from Corona—Battle of St. Marco, where the Austrians were completely routed—Advances of General Provera—French Retreat from Ronco—Battle of Rivoli—Rear-guard of General Provera cut off by Angereau—Battle of St. George and La Favourite—Provera taken with his whole Army—Austrians dispersed and defeated in different Parts—French enter Roveredo—Trent taken by the French—Surrender of Mantua—Invasion of the Papal Territories—French take Possession of Loretto—Pope solicits a Negotiation—Treaty with the Pope—Austrian Army again recruited—The Archduke Charles assumes the Command—Austrians fall back on the Approach of Massena—Rear-guard of the Austrians taken by Massena—Austrians defeated on the Banks of the Tagliamento—Village of Gradiska taken—Palma-nuova and Town of Gradiskataken—Goritz taken with all the Austrian Magazines—French enter Trieste—Battle of Tarvis—La Chinse taken and all the Austrian Baggage—Battle of Lawis—Boitzen and Brixen taken—Battle of Clagenfurt—Letter of Buonaparte to the Arch-duke—French driven from Boitzen and Brixen—Battle of Newmark—Battle of Hunsmark—Movements on the Rhine—Armistice—Treaty—Preliminaries signed between the Emperor and France—Government of Venice overthrown by the French—Government of Genoa changed.

IN the lively but somewhat inflated language which has latterly been characteristic of the French historians, the combats of Buonaparte with the power of Austria, in Italy, have been compared to that of Hercules with the Lernean Hydra. One vast army was no sooner destroyed than another still more formidable was seen to assume its place, and threaten anew destruction to the victorious assailant. Not discouraged by the calamitous defeat at Arcole, and the consequent destruction of his bravest troops, the emperor, during the short respite which the dead of winter afforded, redoubled his efforts, and depopulated his most flourishing provinces, to raise fresh levies for the relief of Mantua, and the expulsion of the Gallic armies

from his Italian dominions. The young men of Vienna, not excepting those of the highest families, were embodied into military corps, and sent post (a method which was first adopted by the French in the Vendean war) to recruit the army of Alvinzi. The grand object was still the same, to penetrate at some point or other the line of defence Buonaparte had established; to march down a strong column upon Mantua, to raise the blockade, to bring once more the experienced Wurmser into the open field, and by one effort to render nugatory all the preceding successes of the French commander. It required the active genius of Buonaparte to ward off a blow so judiciously aimed—it required that good fortune, which was his invariable attendant,

tendant, to give effect to those bold and unprecedented manœuvres which he employed.

It was the latter end of December before the French commander prepared to take the field. The army of Alvinzi amounted at this time, according to report, to 50,000 men, and was posted on the Brenta and in the Tyrol; while the republican army extended along the Adige, occupied the line of Montebello, Corona, and Rivoli, with advanced guards before Verona and Porto Legnago. Mantua still remained in a state of close blockade. According to a letter from the emperor to general Wurmser, the garrison must have been reduced to the greatest extremity, in the article of provisions especially, having no animal food but the flesh of their horses.

The Austrian army commenced its hostile movements on the 7th of January, and on the following day the division which had been posted at Padua attacked the advanced guard of general Augereau, which was posted at Bevelagna, before Porto Legnago. After a smart skirmish, the adjutant-general Dufaux who commanded there found himself under a necessity of retreating to St. Zeno, and the next day to Porto Legnago, having been enabled by his resistance to give time to the whole line to be fully apprised of the march of the enemy, and prepared to receive them.

Buonaparte was himself at this time at Bologna. He, however, lost no time in detaching 2000 men who were quartered there towards the Adige, for the relief of Augereau, and immediately after set out for Verona, before which place the Austrians appeared on the morning of the 12th. They attacked the advanced guard under general Mas-

sena, and were completely defeated with the loss of 600 prisoners and three pieces of cannon. The attack of the Austrians it appears was pretty general along the French line; for at the same moment that the advanced posts of Massena were assailed, the division under general Joubert was also attacked at Corona. The Austrians at first gained some slight advantages, and became masters of a redoubt. General Joubert, however, soon rallied his soldiers, retook the redoubt by storm, forced the enemy to retire to their former position, and took upwards of 300 prisoners.

Repulsed but not defeated, however, the Austrians renewed the attack on Joubert the following day, and with such a superiority of force, as compelled him to evacuate Corona, and take a position before Rivoli. This movement of the enemy left the French general no longer in doubt with respect to the intentions of Alvinzi. It was now evident that the Austrian general with his main force was desirous of penetrating his line by the way of Rivoli, and of reaching Mantua by that route; the force with which this attack was to be made was at least double in number to that under general Joubert. Buonaparte now perceived that no time was to be lost. He ordered immediately large reinforcements from the division of Massena, and other quarters, to Rivoli, where he arrived in person with his staff the same day at midnight. The dispositions of general Joubert, though excellent for a small division, he found by no means adapted to the reinforcements which he had brought; he therefore immediately ordered them to resume some of the positions which they had evacuated, and in particular the gate of St. Marco, which

which was the key of the whole. Buonaparte, with the officers composing his staff, spent the whole night in reconnoitering the ground, and examining the position of the enemy, who occupied a formidable line of 25,000 strong; their right at Caprino, and their left behind St. Marco.

The Austrian general, who had arranged his plan of attack some days before, expected neither the presence of Buonaparte, nor the reinforcements which Joubert received almost at the instant of attack. While such were the dispositions of the generals, the night proved extremely unquiet to the out-posts on both sides, who kept up almost a constant fire upon each other; and the resumption of the post at St. Marco produced a serious engagement. At day-break on the 14th of January general Joubert with one part of his division attacked the enemy upon the declivity of the hill of St. Marco. The other part occupied the centre, and the left was chiefly composed of the reinforcements which had arrived during the night. The Austrian general still remained ignorant, it appears, both of the presence of the commander in chief, and of the arrival of the reinforcements. His plans were therefore disconcerted, and he acted in the dark. The battle notwithstanding was long and obstinate, and in its commencement the French were driven from some of their posts; while a fresh body of the Austrians advanced to the eminences between the Adige and the lake of Guarda, turned the flank of the French, and completely cut off their communication with Verona and Peschiera. In this embarrassing situation the general lost nothing of his presence of mind. He detached two batta-

lions to face this new column; and caused four pieces of light artillery to be planted so as to cannonade the right of their line. In the mean time a reinforcement under the command of general Rey, which had been tardy in its advances, fortunately arrived and took a position exactly in the rear of the column which had turned the French. Buonaparte now pressed the attack with the utmost vigour; and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole column, consisting of 4000 men, laid down their arms. The Austrians were now every where put to the route, and pursued by the conquerors during the whole of the night. The French general relates, that in the course of their flight a body of 500 men surrendered as prisoners to a party of 50 republicans.

The Austrians remained still masters of Corona, but they were now disabled from acting on the offensive. Buonaparte, therefore, ordered general Joubert to attack them the next day, should they be still so imprudent as to retain possession of that place; and he then hastened to encounter new difficulties, and to reap fresh laurels. A column of the enemy, consisting of 10,000 men, under general Provera, had passed the Adige on the night of the 14th, and obliged the French general Gyeux, who guarded the Adige in this quarter, to fall back from Ronco. He, therefore, detached general Victor with a strong reinforcement to Roverbella, and ordered Massena also to take the same route, to stop, if possible, the march of the Austrians. General Joubert, in the mean time, faithfully adhered to the instructions of the commander in chief. General Murat had marched the whole of the night of the 14th with a party of

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light infantry, and appeared in the morning on the heights of Montebaldo, which commanded Corona; while the Austrians, who were posted there, were vigorously attacked in front by general Joubert. Perceiving, therefore, their retreat cut off, they were, after some resistance, thrown into the utmost confusion, and almost the whole party were either drowned in attempting to swim across the Adige, or made prisoners. In these engagements (which are denominated by the French the battle of Rivoli) the conquerors took 13,000 prisoners and 9 pieces of cannon.

The column of general Provera, ten thousand strong, in the mean time continued their march, and forced the passage of Anguiari. General Guyeux had rallied and united all the forces which were posted in his vicinity, which, however, did not exceed 1,500 men; with so inadequate a power he was not able to force the enemy to recross the river, but he harassed and impeded their march for some time, and made nearly 300 prisoners. As Mantua was the object of general Provera, his advances were rapid; and general Angereau, who had collected his forces with the design of falling on the column of Provera, between Anguiari and Roverquiere, could only come up with the rear of his division. After a warm conflict, however, he succeeded in cutting off the whole of the rear guard of the Austrian column, and took 2000 prisoners, with 16 pieces of cannon.

Notwithstanding these impediments, general Provera arrived on the 15th of January at the head of 6,000 men, at the suburb of St. George, one of the posts where Mantua was blockaded. The force at this post, under general Miolis,

was greatly inferior to that of the assailants; but the French general was well entrenched. He, therefore, received the summons of Provera with no other reply, than that "he would fight, but not surrender." The Austrian general attacked the post, but found it impossible to carry it by force. Thus baffled in his main design, Provera next turned his attention to another post, La Favorita, which (seconded by a sortie from the garrison, which he had concerted with Wurmser) he expected to force, and by that means make good his entrance into Mantua. The design did not escape, however, the penetration of Buonaparte, and to prevent the junction, he saw no other means than to surround the column of Provera, and force it to surrender. He had previously dispatched general Serrurier to La Favorita, with all the forces that he could hastily withdraw from the other posts of blockade; and he now ordered reinforcements from different divisions of his army, who, by the most rapid movements that are recorded in history, arrived in time to effect their purpose. An hour before day-break, on the morning of the 16th, the Austrians attacked La Favorita, and general Wurmser, at the same moment, ordered a spirited sortie from the garrison, to support the assailants, and divert the attention of the enemy. The detachment from the garrison, however, met with so discouraging a reception from the column of general Victor, one of the detachments which had marched during the night, that it was compelled to return to the fortress without being able to effect a junction with Provera, after leaving the field covered with dead and with prisoners. At the same moment Serrurier advanced

vanced in order to block up Provera between this post and St. George's. Disorder and terror now pervaded the enemy's ranks, and the general solicited a capitulation. The prisoners who surrendered amounted to 6,000 infantry and 700 cavalry, with 22 pieces of cannon. Thus perished the fifth great army detached by Austria for the support of its Italian territories, and to avert the destruction which now seemed to impend over the capital itself.

The respective divisions of the French army continued to harass the defeated and dispersed remnants of the Austrian force. The division of Massena repaired, on the 23d, to Vicenza, and from thence to Bassano in pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated to the other side of the defiles of the Brenta. A detachment from this division, under general Menard, came up with them at Carpenedolo, and, after a warm contest, made 800 prisoners. On the 27th, the division of general Joubert also came up with the rear-guard of the Austrians, and, after a slight skirmish, made 300 prisoners. The Austrians, after this, retreated towards Mory and Torbole. But here they were assailed by general Murat, who embarked with 200 men, and landed at the latter place; general Vial, also, at the head of the light infantry, after a most severe march through the snows and over the steepest mountains, turned their position, and obliged 450 to surrender. General Joubert, about the same time, entered Roveredo. The Austrians had entrenched themselves deeply in the defiles of Calliano, and appeared disposed to dispute the entrance of the republicans into Trent; but, pressed by the generals Beliard and Vial, they were com-

pelled to yield, with the loss of 300 prisoners. Trent submitted to the republicans with little or no resistance; and, in pursuing the flying enemy, the French made at St. Michael 800 prisoners.

The fall of Mantua was an inevitable consequence of the total defeat of the Austrian armies. It surrendered on capitulation, the 2d of February. The terms were honourable, as the valour and good conduct of the veteran Wurmsier and his brave garrison deserved. The garrison were prisoners, but marched out with military honours; and the old marechal himself, and his suite, were excepted from the humiliating condition of appearing as prisoners of war—he was then upwards of 70 years of age. It was asserted, that upwards of 5,000 horses had been devoured by the garrison in the course of the blockade; and thus far is certain, that the French found exceedingly few remaining, on taking possession of the fortress.

Another immediate consequence of these victories of Buonaparte was the invasion of the papal territories. The court of Rome could not be expected to be extremely favourable to the French interests, but it had adopted a timid and wavering plan of policy, consistent at once with its own weakness and hostility to the French. Confident, however, in these latter exertions of the Austrians, the pope, it is asserted, had even sent succours into the field, to the army of Alvinzi, and had strained every nerve for the expulsion of the invaders. The division of general Victor was, therefore, ordered to penetrate to Rome previous to the surrender of Mantua; and the capitulation was scarcely signed before Buonaparte set off in person, to superintend the operations

tions of this army. The invaders slept at Imola, the first town within the papal dominions, on the 1st of February. The resistance of the papal troops was feeble, and they were overpowered with but little loss on the part of the French. In a few days the French proceeded to Loretto, and took possession of the famous Madonna, which was only a wooden image; they found also in that place a treasure of about three millions of livres. The whole marche of Ancona submitted with very little shew of resistance; and on the 19th Buonaparte had his head-quarters at Tolentino. The pope, now reduced to the lowest extremity, and deprived of his allies by the fortune of war, addressed a submissive epistle to the victorious general, in which he solicited earnestly an amicable termination of the contest; and dispatched two ecclesiastics, with full powers to conclude a treaty. By the terms of this treaty, his holiness renounced all connection with the famous coalition of crowned heads; engaged to disband the troops which had been raised for the support of the war; and to shut his ports against all the powers at war with the republic. He agreed, without reserve, to the annexation of Avignon, and the county of Venaissin to the French, and also transferred to the republic the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. In conclusion, he consented to pay to the conquerors the sum of 30 millions of livres, 20 of them in specie, and the rest in diamonds and other valuables, with 16,000 horses, as the ransom of that remnant of his dominions of which he was still permitted to enjoy the precarious possession.

To the exertions of Austria in making fresh preparations, the pope was probably indebted for the

reprieve which was granted him on this occasion. For while the French commander was advancing towards Rome, the emperor, by exertions almost incredible, was re-inforcing his discomfited army, or rather the remnants of it; and the command was given to the archduke Charles, whose victorious career on the Rhine had inspired the court of Vienna with the warmest hopes of his success, even when opposed to so consummate a master of the military art as Buonaparte. In the beginning of March, the French army occupied the banks of the Piave and Lavis; and that of the emperor, under the command of the archduke, the opposite shore of the Piave, with its centre behind the Cordevoli, and supported on its right by the Adige from the side of Salurne. On the approach of general Massena on the 10th of March, however, the Austrians thought proper to evacuate the line of Cordevoli, and to march to Bellurne. On the 12th, the division of general Serrurier crossed the Piave at day-break, and the Austrians immediately evacuated their camp of La Campagna. On the same day, general Guyeux passed the Piave at Ospedaletto; on the 13th, he fell in with the rear-guard of the enemy, and, after a slight contest, took 100 prisoners. The division of Massena, in the mean time, having arrived at Bellurne, pursued the Austrians on their retreat towards Cadore, completely hemmed in their rear guard, and took 700 prisoners, among whom was the general Lusignan, who commanded their centre division.

On the 16th, the division of general Guyeux proceeded from Pordenove, that of general Bernadotte from Sacile, and that of general Serrurier from Pasiano, all of them directing

directing their march towards Valvasone. These forces arrived on the banks of the Tagliamento at 11 o'clock the same day. The Austrians were posted on the opposite side, and seemed determined to dispute the passage. After some time spent in the necessary preparations, the republican troops plunged into the river, and completely routed the enemy, after a feeble resistance, chiefly from the Austrian cavalry. The village of Gradiska was immediately attacked by general Guyeux, and carried, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour and the darkness of the night—the archduke Charles had barely time to effect his escape. In the whole of the day's engagement the Austrians lost from 4 to 500 prisoners, among whom was one general and several superior officers; they also lost 6 pieces of cannon.

The energy and activity of Buonaparte left no time to his spirited antagonist to rally and collect his forces; but on the 18th, a part of the French army took possession of Palmanova, while general Massena advanced to Osopa and Gemona, and pushed his advanced guards into the defiles.

On the following day, general Serrurier blockaded the town of Gradiska, which was taken on the 20th, with 5,000 prisoners, the flower of prince Charles's army.

In the mean time, the division of Massena advanced to the bridge of Casafola, drove the enemy from their entrenchments by the force of the bayonet, and took 600 prisoners. On the 21st, the French entered Goritz, where they found four hospitals, containing 1,500 of the sick and wounded, with all the magazines of the enemy, which the archduke had not time to remove. On the 23d, general Guyeux en-

countered the Austrians, who were strongly entrenched at Pufero, defeated them, and took 100 prisoners and two pieces of cannon. On the same day, another division entered Trieste.

On the 24th, the division of general Massena was at Tarvis, where a strong column of the enemy was hemmed in between his forces and those of general Guyeux. On the following day, however, the Austrians having received considerable reinforcements from Clagenfurt, the head-quarters of prince Charles, were encouraged to hazard an engagement, and attacked Massena. After a severe battle (which, as the French commander states, was fought above the clouds, on a height that commands Germany), the Austrians were defeated with considerable loss. Three of their general officers and a number of men were taken prisoners, and the emperor's cuirassiers, who had just arrived from the Rhine, were almost annihilated.

In the mean time, general Guyeux drove the column which he had defeated at Pufero, as far as Austrian Chinse, a post well fortified, but which was carried by assault, after an obstinate engagement. The Austrian column, perceiving the Chinse taken, precipitated its march, and fell into the middle of Massena's division, who, after a slight contest, made the whole of them prisoners. Thirty pieces of cannon, 400 waggons loaded with the enemy's baggage, 5,000 prisoners, among whom were 4 generals, fell into the hands of the conquerors, by the event of this day.

While uninterrupted success thus attended the operations of the main army, the left wing, or the divisions of the Tyrol, as those of Jour-

bert, Baraguey D'Hilliers, and Delmas were termed, were advancing from the Adige, the Lavis, and the Brenta, in order to form a junction with the commander in chief. In their progress, they surrounded a corps of the enemy on the banks of the Lavis; and, after an obstinate contest, took 4,000 prisoners and 3 pieces of cannon, leaving 2,000 of the Austrians dead on the field. The Austrians, under general Laudon, after this, retired to the right bank of the Adige, where they were again attacked, and again defeated, on the 22d of March, by general Joubert, who took 600 prisoners. The army of the Tyrol then entered Botzen: but Joubert did not rest there; after leaving a sufficient force to pursue the flying army under Laudon, he marched direct to Clauzen. The enemy availed themselves of the position, and put themselves in the best state of defence. The action was some time doubtful, but victory at length declared in favour of the French, and 1,500 Austrians laid down their arms as prisoners of war. General Joubert, immediately after this, took possession of Brixen.

Buonaparte allowed scarcely a moment's rest to his army, while he found an enemy in the field to oppose him; and to the rapidity of his movements no inconsiderable share of his success must be attributed. After the battles of Tarvis and La Chinse, three divisions of his army passed the defiles which lead from the Venetian states into Germany, and encamped at Wilbach, on the banks of the Drave. On the 29th of March, general Massena advanced upon Clagenfurt, which had been the head quarters of prince Charles. At about a league from the place he encountered the enemy; but

they were too much discouraged to make a formidable resistance; after losing 200 prisoners and two pieces of cannon, they abandoned Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, which the French entered the same evening. Thus, the Austrians were already, in the course of this short campaign, driven from the Venetian states, from the higher and lower Carniola, from Carinthia, and from the whole of the Tyrolese, with the loss of 20,000 men as prisoners of war, independent of those taken before the archduke assumed the command.

In the midst of this career of victory, Buonaparte addressed a letter, containing overtures of peace to his brave but unfortunate adversary. If we except an unjust censure on the English nation, which it contains, it is certainly not less remarkable for elevation of sentiment and excellence of composition, than for the polite and even modest terms in which it is couched. Whatever may be the character of the writer, the letter deserves to be transmitted to posterity, and we flatter ourselves that our readers will be gratified by its insertion—

The General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to His Royal Highness M. Prince Charles.

11th Germinal, 5th year of the Republic (March 31).

M. general in chief,
Brave soldiers make war, and desire peace. Has not the war lasted for six years? Have we not killed men and committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Such are the exclamations used on all sides. Europe, who had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains; and yet blood

is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of hostilities. At some period, we must come to an understanding, since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentments.

The executive directory of the French republic communicated to his imperial majesty their inclination to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries. Their pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there no hope, then, of accommodation? Is it essential to the interests or gratifying to the passions of a nation far removed from the theatre of war, that we should continue to murder each other? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of "the benefactor of the human race," and "the saviour of the German empire!" Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms; but on the supposition that the chances of war were even to become favourable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, gallant general, if the overture which I have now the honour to make to you, could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should think myself prouder of the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melancholy

glory which would result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, general in chief, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, &c. &c.

BUONAPARTE.

The prince returned a polite answer, the substance of which was, that he neither conceived it his part to enter into any discussion on the principles upon which the war was carried on, nor was he furnished by the emperor with any powers to conclude a treaty of peace.

The last effort of the Austrians was an endeavour to excite the peasantry of the Tyrol to rise in a mass to expel the invaders; and it was so far successful, that the divisions of general Laudon and baron Kerpen were strengthened by some fresh and undisciplined, but seasonable, levies. The French columns, under the command of Joubert, were weak, and had suffered considerably by disease and the frequent combats in which they had been engaged. In the beginning of April, therefore, the fortune of war in that quarter began to change. On the 4th, the French were driven from Botzen by general Laudon, with some loss, and on the following day from Brixen, where the two Austrian columns under Laudon and Kerpen effected a junction.

Undismayed by these losses, Buonaparte continued to advance. General Massena, with the advanced guard, attacked the Austrians on the 2d of April, in the defiles between Freisach and Neumark; after a most bloody engagement, the latter were completely routed, leaving the field of battle covered with dead, and about 600 prisoners — and the following morning the

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French entered Neumark. On the 4th, the head-quarters of the French general were at Scheiffing, and the advanced guard reached to Hunsfmark, where the Austrians were again defeated, with the loss of 900 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

While such was the state of affairs in Italy, new scenes of horror and carnage were preparing on the Rhine. The command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse had been entrusted to general Hoche, a young and spirited officer, who, our readers will remember, had distinguished himself not only in Flanders, but by his successful and happy termination of the civil war in La Vendée; general Moreau was continued as commander of the army of the Rhine and the Moselle. In the beginning of April, general Hoche gave notice of the conclusion of the armistice, and soon after passed the Rhine by the bridge of Neuwied. After an ineffectual attempt on the part of the Austrian general Kray to procure a renewal of the armistice, a smart action commenced on the 18th of April, in which the French were victorious, and the Austrians lost, according to the report of general Hoche, 4,000 prisoners.

The French pursued the enemy, and dislodged them from Ukareth and Altenkirchen, while a division, under general Ney, proceeded with the greatest rapidity to Dierdorf. He found the Austrians there 6,000 strong, but he drove them from their position, with the loss of 1,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

General Moreau at the same time crossed the Rhine, and some slight engagements took place between the outposts; but the further pro-

secution of hostilities was happily prevented by an event the particulars of which we have now to relate.

Though the answer of prince Charles did not augur the most favourably for peace, yet the overture of Buonaparte was not without effect. A very short time after the prince had dispatched his letter, he sent an aid-de-camp to the French general to request a suspension of arms for four hours—but this proposal Buonaparte declined, under the apprehension that the only object of the archduke was to gain a day, and effect a junction with general Spork, who was advancing with a fresh reinforcement. A correspondence, however, was immediately commenced between the two generals, which ended at first in an armistice, and finally in adjusting preliminaries of peace between the court of Vienna and the French republic, which were signed on the 18th of April, by Buonaparte in the name of the French republic, and by the Neapolitan minister on the part of the emperor. Among other articles, the preliminaries contained a direct cession of the Netherlands to France, with the dutchy of Luxemburg, &c. the independence of the new Italian republics, and the navigation of the Rhine. By a secret article, it is believed, the French undertook to indemnify the emperor by a part of the Venetian territory, and by the secularisation of some of the ecclesiastical states in Germany.

A general view of the successes of the war was printed about this period, and distributed among the members of the two councils at Paris.—From this statement it appeared, that from the 8th of September 1793, to the 19th of February

1797, the republic had gained 261 victories, including 31 pitched battles; killed 152,600 men of the enemy; taken 197,784 prisoners; 238 strong places; 319 forts, camps, or redoubts; 7,963 pieces of cannon; 186,762 guns; 4,388,150 pounds of powder; 207 standards; 5,486 horses, &c. &c. &c.

The transactions which follow have never as yet been satisfactorily explained. In whatever point of view they are considered, they, however, redound but little to the credit of the French government. They were the commencement of a system of aggression against neutral but unprotected states, which has since been carried to an abominable excess, and by which the government has been disgraced, and the well-earned laurels of Buonaparte nearly blasted.

That the pretended republican government of Venice was no other than an execrable tyranny, vested in the hands of certain powerful families, and supported by a complex and mysterious organisation of the executive power, is a fact very generally acknowledged.—That the government of Venice might view with a jealous and a timid eye the rapid advances of the French, may be easily supposed.—That they would have rejoiced in the expulsion of the French from Italy, is equally probable. Yet these are not motives sufficient to justify the violent measures of the French; the seizure of territories, the dissolution of the political existence of a neutral independent state.

The charge which was brought by the French general against the Venetian government was, that while the French army was engaged in the defiles of Stiria, the government of Venice embraced the opportunity to arm 40,000 pea-

sants, uniting them with 10 regiments of Slavonians, to cut off the main body from the places which were occupied by the rear. That, throughout the whole of the Terra Firma, a persecution was instituted against all those persons, by whom the French had been favourably received. That in the squares, coffee-houses, and other public places in Venice, the French had been insulted. In fine, that assassinations of Frenchmen had been committed with impunity in different parts; that, at Castiglione de Mori, the French soldiers were first disarmed, and then murdered; on the great roads from Cassino to Verona, more than 200 were put to death; and on the second festival at Easter, the ringing of the bell was the signal for assassinating all the French in Verona, without excepting even the sick and wounded in the hospitals.

To this serious and revolting charge, the advocates for Venice reply, by instancing the wanton seizure of a part of their territory, the quartering of troops on some of the principal towns, under pretence that these places were necessary to the operations of the French army against the imperialists. They admit that fresh levies were made in the Venetian territories; but these they allege were necessary to their own security, placed among contending armies, and surrounded with conspirators. That some intemperate acts were committed, they pretend not to deny; but so far from countenancing these, the government wished on the contrary to institute a severe inquiry, and punish the aggressors.

On the 9th of April, Buonaparte addressed a manifesto to the doge of Venice, complaining of the hostile disposition which that government had always manifested towards

wards the French, and demanding instant satisfaction for the recent injuries. The senate replied immediately to the French commander, that they had ever wished to maintain a good understanding with the French republic; and assured him further, that they would take the most efficacious measures to discover and arrest the authors of the assassinations committed on individuals of the French army. On the 1st of May, Buonaparte issued a second proclamation, in which he entered more particularly into the detail of the enormities which had been committed, and seemed to intimate that the punishment of the assassins would not be sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of the French. Under these circumstances, a negotiation was commenced; commissaries were dispatched to wait on the conqueror of Italy at Milan; and, about the 15th of May, a treaty was concluded—the terms of which were the cession of the whole of the Terra Firma to the French, a part to be restored when the system of Italy should be established; the fort of Venice to be occupied by French troops; the state of Venice to pay 80 millions of livres; and lastly, the government of Venice to be changed.

The last article was almost immediately put in execution. The senate and council of ten were abolished; and the three state inquisitors put under arrest. A provisional administration was appointed; and a municipality of 50 members was chosen, under the presidency of six commissaries appointed by the French general.

Admitting all the charges to be just, which were brought against the Venetian government, this appears to have been a sufficient punishment for all their delinquencies—

the sequel is truly disgraceful to the French government and nation; but experience has shown that republics, not less than monarchies, are more frequently conducted on principles of policy than of justice. The Venetian territory was filled with French troops, and the only article of the treaty they took care to fulfil, was the levying of the contributions. In a word, on the final adjustment of the definitive treaty with the emperor, which, after much delay, was concluded at Udina, on the 17th of October, it was found that Venice was to be the sacrifice to peace, and the whole of the territories of that ancient and renowned state were ceded by a republic (which professedly was in arms for the cause of liberty) to the despotic yoke of Austria.

In censuring such proceedings as these, we flatter ourselves our readers will not consider us as inconsistent—the friend of liberty looks to no party as the guide of his opinions—

“Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.”

When the nascent liberties of France were attacked by a combination of despotic powers on the continent, we deprecated what we esteemed a most unjustifiable aggression, an interference not warranted by the law of nations, or by the principles of justice—when France in her turn becomes an oppressor, the voice of truth and justice will proclaim her infamy, and will censure the inconsistency, the wickedness of her rulers.

The republic of Genoa felt at the same time the predominant influence of the French; and its government, which was one of those mild aristocracies where the great are content with having all the political

litical power without oppressing their fellow-citizens, was changed for the fashionable form of a representative government. — Whether the change will ultimately prove for the happiness of the people or not, time only will determine; all that can at present be said upon the subject is, that the part which the French acted in the business was wholly unjustifiable.

In the beginning of May a formidable insurrection took place in that city, excited by a club of propagandists, who commonly assembled at the house of an apothecary.

The insurgents invested Philip Doria with the authority of chief, and the government, which had but little dependence on its feeble force, appeared to totter. The lesser council, in this extremity, prevailed upon the workmen employed in the port to unite themselves with the soldiery; a desperate engagement ensued, in which victory declared itself on the side of government; of the insurgents many were killed, among whom was their leader Doria, and several persons who were recognised to be French. The conquering party did not

make a proper use of their victory, but proceeded immediately to plunder the houses of the patriots, as they were called, and committed other outrages. In the mean time the vanquished party dispatched couriers to general Buonaparte to solicit his assistance; and under the plea of restoring peace a column of French troops entered Genoa; the consequence was the removal of all the constituted authorities, and the adoption of the democratic form of government, under the protection of France, and under the title of the Ligurian republic.

In our next volume a more ample detail of these transactions, both in Venice and Genoa, will be presented to our readers; and the secret history of the revolutions there will be explained. At present the transactions are too recent to be fully laid open to the public. In what we submit to our readers, we wish to be both authentic and impartial; and every man who writes or studies history, must know the difficulty, the impossibility we might say, of collecting sound information from the common sources.

CHAP. X.

France. Interior Administration of the Republic. Observations on the Factions in France. Plan for the Election of a new Third of the Councils. Royalist Conspiracy. Oath imposed upon Electors. General Election. New Members introduced. New Director chosen. Debate in the Council of Five Hundred concerning the Colonies. Debates concerning the Finances. New Plan of Finance. Breach between the Council of Five Hundred and the Directory. Conduct of the Directory censured. Private Correspondence protected from Violation and Inspection. Buonaparte's Conduct with respect to Venice censured. Laws of Divorce ordered to be revised. Report on religious Worship. Resolutions in favour of Emigrants—in favour of Priests. Power taken from the Directory of putting Districts in a State of Siege. Political Clubs instituted. Army discontented with the Proceedings of the Councils. Change of Ministers. Attempt to remove Barras from the Directory. Moderate Measures of the Council of Ancients. Factions prepare to decide the Contest by Force. March of Troops within the constitutional Limits. Violent Dissensions between the Councils and Directory on this Subject. Parties in the Directory. The Council surrounded by a military Force, and the Representatives in Opposition put under Arrest. Flight of Carnot, and Arrest of Barthelemi. Resolutions of the Councils. Banishment of the accused Members. Reflections on this Subject. Election of two new Members of the Directory. Negotiation at Lisle. Treaty with Portugal—annulled. Brief Remarks on the political Situation of France and England.

WE have formerly remarked, that whatever of heroism or public virtue modern France presents to our view is only to be found in its military annals. Its civil history affords a picture of little but violence and intrigue. Faction has driven faction off the stage, and, in the contest for power, almost every principle which the revolution was instituted to establish has been forgotten and violated.

These observations have been strongly confirmed by the events of 1797; and our remarks on the new constitution, in our volume for 1795, have been equally verified. We then predicted, that the government was not so constituted as to afford any well-founded hopes of its permanence. The executive government appeared to be too

slightly connected with the councils, and the members of it too independent of each other. We stated our preference of an unity in the executive government, with a regular chain of subordination through the different offices; and intimated our apprehensions that disagreements and contests would probably take place among the members of the directory themselves. In this respect also the transactions of the past year have confirmed our speculations; and we have seen not only the directory at variance with the councils, but even with each other.

The violence of party spirit, which in the course of the succeeding year was to produce a new revolution, with some acts of atrocity, did not seem to agitate the councils

councils in the latter part of the year 1796. They were chiefly occupied in temperate though somewhat tedious discussions relative to the election of the new third of the legislature; and after much trivial argument, and many visionary proposals, the following plan of the committee appointed for the purpose was adopted.—

1. There shall be elected, for the present year only, a third of deputies, by the departments of Belgium, of Montblanc, and the other united countries.

2. The division of the *ci-devant* Belgium into nine departments shall be provisorily maintained.

3. A new general list shall determine the number of the deputies to be elected, annually, by every department of the republic, in proportion to its population.

4. There shall be sent to the renewed legislative body, after the 1st of next Germinal, the application of each deputy to his department.

5. To draw them by ballot, not by deputations, but upon the totality of the ex-members of the convention of one and the same council.

6. To obtain, as the result of the ballot, the effective maintenance of 83 ex-members of the convention in activity in the council of elders, and of 167 members in activity in the council of five hundred.

7. To make share in this ballot all those of the present deputies of Corsica and the colonies, who shall not be replaced before the 15 Ventose.

8. To except from the ballot no other ex-members of the convention than those elected as members of the new third.

9. To prevent, by proper regulations, the difficulties which may

attend the execution of the drawing by ballot.

Pastoret then reminded the council, that the constitution also required the renewal of one member of the directory, and moved, that a committee should devise the mode of doing so; which was agreed to.

The next business of importance which occupied the councils was the detection of a royalist conspiracy, which was communicated to the council of five hundred by a message from the directory on the 31st of January, and the particulars of which were laid before the same body on the 4th of February following. The principal of these conspirators appeared to be a man of the name of Dunan, on whom was found a passport for Hamburg, with a power of passing and repassing at pleasure; the others were Brotier, in whose pocket-book were found several papers, dated at Verona, with the signature of Louis XVIII.; La-ville Harnois, formerly master of requests to the king; and a baron Poly.

The charges exhibited against them were founded on the evidence of Ramel, commandant of the national guard; Malo, commandant of the 21st of dragoons; Guillaume, secretary to Malo, and D'Obelin, a private dragoon. These witnesses stated, that in several separate conversations with Ramel and Malo, which the latter took care should be overheard by others, the accused communicated to them a plan of a counter-revolution, to be effected by the assistance of England. The king, (Louis XVIII.) it appeared, was on his arrival to publish a general amnesty, which the parliaments were afterwards to revoke, as not being done with the sanction of their authority; offices were to be conferred at first on the

the most popular of the representatives of the people, but this was only with a view of sacrificing them soon after. La Fayette was to be exhibited in an iron cage, and those who had been less active to be sent to the galleys. The principal terrorists and Jacobins were to be engaged as associates in the conspiracy, if it should be found the royalists could not do without them. The rest of the evidence related to a wild and impracticable plan of twenty-nine articles, for seizing the city of Paris, and securing the most dangerous of their opponents.

On their examination, Laville Harnois admitted the articles to be his, but denied having any intention to overturn the government, and asserted that the operations for overawing Paris, &c. were only to be put in effect, in case the Jacobins should succeed in overthrowing the present government. Brotier, on being questioned respecting his appearing as an agent of Louis XVIII. answered—"I cannot tell that, but the papers found upon me tell it." Dunan asserted, that he only visited Ramel in the hope of obtaining a contract for spirituous liquors; and Poly admitted having had conferences with Ramel, but denied the evidence relative to La Fayette. In the pocket-book of Dunan a letter was found, which was said to be written by Mr. Windham, of which the following copy was published in the newspapers, and which ought to have been publicly denied, if a fabrication of the directory, as we confess we have suspected it to be.—

13th January, 1797.

"Mr. Windham is extremely sorry that the chevalier Dunan should be under the necessity of setting out without Mr. Windham's

having been able to see him. He thought he had arranged it with the chevalier, that he should not depart before Mr. Windham was informed of it—If possible, he will be very glad to see the chevalier between the present period and that of his departure: but if it will incommode him too much at a moment in which he must necessarily be much occupied, he begs him to be persuaded that it is not Mr. Windham's fault that nothing is decided respecting the sending of funds for other parties of royalists, and that Mr. Windham will not fail to acquaint M. de Puissaye that it is neither the chevalier's nor his colleague's faults. He has just received letters from M. de Puissaye, dated the 27th of December, in which he informs him that the affair of his command is arranged, and that he has no other object than to remain at his post, occupying himself as formerly. Mr. Windham will, if possible, send M. Dunan a letter for M. de Puissaye, as well as one for sir Sydney Smith. He is also impatient to know, whether it has been settled what M. Dunan is to expect for the transmission of funds, and whether he has seen lord Grenville upon that subject? If M. Dunan could give Mr. Windham a call, which he does not desire if it will incommode him too much, he will not go out, but order a dinner at home at five o'clock, if it will suit the chevalier to dine with him; he intreats him, however, not to put himself to inconvenience, and to accept the assurances of his attachment, and wishes for the success of his affair."

As the operations of the conspirators were to have been in a great degree of a military nature, and as the raising of recruits was a considerable part of their plan, the directory

rectory referred the conspirators for trial to a military tribunal; against this order the prisoners appealed to the tribunal of cassation, or court of general appeal, but the resolution of the directory was confirmed by the tribunal.

On the 5th of March the two councils drew the important lots which were to deprive a third of their members of their seats in the legislature. The members excluded from the council of ancients were, Michel, Moisset, Oliviere Gerente, Chambont-Latour, Dandenac-ainé, Deverite, Maignen, Girard Villards, Florent Guyot, Blanc, Bartot, Garrot, Amyon, Corbel, Creuzé Pascal, Corent-Fuslier, Boucher-Saint-Sauveur, Vincent, Allafort, Cornillau, Gerand (des Cotes du Nord), Durand-Maillanne, Gibergue, Gumery, Bessnard, Guermeur, Marcelin Berand, Johannot, Derazci, Mufset, Gouly, Girard (de l'Aude), Guittard, Lehault, Reguis, Delmas, Cabaroc, Bonnefœur, Verneuret, Dandenac jeune, Pierre-Michel, Fourcroy, Lanjuinais, Desvars, Delcher, Bouillerot, Bolot, Castilhon, Poulain-Grandpré, Mioche, Rudel, Serres, Regnaud-Bratel, Sauve, Conte, Campmartin, Bouret, Salleles Thierriet, Bourgois, Goupilleau-de-Fontenay, Bar, Mazade, Belin, Laurent, Plaichard, Courtois, Mils, Roy, Vigney, Varlet.

And those from the council of five hundred were — Albert, Andrey, Auger, Babey, Balland, Balmain, Bancal, Bauchelon, Bessroy, Belley, Berlier, Bortezene, Bezard, Blanqui, Blondel, Bodin, Boissy-d'Anglas, Bonet, Bonnemain, Bordas, Borie-Cambort, Cambaceres, Camboulas, Camus, Carpentier, Cafenave, Cassanyes, Cavignac, Cafeneuve, Chabanon, Charrel, Chafet, Chastelain, Chauvier, Chauvin, Chiappe,

Christiani, Cledel, Colombel, Coupe (de l'Oise), Couturior, Dabray, Daurmefnil, Daunou, Defermont, Delamarre, Delaunay, Delcasso, Delecloy, Despinassy, Deville, Dornier, Drouet, Dubois-Crancé, Dubouloz, Dumas, André Dumont, Dupais, Duval (Claude), Duval (Jean-Pierre), Eschassieriaux aîné, Ferrand, Fleury, Fricot, Gamon, Garnot, Gosuin, Goupilleau, Gourdan, Gouzy, Guilherault, Goiter, Guyardin, Guyomard, Guyton, Hourier, Hubert, Ingraud, Isnard, Izard, Jard-Panvillier, Jeannest-Lanoue, Jeunesse, Karcher, Laforest, Lakanal, Lanthenas, Laurenceot, Lecointe-Puyravaux, Legot, Lemailleand, Lemane, Lesage-Senault, Lespinasse, Littet, Louvet (Jean-Baptiste), Louvet (Pierre-Florent), Lozeau, Mailhe, Maïsse, Marboz, Marcoz, Marec, Marfiette, Mathieu, Maulde, Meaulle, Mercier, Montegut, Morissou, Obelin, Pacros, Pelet (de la Lozere), Perieres, Pepin, Perrin (des Vosges), P. Flieger, Picque, Pierret, Pinel, Plazanet, Prost, Quinette, Raffron, Real, Reverchon, Richard, Richaud, Rivery, Robertjot, Roualt, Roux (de la Marne), Rouyer, Ruault, Ruelle, Saint-Martin (de l'Ardeche), Saint-Martin (Valogne), Salmon, Saurine, Savornin, Serveau, Texier, Thibaud, Thibaut, Toudis, Treilhard.

As the period of the general election approached, the ardour of party zeal became every where apparent; and the whole nation was in some measure agitated by the efforts of contending factions. The partisans of the directory affirm, that large sums of money were remitted from the enemies of the republic to influence the elections in favour of royalists; while the accusation is retorted by their opponents, who assert that every unfair mode was practised to prevent the constitution

tion from a free and unbiassed operation. That the directory themselves were not without their fears, is evident from a message which they presented to the council of five hundred on the 15th of March. It intimated that the government was too weak to contend against the plots of anarchy and royalism, because it was unsupported by the public functionaries, of whom many had refused the civic oath. It proceeded to state, that pamphlets, vilifying the government, and justifying the emigrants, were circulated at this crisis with more than ordinary industry. It concluded with recommending an oath of hatred to royalty and anarchy, to be taken by the electors, previous to their entering on the discharge of their functions.

A debate ensued, in which Pastoret, Thibadeau, Camus, and others, combated strenuously the proposal of the directory. It was represented as no less than a violation of the constitution, as nugatory in its object, and insulting both to the electors and their constituents. In answer to these objections it was urged, that whatever the constitution had not specifically prohibited was lawful in itself; and that while Monk refused to take the oath of hatred to royalty, he boasted of his attachment to that republic he was labouring to overturn. After a tumultuous scene the debate was adjourned; but on the succeeding day the directory triumphed, by the majority of the council decreeing that every elector by seniority, after the president, should make the following declaration:

"I promise attachment and fidelity to the republic and the constitution of the third year, and I pledge myself to defend them with all my power against the attacks of royalty and anarchy."

A proposal made by the directory about the same time to exclude persons accused of emigration from the primary assemblies, was referred to a committee.

The elections were in general peaceably conducted, and in the choice of the electors a degree of moderation was evinced by the primary assemblies. The venerable prince of Conti was chosen an elector by the primary assembly of Melun, and several of the ancient nobility were distinguished in the same manner by the districts in which they resided. In the appointment of the deputies, those were generally successful who could boast of any services rendered to the state. The generals Pichegru and Jourdan, admiral Villaret, and many other military officers of note and merit were returned. In some places the election undoubtedly fell upon improper persons; and even the famous Barrere, who, by the existing laws, was at that moment an outlaw, was chosen a representative by the district of Tarbes.

On the 20th of May the new members were introduced to the councils. In the council of five hundred the name of Barrere was received with marks of indignation; but when that of Pichegru was announced, the whole assembly rose, and seemed to pay an instantaneous and involuntary respect to that gallant commander, who conquered not less by his virtues * than by

* At one of the Dutch fortresses which submitted to Pichegru, the commandant was weak or wicked enough to intimate to the French general that there were a number of emigrants mixed with the garrison, and to ask what must be their fate when the place capitulated.—"I acknowledge no such description of men as emigrants (replied Pichegru); the garrison are all prisoners of war."

his valour. The elections were all confirmed except that of Barrere; and Pichegru was appointed president; Simeon, Vaublanc, Henri Lariviere and Parisot, secretaries. In the council of ancients no exception was taken against any of the elections, and Barbe Marbois was chosen president.

The day before the new councils assembled, the directory decided by lot the change of one of their own body; and Le Tourneur drew the lot which disrobed him of the directorial purple. On the 22d, the council of five hundred proceeded to form the lists for the election of a new director; Barthelemi, the successful negotiator at Basle, a man of amiable manners, and of respectable talents, had by far the greatest number of suffrages, and being at the head of the list returned to the council of ancients, he was the object of their choice.

The first important business which occupied the council of five hundred after the installation of the new third, was that of the colonies; in the debate on this subject, on the 4th of June, general Jourdan took a part, and his first speech was applauded. It was proposed to recall Santhonax from St. Domingo; but Jourdan apprehended that a sudden recall, without carrying along with it an adequate support, might force that commissioner of the convention into rebellion, and he might be induced to deliver up the island to the English. He proposed therefore that a general officer, supported by an adequate force, should carry out the letters of recall to the commissioners; and this proposition, after the deliberation of some weeks, was finally adopted.

This was the first blow which was aimed by the new council against the authority of the direc-

tory; for, by a former resolution, the executive power had been authorised to send out commissioners of its own choice. A more obnoxious measure was, however, in contemplation; and the usual source of disagreement between the people and their rulers, the expenditure of the public money, was soon to set at variance the councils and directory of France.

On the 7th of May, some days previous to the admission of the new third, Camus, in the name of the committee of public expenditure, had made a report, in which he pointed out some instances of unwarrantable profusion in the home department, which the committee were of opinion ought to be reduced from seventeen to less than seven millions. He stated, that an unnecessary number of architects and inspectors were kept in pay at Versailles, St. Cloud, &c.; that the manufactory of arms at Versailles, and of porcelain at Seve, were unnecessary expences; and that the editor of a newspaper had charged one hundred and twenty thousand livres for printing and distributing his paper, exclusive of postage. Upon this report, some resolutions were passed, abolishing all these sources of expence, and limiting strictly the executive government in this respect.

The new third had scarcely taken full possession of their seats, before these attacks on the agents of the directory were renewed in other forms. On the 7th of June, Buonaparte proposed several retrenchments of expence among the civil and military agents, who, he said, formed an army within an army, and a republic within a republic. He also called the attention of the council (of five hundred) to the sale of the national property in
S Belgium,

Belgium, which he termed a scandalous dilapidation; another member of the name of Berger mentioned, at the same time, several other necessary reforms, and moved to have the council divided into committees for effecting that purpose. A more formal and authoritative effort was made on the 14th, when Gilbert Desmolières ascended the tribune, to make a report in the name of the committee of finances. Foresight, order, and economy, he said, were the bases on which a good system of finance ought to rest. Of these the first had been particularly neglected by the government, which had never foreseen its wants, but waited till it felt their pressure. At that instant the arrears of ministers amounted to a dreadful mass—upon a loose calculation, to no less than six hundred millions. Thus did the anticipations exceed the ordinary revenue by more than thirty-two millions. It was necessary to put an end to this disastrous evil, and to prevent the other ministers from making contracts like those of Truguet, minister of the marine, who had purchased flour at twenty-nine livres ten sous the quintal, though the same cost at Nantz only thirteen livres ten sous at most; and sail-cloth at twenty-two sous the ell, though a larger measure was sold for but thirteen sous.

After going through a long and elaborate detail of the revenue and expenditure for the sixth year, Gilbert computed the amount of the former at 479,593,579, and of the latter at 490,377,526 livres; by which it appeared, that there would be a deficiency of about twelve millions. He then adverted to the expences of the clerks of the directory, who, he said, lived like kings; to the sums squandered without ef-

fect for public education; to the debt of Belgium; and to that of the emigrants, which he estimated at nine hundred millions of livres. After a report of two hours and a half, he moved the adoption of three several projects, which were ordered to be printed separately.

Bailleul having combated some of his arguments, Gilbert rose again, and in the course of his reply adverted to a demand of one hundred millions of livres made by the directory under the pretence of making peace. This sum had been granted them by the weakness of the committee. The directors, said he, having, in an animated conference, seemed to fear the return of the brave defenders of the country, I answered, "You who know so well how to obtain supplies for the prosecution of the war, demand some for the consolidation of peace!" The directory presumes to criticise your opinions. It has been proposed, that my report should be sent to the directory. I do not wonder at that motion, since one of the directors demanded, in my presence, that I should be obliged to lay the speech I delivered on their table. (The council at the mention of this manifested the most marked disapprobation.) It is high time that the directory should be taught not to alarm the public by indecent messages, but to confine itself to its functions, to wait your orders, and to leave your discussions free.

The sword was now drawn, and, on the 18th, the committee threw away the scabbard, when the same reporter rose to propose a plan of finance, the direct object of which was to take the whole power of the purse out of the hands of the directory. The council, at least the majority of it, agreed with the committee,

committee, and almost as soon as the proposal was produced, it was decreed as follows:

The council of five hundred considering that, though the service of the national treasury may require negotiations to satisfy urgent expences, it is yet indispensable and pressing to restrain them on account of the cessation of the circulation of paper money.

They declare that there is urgency, and make the following resolution:

Art. I. The law of the 3d Brumaire, fourth year, which authorises the national treasury to negotiate under the approbation of the executive directory, is abrogated.

Art. II. The article II. of the law of 22d Vendemiaire, fifth year, which authorises the minister of the finance to regulate the order of the payment of the drafts of all the ministers, on account of urgency, is equally abrogated.

Art. III. The commissioners of the treasury are nevertheless authorised to make the negotiations which the service of the treasury may require, but under their personal responsibility.

On the following day the directory collected their friends in the council, and Le Clerc proposed the repeal of the decree concerning the finances. He contended that it was passed in a thin house, and without a division. He said a scandalous contention had existed for some time between the directory and the committee of finance, and that the resolution in question annihilated every hope of peace. "Will not foreign powers (he added) depend on a dissolution of the republic, when they see the power of the purse taken from the executive government, and put into the hands of men who have prevaricated?" A

most tumultuous debate, or rather contest, ensued, in which the authority of the president (Pichegru) was scarcely sufficient to restore order, or restrain the parties from blows; at length the motion of Le Clerc was virtually negatived by passing to the order of the day.

In some of the following sittings, the proceedings of the directory were severely canvassed. Pastoret, on the 20th of June, inculpated greatly their treatment of the United States of America, and proposed a plan of a decree for appointing a committee to inquire into the *un-constitutional* resolutions of the executive power on that subject, which was adopted. On the following day a committee was also formed on the motion of Imbert Columes, for inquiring upon what grounds the directory had presumed, contrary to the principles of liberty, to violate the sacredness of private correspondence, by the opening and examining of private letters—and a resolution was (to the honour of the council) passed, declaring such a violation utterly unlawful.

Not only the conduct of the directory, but of Buonaparte himself, was strictly scrutinized; and, on the 23d of June, Dumoulaud proposed a committee to examine the external relations of the republic, and to demand information from the directory concerning the events that followed Buonaparte's manifesto against the government of Venice. He complained of the French general's interference with that government, and of the disturbance which was given by the sanction of the directory to the Genoese and Helvetic republics.

The opposition party in the councils at this period is generally considered as consisting of three distinct descriptions of men. The

first were the adherents of the ancient regime, some of whom, through the influence of connexions and of fortune, undoubtedly obtained seats on the election of the new third; the second were young and aspiring men, persons who were ambitious to distinguish themselves, and whom the love of novelty might, in some degree, induce to alter or repeal the decrees of their predecessors; the third set consisted of men of open and liberal minds, who supported many of the proposals of their colleagues, because they considered them as the dictates of truth and justice, and not to be relinquished for temporary inconveniences, or, in the fashionable language, existing circumstances.

Among these men a proper and commendable zeal for religion and morality soon began to display itself. The detestable laws authorising polygamy, or rather a general system of debauchery, under the colour of a facility of divorce, were ordered to be revised. On the 17th of June, Camille Jourdan made an important, and, in the opinion of many, an enlightened and philosophical report on the freedom of religious worship, which was ordered to be printed by the unanimous vote of the council of five hundred.

On the plea of humanity (and with many of them, unquestionably, their motives in this instance were good) some relaxation of the laws was proposed with respect to emigrants. Greatly to their honour both councils were almost unanimous in restoring to the prince of Conti and the duchess of Orleans their estates and privileges. A plan was brought forward by a member of the council of five hundred, of the name of Emery, for reinstating

the relations of emigrants in their property. The following is the substance of the decree which was afterwards adopted on this subject:—

Art. 1. The articles 3, 4, 5, and 19, of the law of the 28th of March, 1793, the law of the 17th Frimaire, second year, the laws of the 6th Floreal, third year, of the 12th Messidor, third year, and all other regulations relative to the sequestration of the estates, and as the reparation of the heritages of fathers, grandfathers, and other relations of emigrants, are annulled, all sequestrations are taken off, and all divisions made with the republic are to be considered as void of effect.

2. The emigrants are declared unable to possess any civil rights, to count from the decree of the 23d of October, 1792, which enacted their perpetual banishment from the day of their emigration, if it be posterior to the said decree.

3. Substitutions entailed on emigrants, and not consolidated in their persons by the law of the 25th of October, 1792, are declared open by their civil death for the benefit of the heirs next in the order of succession.

4. Direct and collateral successions, to which emigrants would have been entitled in case of non-emigration, and which have become open since the 23d of October 1792, are to be regulated in the same manner as they would have been adjusted in case the emigrants had departed this life previous to the above successions being opened.

5. The estates to be reclaimed in virtue of the two preceding articles, and which the republic is still possessed of, shall be restored *in natura* to the lawful owners. As to those estates which have been disposed of in the form prescribed by the laws, they remain definitively alienated; but

but the indemnification of the proprietors shall be provided for by another law.

6. The proceeds and revenue from the said estates, as well as the interests thereof, which have become due previous to the 1st Prairial of the fifth year, shall be compensated with the charges of sequestration, administration and repair, with the relief granted in pursuance of the laws of the 23d Nivose, third year, and with the contribution for the cloathing and pay of two soldiers until the general peace, established by the law of the 12th of September, 1792; of which the fathers and mothers of emigrants are definitively acquitted and discharged.

7. The estates of emigrants charged with pensions or usufructs in favour of their fathers and mothers, and which are not yet disposed of, cannot be sold but with the charge they imposed on them. The father and mothers, entitled to such pensions and usufructs, shall be indemnified according to another law, to be enacted on this subject.

The barbarous policy of punishing individuals for the crimes of others was justly and generally reprobated. By a former law, the fugitive labourers from the Upper and Lower Rhine, who had emigrated while those countries were the seat of war, were allowed a certain time to return, and were invited to resume their respective occupations. A motion was made in the council of five hundred to prolong this period, and to extend the benefits of the law to persons exercising any useful trade; and, after some deliberation, the time was enlarged six months.

The distressed and persecuted state of the banished ministers of

religion was in fine brought under the consideration of the council of five hundred, and the discussion was closed, on the 15th of July, by the adoption of the following resolutions:—

1. The laws which pronounce the punishment of transportation or confinement against ecclesiastics, who were subject to oaths or declarations, or who have been denounced under the name of *refractory*, or on account of *incivism*, and against those who have afforded shelter to priests unworthy, are, and continue, repealed.

2. The laws which assimilate exported priests to emigrants, are also repealed.

3. The individuals affected by said laws are restored to all the rights of French citizens, by fulfilling the conditions prescribed by the constitution.

A resolution requiring from priests a declaration of fidelity to the constitution was, at the same time, discussed, and declared by the president to be negatived. An *appel nominal* being however demanded, a great tumult ensued, and the president walked away. The subject was however renewed the following day, when the motion for exacting a declaration from the priests was carried by 210 votes against 204. The liberality and justice of the council was further instanced on the 18th of July, with respect to fifty-three unfortunate emigrants, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Calais. The member who made the report concerning them, Jourdan, observed that it would be barbarous to shew less clemency than the furious element from which they had escaped. They were therefore by the order of the council re embarked, and

and conveyed at the expence of the republic to the place of their destination.

In the course of these discussions, it was announced, that by the orders of the directory the city of Lyons was put in a state of siege. This circumstance drew many severe reflections on the conduct of the directory from Camille Jourdan, and others; and, on the 8th of August, a resolution was passed by the council of five hundred, on the motion of general Jourdan, enacting, that such power should only be exercised in consequence of a decree of the legislative body.

Thus far, in principle, the council undoubtedly acted upon fair and liberal grounds. It may, perhaps, be objected, that such large concessions to the emigrants and priests were ill-timed. It may, perhaps, be said, that the republic was scarcely sufficiently established to admit of the return at once of so large a body of men as the deprived clergy, who were certainly ill-treated by their country, and could not be supposed well-affected to the republican system. The influence which they must naturally have had over the minds of their hearers, an influence which it would not have been difficult to revive, might possibly, it may be alleged, have in many instances been turned to civil purposes, and insurrection excited. Be this as it may, however right or well-timed these measures might have been, it is certain they were unpopular, and they were artfully turned to the disadvantage of the majority of the councils. It is certain, on the other hand, that the hopes of the royalists were greatly raised by these measures, and by the dissensions which prevailed between the directory and

the council of five hundred. A counter revolution, it is asserted, was confidently and openly talked of. The purchasers of the national domains, it is said, were intimidated and insulted, and, in some instances, outrages committed against their persons. In consequence therefore of these alarms, whether real or pretended, republican clubs were formed, and particularly one, which was supposed to be instituted under the immediate sanction of the directory, and to which some of the most famous of the earliest revolutionists resorted. Clubs also of an opposite character were instituted. The respective parties distinguished themselves by their dress, and some commotions were excited by the partisans of the different factions accidentally encountering each other in the public places. To put a stop to these outrages, and not sorry to dissipate an association which was beginning to be formidable, all political meetings or societies were forbidden and dissolved by a decree of the councils. Unfortunately for the party in opposition to the directory, the discontent and suspicion excited by their measures reached the armies. The directors were intimately connected, of necessity, with the generals, and there is little doubt but every step would be taken to fan the rising flame among the military. The army of Italy led the way in addressing the directory, and the style of these addresses may be collected from that presented from the division of Massena. "The defenders of their country," as they styled themselves, lamented in this address the violation of the constitution, the degradation of the government, the return of the emigrants, the favour and protection afforded

afforded to non-juring priests, and the oppression and murder of faithful republicans. They concluded with the following remarkable words:—"Does the road to Paris present more obstacles than that to Vienna? No; it will be opened to us by the republicans who have remained faithful to liberty. United we shall defend it; and our common enemies shall have lived."

The example was followed by all the other armies of the republic, yet the courage and vigour of the opposition party was not diminished. They flattered themselves, that, like La Fayette and Dumouriez, the generals would be forsaken by the soldiers; and they forgot the example of the Gironde party, who were overwhelmed by the policy and artifices of men more intriguing and bolder than themselves.

The minister of police, Cochon, was supposed to be in the interest of the opposition party; the directory therefore made a complete change of ministers. Talleyrand Perigord, who, our readers will recollect, had formerly been bishop of Autun, was appointed minister of foreign affairs in the room of Delacroix, who was afterwards sent as ambassador to Holland; Pleville Pelley, an old sea-officer, was made minister of the marine in the room of Truguet; Hoche was nominated minister of war instead of Petiet, but he afterwards declined, as not being of the constitutional age; François de Neufchâteau, a man of letters, of moderate principles and amiable manners, replaced Benezech in the home department; and Lenain Laroche supplanted Cochon. The removal of this latter minister excited fresh murmurs.—Camille Jourdan inveighed against the measure, and, on his motion, a resolution was passed to require of

the directory a report of the present situation of the republic.

As Barras was the director more particularly obnoxious to the opposition party, an attempt was made to deprive him of his dignity, as not having been of the age required by the constitution when appointed a director. His colleagues in the government, however, supported his right by a formal message, asserting that he was born in the year 1755; and, as the fact was difficult to prove, the motions made for his removal on that plea were without effect, and served only to exasperate the parties more and more.

The council of ancients, in this extraordinary crisis, endeavoured, much to their honour, to act as moderators between the contending parties. The resolution which restricted the directory with respect to the expenditure, was negatived by the ancients on the 27th of July. The decrees relative to the priests were held under discussion; and a decree of the council of five hundred, relative to the sale of the national domains, was rejected.

The leaders of the hostile parties on both sides were now, however, apparently determined to have recourse to force, and both equally prepared for the fatal conflict, the ultimate appeal not only of kings but of republican factions. Jealous of the designs of the directory, and probably apprehensive of the spirit which had been already manifested by the regulars, the council of five hundred, in the beginning of July, determined to reform, or (in their own phrase) re-organize the national guard. This task was committed to the management chiefly of the ex-generals Pichegru and Willot. On the 20th of July the former presented his plan for their re-organization, and it was ordered to be

printed in the course of the day. The plan was again presented on the 28th, in an amended state, by general Willot. The leading feature of it was to deprive the directory of the right of nominating the officers. In each department a jury of examination was to present a list, out of which the directory was obliged to make their election. This plan, after some debate, was adopted, and reduced into the form of a decree.

While such, in the language of Thibadeau, were the *tardy* precautions of the council, a circumstance occurred which contributed to hasten the crisis. On the 20th of July the council received authentic information that some regiments of the Sambre and Meuse army had advanced to Corbœil, within seven leagues of Paris, according to rumour, while, by the sixty-ninth article of the constitution, the directory could not order or authorize such a march without incurring the penalty of ten years' imprisonment. A message was immediately dispatched to the directory, and their answer was received before the close of the sitting. It is true, said the directory, that four regiments of horse passed within the distance of eleven leagues from Paris. It was but yesterday we were apprized of this infraction of the constitutional act, and immediately an order was dispatched to send away the troops. The directory attributed this circumstance to the inadvertence of the commissary of war. It thought it was owing to a mistake. The council spoke in its message of troops arriving at Soissons, but the directory had no knowledge of it. The message was signed, Carnot and Larevilliere, for the secretary general.

A message on the same subject was soon after addressed by the

council of five hundred to the council of ancients, to be considered in their extraordinary sitting at seven o'clock the same evening; and a committee was appointed to examine the business, and to report on the message of the directory.

The following day produced another message from the directory, equally unsatisfactory with the former. The directory desired to distinguish between the order to march and the order of marching. It avowed having given the order to march, but for a far different destination. It was ignorant who had given the order of marching. The commissary Lesage at Mezieres had given orders to prepare quarters at Ferte-Alais. It concluded by desiring the council to trace the line of demarkation. The most common opinion was, that Ferte-Alais is thirteen leagues. The last edition of the *Volsien* dictionary stated it at twelve.

On the 26th Pichegru, as the chairman of the committee appointed to take into consideration the march of the troops and the answer of the directory, made his report. After remarking that the answer of the directory was evasive, he asked what was the invisible power that gave the order to march? and why the troops had made a retrograde movement? If Brest was their destination, continued he, they might have assembled north of Paris; nor can I understand how they were directed to march southward. Besides, why employ eight regiments of light horse, and a regiment of light artillery?

Another message was in consequence dispatched to the directory, in which not only the subject of the march of the troops was pursued, but the inflammatory addresses of the army severely censured.

The

The report of the committee produced a more detailed message from the directory relative to the march of the troops, and as the subject is important, and as the paper gives an interesting view of the state of France at this important juncture, we have thought it necessary to insert it at large.

Citizens Representatives,

The executive directory delayed replying to your message of the seventeenth of this month, relative to the marching orders given to four regiments of chasseurs which were to pass by Ferte-Alais, in the expectation that the report of the committee of inspectors, upon which that message had been adopted, would be printed. It is not yet printed; but the directory, who in the mean time have been collecting the documents they were desirous of procuring respecting the route of these troops, consider it their duty to transmit to you such information as has reached them.

Citizen Lesage, commissary at war, has made the following declaration upon this subject:

"Citizen Lesage, commissary of war for the army of the Sambre and Meuse, charged with the police of the division of chasseurs commanded by general Richepauze, certifies, that after the said general had given to him, at Duene, the itinerary of the route which this division was to observe in going to Chartres (an itinerary which was entirely written by General Richepauze, but not signed by him), he received at Aix-la-Chapelle the order of proceeding in that destination, and preparing, before hand, at the places pointed out, the necessary provisions and quarters for the four regiments which composed that division, but which were only to arrive in suc-

cession at these resting places:—that, without examining the itinerary which had been given to him, or knowing that Ferte-Alais was within the constitutional limits of Paris, he expedited the order for the route, in consequence of which the troops were to march—that he followed the same route to Rheims—that, being there assured that the letters he had written to Charleville, with directions to the municipalities of the places through which the troops were to pass, had been duly received, and having no further precautions to take, as the municipal administrations were charged with quartering and providing for the troops, he yielded to the desire of seeing his family, who reside at Chartres, and left the route of the division to take the shorter one by Soissons.

"He further certifies, that neither the general Richepauze, nor any other staff-officer, gave him any other marching order than the above, the itinerary of which was transmitted to him at Durenne;—that, during the course of the march, he did not hear any of the troops speak of their destination;—that he only heard, at Bonn and Durenne, persons who did not belong to the army say, that the division was to embark at Brest."

General Richepauze states, on his part, that he received an order from general Hoche, dated Cologne, the 15th Messidor, in the following terms:—

"General Richepauze, commanding the division of horse chasseurs, is hereby ordered to proceed, with the four regiments under his command, to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon.

"HOCHÉ."
General Richepauze has besides made the following declaration, which

which he subscribed before the directory on the 22d of Thermidor:

"I certify that it was in consequence of the order of the general in chief, Hoche, dated the 15th Messidor, directing me to proceed with the four regiments under my command to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon, that I traced the route by which the division I commanded was to proceed to Chartres;—that I was totally ignorant of the existence of any law which required that the troops should not come within twelve leagues of Paris;—that I even was inclined to have made them pass through Paris; and that the difficulty of maintaining order among troops quartered in a large city was the only reason which determined me not to adopt that route; that my intention was evidently pure; for, if it had not, I should not have ordered a commissary of war to have preceded me, who was six days before the van of the troops, which was the head of the column commanded by me.

"RICHEPAUSE."

"Such is the information which the directory has procured respecting the marching order given to the four regiments of chasseurs drawn from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and which were to pass by Ferte-Alais to Brest. While the directory confine their answer to this point, they consider it necessary to direct your attention to a statement which appears to have been contained in the report upon which your message was founded. All the journals agree in stating, that you were informed that arms and ammunition had recently been distributed at Chartres to five hundred ruffians, for the purpose of suppressing or of threatening the freedom of the legislative body. This statement is completely dis-

proved by the municipality of the place. The proces-verbal of the municipality has been addressed to you; so that you must already be convinced that the enemies of the country have led the members of your committee into an error upon this subject.

"We now come, citizens representatives, to the second part of your message. The executive directory did not, till the day before yesterday, receive the originals of the addresses of the defenders of the country from the different divisions that compose the army of Italy. They were all destined for the executive directory, with the exception of two only; and these were addressed to the defenders of the country composing the other armies. Though the meaning and sense of the word "*deliberer*" (to deliberate) has not been so accurately defined as to be clearly applied to the act by which, after having expressed their fears and their hopes to the executive directory and to their brethren in arms, the defenders of their country have only stated the wishes they had formed, and the sentiments that animated them, the executive directory have, nevertheless, resolved to prevent its circulation. They have also written to the general in chief, deploring the circumstances which had induced the brave republican soldiers to commit those acts which might be considered irregular, and inviting them carefully to avoid every thing which may in the least degree tend to the infraction or violation of the constitution. The directory has not stopped there; they have thought it their duty to go back to the causes, and to point them out, persuaded that you will, in your wisdom, adopt such measures as shall make them cease to exist.

exist. The cause of these proceedings on the part of the defenders of the country, is to be attributed to the general alarm and inquietude which, for some months past, having taken possession of all persons, have succeeded the profound tranquillity that reigned, and the general confidence that every where prevailed. It is to be attributed to the defalcation in the revenue, which leaves all parts of the administration in the most deplorable situation, and deprives often of their pay and their subsistence, the men who, for years past, have shed their blood and sacrificed their health to serve the republic. It is to be attributed to the persecution and assassination of the purchasers of national property, of the public functionaries, of the defenders of the country; in short, of all those who have dared to show themselves the friends of the republic. It is to be attributed to the want of firmness and vigour in the punishment of criminals, and to the partiality of the public tribunals. It is to be attributed to the insolence of the emigrants and the refractory priests, who, recalled, and openly favoured, appear every where, keep alive the flame of discord, and inspire a contempt for the laws. It is to be ascribed to the multitude of journals with which the armies, like the interior, are inundated—journals which threaten death to the supporters of liberty, which vilify all the republican institutions, which openly and shamefully desire the return of royalty, and all the oppressive and vexatious institutions, which equally torment and humiliate the merchant, the artisan, and the labourer, and even the rich proprietor who is untitled. It is to be found in the interest, always ill-dissembled, and frequently openly manifested, which

the enemies of their country take in the glory and the prosperity of the English government and the Austrian court; while they endeavour, on the contrary, to diminish the true renown of our warriors, and speak with an ill-disguised contempt of the high destiny held out to France, and of the eminent degree of glory and of happiness which she was about to reach. It is owing to the blame which has been thrown upon the most glorious and useful consequences of the victories of our defenders—to the plan, openly declared, of calumniating and ruining the reputation of our republican generals, and particularly those who, to the glory of the most brilliant triumphs and the most skillful campaigns, have added, the one in the west of France, the other in Italy, the immortal honour of a political conduct, which will procure to their philosophy and humanity as much praise as has already been bestowed on their military genius. Finally, the cause is to be found in the despair to which all true citizens, and particularly the defenders of their country, are reduced, in seeing, at the moment of its conclusion, and after they had purchased it with so much blood and so many sufferings, the definitive peace, solicited by the chiefs of the vanquished coalition, placed at a distance—that peace which a government, the friend of humanity, seeks still with the greatest exactness to conclude—but all at once, re-animating their hopes, and reckoning upon the dissolution of the republican government, in consequence of the exhausted state of our finances, upon the death or the exile of our bravest generals, and on the dispersion and destruction of our armies, these same coalesced powers have exhibited as much

tardiness

tardiness in the progress of their negotiations as they at first testified ardour to terminate them. Such, citizens' representatives, are the causes which have agitated the minds of the soldiers of the republic, and induced them to express their fears and their resolutions. The executive directory repeats, that they shall do what they ought to do, in recommending to the troops to avoid all irregular proceedings which are contrary to that discipline which is the soul of armies, and opposite to the laws which are the support of the state; but they owe to you, in the mean time, a frank and faithful declaration of their sentiments. The government still confidently hopes to save France from the dissolution to which it is precipitately hurried—to extinguish the torches of civil war which are lighted up with fury—and to protect persons and property from the danger of a new revolution. This resolution the directory will pursue with perseverance and with courage, and will not be turned aside by any fears, or by any influence. They will not, however, consent to inspire a false security, either in their fellow-citizens of the interior, or in those who defend the country without. They should consider themselves guilty of treason towards their country if they concealed the atrocious attempts that are unremittingly made to lead us into all the horrors of a second revolution, by overthrowing the present government either by treason or by force.

no—ad. 'CARNOT, President.

bns. you. 'LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

A new committee was appointed to consider of the message of the directory.—It consisted of seven members, all of the opposition par-

ty, viz. Thibadeau, Vaublanc, Simeon, Pastoret, Boissy d'Anglas, Emery, and Jourdan des bouches de Rhine.—On the 22d of August, the report of the committee was brought up, and as the directory had entered into the detail of the subjects of general complaint, the reporter, Thibadeau, was also copious in his reply.

He began by calling the attention of the council to the present state of the nation; and contrasted it with the situation it was lately in when the republic advanced towards peace, when confidence revived, and the constitution began to be consolidated. To recover those desirable advantages, he considered it as necessary to encourage good citizens to repress the bad, and to let the voice of justice, reason, and impartiality, be heard from the tribune of the council of five hundred.

He next adverted to the late subjects of alarm, and, while he admitted that the directory had the incontestable right of changing the ministers, he maintained that of the legislative body to require information respecting the violation of the constitutional limits. The cause of that violation, said he, which we shall not now inquire into, will one day be known. General Riche-paube avows the giving of the order, but denies his knowledge of the law.—This excuse would not serve him before a tribunal; but from what we have heard of his moral character, we believe he had no ill intention.

The reporter then proceeded to the addresses of the army of Italy, and contended, that the sentiments of liberty they breathed belonged to the generous defenders of the state; the rest to factious men, desirous of wounding the bosom of their

their country. He particularly noticed the assertion, that a system of royalism was pursued in the council. Does the rebel who penned it, said he, exist?—Does he exist, and are you free?—Is the government asleep, that it suffers him to enjoy impunity?

The directory inform you, that they have put a stop to these addresses, and written to the commander in chief, deploring the circumstances that led to the violation of the constitution.—Your committee consider it their duty to declare openly, that the answer of the directory appears to them unworthy of its power, and the rank in which the constitution has placed them.

Thibadeau next pointed out the dangers to be feared from the spirit of faction which had been introduced into the camps; he called upon the different branches of the government to watch over the sacred deposit of the constitution: he did not think it necessary to answer the charges brought against the council, but asked who favoured the emigrants? who prevented their punishment? and what was the meaning of those erasements, which, according to public report, were made a trade of?

He then adverted to the assassinations that had been committed, and asked why the laws against assassins had not been enforced? As to the journals which breathed only murder, and the return of royalty, he said that a law was preparing to repress their audacity. The want of œconomy, and the neglect of the finances he admitted; and recommended to the legislature to direct its principal attention to that important object.

History, continued he, will examine whether the late events in

Italy have not retarded the conclusion of peace; but can France blame her generals for giving liberty to millions of men? And can she refuse those millions her friendship and alliance? But upon these events, your committee cannot be silent.—The directory has exceeded its powers.—Who had the right of declaring war against the Italian states without your consent? Who could make treaties of commerce and subsidy without your approbation?

After declaring that the legislative body could not fear the attack of a few brigands, and exhorting the different members of government to concord and unanimity, the reporter added the following words:

“ In examining this message of the directory, its exaggerations, and the bitterness of its style, we have avoided giving new aliment to the factious. Legislators ought not to be guided by passion. In vain our common enemies meditate the ruin of the republic. It is deeply rooted; it has ripened in the midst of storms, and it belongs not alone to the present generation. The new dangers which threaten it, serve only to display its strength once more. Each power shall return to its proper limits; and if some men have wished to overstep them, they shall be recalled, and confined to their proper station.

Thibadeau concluded by presenting the plan of two resolutions.

The first declared, that all conspiracies or crimes against the constitution, the legislative body, and the directory, came under the jurisdiction of the criminal tribunal of the place where the legislature sits; that all persons accused should be denounced at the office of the public

public accuser; but that they should have the power of appealing from that tribunal, and in this case they should be carried before a court pointed out by the tribunal of cassation.

The second declared every assemblage of soldiers, for the purpose of deliberating in other circumstances than those determined by the law, a crime; that any communication under the title of addresses from one armed body to another, or to the civil authorities, should be punished as a seditious act; and determined the punishments to be inflicted upon the promoters of such assemblies, and the subscribers of addresses, according to the nature of the case.

Though the directory appeared in all these instances to act in concert, and though the message came under the signature of Carnot, yet it was well understood that the directory were divided among themselves. Reubel and Barras were decided in their opposition to the council of five hundred—Carnot and Barthelemi (who probably conceived that in a contest between the legislative and executive powers, the former must in the end carry the greatest weight with the people) were secretly attached to the majority of the councils. La Reveillere, it is said, wavered for some time, but at length was gained completely over by his old colleagues Reubel and Barras. From this time the majority of the directory appear to have acted without the concurrence of their colleagues; and they adopted measures that were full of energy and boldness, though assuredly contrary to justice and the constitution. Angereau, a bold and active officer, had been sent from Italy by Buonaparte, under the pretext of conveying a message and some

stands of colours to the directory. Several soldiers from the army of Italy, and that of the Sambre and Meuse, had also, it is said, been introduced into Paris in disguise. Be this as it may, the force of the directory, we have good authority for saying, was but small; but it was well organised, and the execution of their measures was confided to Angereau. The opposition party were not without their preparations, but their measures were tardy, and pursued with less energy than those of their opponents. At the moment when they were surprised by the soldiers of the directory, they were sitting in council, and debating on the steps that were to be taken for their own defence, and to crush their adversaries. Thus at all events the constitution was to be violated, but the most dangerous violation is when it proceeds from the executive power.

An address from the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, which, during the course of the French revolution, has been remarkable for leading the way in all insurrectionary movements, confirmed the directory in the bold and violent measure it was about to adopt. On the morning of the 4th of September, therefore, at the early hour of 3 o'clock, the majority of the directory (for they no longer acted in concert) ordered the alarm guns to be fired, and the halls of the councils to be surrounded by a military force. General Angereau was charged with the execution of this daring measure—He repaired to their barracks, and addressed the guard of the legislative body; he assured them that he came only to preserve the constitution, and to save the republic from a conspiracy of royalists. He was answered by the soldiers with shouts of *Vive la*

la republique! they assured him, that he had only to command, and they were ready to obey; and instantly degraded their former commandant Ramel from his office, by tearing off his epaulets. Thus re-inforced by the very men from whom resistance was expected, Augereau entered the hall; where he found Rovere, Pichegru, Willot, Bourdon de Loise, and several others: he seized Pichegru (as we have been informed) with his own hands, and ordered about eighteen others of the most conspicuous characters in the assembly to be arrested, among whom were Bourdon de L'Oise, general Willot, Boissy d'Anglas, and Dumolard. The conspirators (as they were called) were committed to the Temple; the halls were shut up, and the members of both councils were summoned to meet, the ancients at the School of Surgery, and the council of five hundred at the Odeon, formerly the theatre in the Fauxbourg St. Germain.

The minority of the directory were implicated in the fate of their friends in the councils. Carnot took advantage of the tumult, and fled; Barthelemi calmly awaited the storm, and was put under arrest. The directory announced their victory to the public by a proclamation, in which they exhorted the citizens to peace and harmony; promised that persons and property should be protected; and that every act of plunder or outrage should meet with exemplary punishment.

The proclamation was prefaced by a justification of the events of the day. "Royalty (say they) has just threatened the constitution by a new attack. After having, for a whole year, shaken by their dark manœuvres all the foundations of the republic, they thought that they were

sufficiently powerful to consummate its destruction. They thought themselves sufficiently protected to venture to aim its first attacks against the supreme depositaries of the executive authority. Arms were daily distributed to the conspirators; and all Paris knows, that one of the distributors was arrested with a great number of bonds, upon which he had already delivered a great number of firelocks. Cards stamped *legislative bod*, and marked with an R, were circulated, in order to serve as rallying signs to the conspirators, charged with the office of massacring the directory, and the deputies faithful to the cause of the people. A great number of emigrants, assassins of Lyons, and brigands of la Vendée, attracted hither by the intrigues of royalism, and the tender interest publicly lavished upon them, without fear attacked the posts which surrounded the executive directory; but the vigilance of the government, and the chiefs of the armed force, frustrated their criminal efforts. The executive directory is about to lay before the nation the authentic documents which it has collected concerning the manœuvres of the royalists. You will shudder with horror, citizens, at the plots entered into against the safety of every one of you, against your property, against your dearest rights, against your most sacred possessions; and you may calculate the extent of the calamities from which in future you can alone be preserved by the maintenance of the constitution. So many triumphs had already crowned the establishment of this constitution; your generals, and your intrepid defenders, had surrounded it with their immortal trophies. At the same of their victories, agriculture and commerce resumed

resumed their activity; public credit, by degrees, recovered; confidence and security began to spring up in every heart; and this is the moment which has been chosen to rekindle your animosities, to propagate superstition, to re-organise the power of fanaticism, to sow doubts and alarms in every breast by opening new avenues for the return of the emigrants, to shake the guarantee of public contracts, to give the signal of civil war, and to retard, by the hopes with which foreign nations were inspired, the so much wished conclusion of peace with our external foes, honourable and solid, worthy of the triumph of the French people and of their generosity. No, you will not lose the fruits of your long sacrifices; you will rise indignantly against those base emigrants, the authors of all our calamities, of all our agitations, of all our sufferings. You will arm yourselves to stop their designs, and to defend against their attacks your persons, your property, and your rights. But beware of agitations. Do not disgrace the most glorious of causes by the excesses of an anarchy justly abhorred. Respect property. Let not an ill-directed patriotic impulse throw you into a fatal confusion. Obey no voice but that of the avowed chiefs appointed by the government. Rely upon the vigilance of your magistrates, and upon the exertions of your legislators, who have remained faithful to the cause of the people. Patriotism will resume all its energy, the constitution all its force, the nation all its glory, and every citizen will enjoy in their fullest extent, liberty, happiness, and tranquillity."

On the assembling of the council of five hundred, a message was

dispatched to the directory, requiring them to inform the council of the reasons for shutting up the hall where the council usually assembled; a committee of five was appointed to consider of the measures necessary for the public security; and the council declared its sitting permanent. In the council of ancients a similar proceeding was adopted.

The following is the message of the directory to the council of ancients, and is dated on the day in which the event took place.

'Citizens representatives,

'The executive directory hastens to communicate to you the measures it has been forced to take, for the safety of the country, and the maintenance of the constitution. With this view, it transmits to you all the papers it has collected, as well as those it published before you were assembled. If it had withheld itself from action one day more, the republic would have been delivered up to its enemies. The halls themselves in which you meet were the points of union of the conspirators; it was from thence that they yesterday emitted their cards and certificates for the delivery of arms; it was from thence that they corresponded with their accomplices last night: and, finally, it is there, or in the environs, that they still endeavour to make seditious and clandestine assemblages, which the police is now employed in dispersing. It would have been to commit the public security, and that of the faithful representatives, to have allowed them to be confounded with the other enemies of the country. You see, citizens representatives, that the conduct of the directory was marked out by the instant necessity of being beforehand with these conspirators, who

who were destroying the government, who wished to deprive the French of the fruit of their triumphs, and to make this magnanimous nation bow at the feet of the kings it has subdued. In affairs of state, extreme measures can be estimated by circumstances alone: you will form a judgment of those which have determined the executive directory, and which have produced the happiest consequences. The 18th Fructidor (September 4) will be a celebrated day in the annals of France; it is the more memorable, because it enables you to fix for ever the destinies of the republic. Lay hold of this occasion, citizens representatives; convert it into a great epoch; re-animate patriotism; revive public spirit; and hasten to close up the abyss in which the friends of kings had flattered themselves they would bury even the remembrance of our liberty.

P. S. The executive directory will transmit to you without delay other papers, from which it results that Imbert Colomes, one of the new third of the council of five hundred, was the principal agent of the *foi-disant* Louis XVIII. at Lyons.

The message to the council of five hundred was evidently intended as a preface to certain motions which were to be made in the council, and to certain measures to be adopted against the conspirators.

Citizens representatives,

'The 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4) is destined to be the salvation both of the republic and of yourselves. The people expect this. You witnessed yesterday their tranquillity and their joy. This day is the 19th Fructidor (Sept. 5), and the people ask of you where the republic

is, and what you have done for its consolidation? The eye of the country, citizens representatives, looks towards you. The moment is decisive; if you allow it to pass by, if you hesitate on the measures which are to be taken, if you put off your decision for a moment, all will be lost, both you and the republic. The conspirators have been upon the watch. Your silence has given them courage and audacity; they are intriguing afresh, and are misleading public opinion by infamous libels. The journalists of Blackenbourg and London continue to disseminate their poison. The conspirators do not attempt to conceal the fact, that their plot extends to the legislative body itself. They already speak of punishing the republicans for the commencement of the triumph they think they have obtained. Is it possible to hesitate still as to the measure of purging the soil of the very few known and avowed chiefs of these royalist conspirators, who wait for the convenient opportunity to destroy the republic, and to devour you yourselves? You are at the brink of the volcano; it is about to swallow you up; you may close it; and can you hesitate? To-morrow it will be too late. The least hesitation is the death of the republic. You will be told of principles, formalities will be resorted to, excuses will be invented; delays will be called for, time will be gained, and the constitution will be assassinated, under pretext of keeping within its limits. This commiseration, implored in favour of certain men, to what will it lead you! to see these very men take out of your hands the thread of their criminal conspiracies, and collect in your bosom the horrible firebrands of civil war, to set fire to

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the country. What a misconceived pity, what a fatal sentiment, what limited views would, in that case, draw the attention of the councils towards a few men, between whose fate and that of the republic they would hesitate! The executive directory has applied itself to point out to you the means of saving France, but it has to expect that you will avail yourselves of them. The directory has felt a persuasion that you are sincerely attached to liberty and the republic, and that the consequences of this first liberty ought not to terrify you. It lays them before you, and is obliged to tell you that you are placed in an unprecedented predicament, and that ordinary rules cannot apply to an extraordinary case, unless you are desirous to surrender yourselves to your enemies. If the friends of kings find friends among you; if slaves can meet with protectors in you; if you wait an instant, the safety of France must be despaired of; the constitution will cease to be in force; and the patriots may be told, that the hour of royalty is proclaimed throughout the republic. But if, as the executive directory is fully persuaded, this terrible idea afflicts and strikes you, appreciate the value of the moment and embrace it; be the deliverers of your country, and lay the eternal foundations of its happiness and glory.

L. M. Revelliere.

Lepaux, President.

Lagarde, Secretary.

On the sitting of the 5th of September, the message of the directory was no sooner read in the council of five hundred, than Boullay de la Meurth (as the reporter of the committee of public safety appointed on the preceding day) ascended the tribune. He began by contrast-

ing the situation in which the republic stood, previous to the election of the new third, with that in which it was placed by the machinations of the royalist conspirators. He next entered into an examination of the measures pursued by the opposition party in the council; all of which he endeavoured to prove could have no other object than the restoration of royalty.—Without a doubt, he continued, an ordinary tribunal would declare the conspiracy real, and punish the authors. But let us declare to France, that not a drop of blood shall be shed—that the scaffolds of terror shall not be erected anew (*Bravo, Bravo! re-echoed from all quarters*). BOULLAY concluded by presenting the following plan of a resolution:—

The council of five hundred, considering that the enemies of the republic have constantly followed up the plan traced out to them in the instructions found upon Brotier, Bertherot, Laville-Heurnoin and Duverne de Perle, seconded by a crowd of royalist emissaries scattered through every part of France—Considering that it was specially recommended to these agents to direct the operations and choices of the last assemblies, primary, communal, and electoral, and to fix all the elections on the partizans of royalty—That, with the exception of a small number of departments, where the energy of the republicans destroyed their efforts, the elections had introduced into the public functions, and even into the legislative body, notorious emigrants, chiefs of rebels, and royalists—Considering that the constitution being attacked by a part of those whom it had particularly appointed

pointed for its defence, and against whom it had taken no precaution, it would be impossible to maintain it without recurring to extraordinary measures—Considering, in a word, that in order to extinguish the existing conspiracy, to prevent a civil war, and the general effusion of blood, which would have been the inevitable consequence of it, nothing can be more urgent than to repair the wounds inflicted on the constitution since the 1st Prairial last, and to take the necessary measures to prevent the liberty, the repose, and happiness of the people, from being in future exposed to danger—The council, after declaring urgency, adopts the following resolutions :

I. The operations of the primary, communal, and electoral assemblies in the departments of Ain, l'Ardoche, l'Arriege, l'Aube, l'Avignon, Bouches du Rhone, Calvados, Charante, Cher, Cote d'Or, Cotes du Nord, Dordogne, l'Eure, l'Eure and Loire, Gironde, Herault, Illie and Villane, Indre and Loire, Loire, Haute Loire, Loire Interieure, Loiret, Manche, Marne, Mayenne, Mont-Blanc, Morbihan, Moselle, les Deux-Nethes, Nord, Oise, Orne, Pas de Calais, Puy-de-dome, Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Rhone, Haute Saone, Saone and Loire, Sarthe, Seine, Lower Seine, Seine and Marne, Seine and Oise, Somme, Tarn, Var, Vaucluse, Yonne, are declared null and illegal.

II. Those of the electoral assembly of the department of Gers are declared legal and valid.

In consequence, citizen Dufuan is admitted into the council of elders ; and citizens Carriere, Lacarriere, and Sauran, into the council of five hundred.

The administrators, judges, grand jury, &c. appointed by this assembly, shall enter upon the exercise of their respective functions.

III. The elections for the department of Lot are in the same manner judged valid, contrary to a former decision, and the citizens chosen ; Lachiere, for the elders, and Poncet and Debrel, for the five hundred, shall take their seats.

IV. The individuals appointed to public functions by the primary, communal, or electoral assemblies, without exception of those appointed to the legislative body, by the departments above mentioned, shall, on the publication of this law, cease to exercise all their functions, under the penalties contained in the 6th article of the 5th title of the penal code.

V. The executive directory is required to fill up the vacancies in the tribunals in virtue of the preceding articles, as well as those which shall become vacant by resignation or otherwise, before the election in the month of Germinal, 6th year.

VI. The nominations made by the directory, in virtue of the preceding article, shall, in every respect, have the same effect, and the same duration, as if they had been made by the primary and electoral assemblies.

VII. The law of the 1st Prairial last, which, in contravention of the 78th article of the constitutional act, admits into the legislative body, the citizens Job Ayme, Merfan, Terrand Vaillant, Garr, and Polissart, is repealed.

VIII. The first article of the law of 8th Messidor last, bearing in contempt of the same article of the constitutional act, the recal of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the law of 3d Brumaire,

4th year, relative to the relations of emigrants, is likewise repealed.

IX. The 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the said law of the 3d Brumaire, 4th year, are re-established, and shall remain in vigour till four years subsequent to the proclamation of a general peace.

X. No person, the relation or connection of an emigrant, within the degrees prescribed by the second article of the said law, shall be admitted for the same space to vote in the primary assemblies, and cannot be appointed elector if he is not comprehended in one of the exceptions specified by the 4th article of the same law.

XI. No man can be admitted to vote in the primary and electoral assemblies, till he has previously taken, in presence of the assembly of which he is member, and deposited in the hands of the president, the individual oath of hatred to royalty and to anarchy, of fidelity and attachment to the republic and constitution of the 3d year.

XII. The 2d article of the law of the 9th Messidor last is repealed, in so far as it concerns the chiefs of the rebels of La Vendée, and the Chouans, to whom of consequence no provision of the article of the present law remains common. Those are deemed chiefs of the rebels of La Vendée, and of the Chouans, who are pointed out as such by the law of the 5th July, 1792.

XIII. The individuals after named, viz. Aubry, Job Ayme, Bayard, Blain, of the mouths of the Rhone; Boissy d'Anglas, Borne, Bourdon of Oise, Cadroi, Concherri, Deiahaye of the Lower Seine, Delarue, Doumère, Dumolard, Depiantier, Duprat, Gilbert Desmo-

lières, Henry Larivière, Imbert Colomes, Camille Jordan, Jourdan of the mouths of the Rhone, Gau Lacarriere, Le Marchand Gommecourt, Lemerer, Merzan, Madier, Millard, Noailles, Andre of La Lozère, Mac Curtain, Pavie, Pastoret, Pichegru, Polissart, Praire, Montaudo, Quatremère of Quincy, Saladin, Simeon, Vauvilliers, Vienot, Vaublanc, Villaret Joyeuse, Willot, all members of the council of five hundred; Barbe Varbois, Domans, Dumas, Ferrant Vaillant, Laffont, Ladebut, Lamaut, Muraire, Murinais, Paralís, Portalis, Rovere, Tronçon Ducoudray, all members of the council of elders; Carnot, Barthelemy, directors; Brotier, ex-abbé; Laville-heurnois, ex-magistrate; Duveme-de-Presse, called Dunan; Cochon, ex-minister of police; Doffonville, ex-clerk in the police; Miranda, Morgan, ex-generals; Suard, journals; Mailhe, ex-conventional; Ramel, commandant of the guard of the legislative body, shall, without delay, be transported to the place which the directory shall determine. Their property shall be sequestrated after the publication of the present law; and they shall not be allowed to interfere with it till after an authentic return of their arrival at the place of their transportation.

XIV. The executive directory is authorised to procure for them provisionally out of their effects the means of supplying their most urgent wants.

XV. All the individuals inscribed upon the list of emigrants, and not definitively erased, shall be obliged to quit the territory of the republic, that is to say, from Paris, and every other commune, of which the population is twenty thousand inhabitants, and upwards, in 24 hours after

after the publication of the present law, and in fifteen days from every other part of the republic.

XVI. After the delay allowed by the preceding article, every individual inscribed upon the list of emigrants, and not definitively erased, who shall be arrested within the republic, shall be prosecuted before a military committee, in order to be tried within twenty-four hours, according to the 2d article of the 4th title of the law 2d Brumaire, 3d year, relative to the emigrants.

The different provisions from the 17th to the 34th are solely relative to the mode of trying and punishing the emigrants and priests.

XXXIV. The decrees of the 1st of August, and 17th of September, 1793, and 21st Prairial, third year, which authorise the banishment of the Bourbons, including the widow of Orleans, and the confiscation of their effects, shall be executed, and all contrary provisions shall be of no avail. The directory shall be authorised to determine the place of their transportation, and allow them, out of their estates, the necessary means of subsistence.

XXXV. The journals, and other public papers, and the presses in which they are printed, are to be placed for a year under the inspection of the police, which may prohibit them in terms of the 335th article of the convention act.

XXXVI. The law of 7th Thermidor last, relative to private societies discussing political subjects, is repealed.

XXXVII. Every private society discussing political questions, in which principles hostile to the constitution of the third year, accepted by the French people, are professed, shall be shut up, and those of its members who shall have professed

such principles, shall be prosecuted agreeably to the law of the 27th Germinal, fourth year.

XXXVIII. The laws of the 25th Thermidor last, and 5th Fructidor, present month, relative to the establishment and organization of the national guard, are repealed.

XXXIX. The power of putting a commune in a state of siege is restored to the directory.

XL. The present resolution shall be printed, and sent to the council of elders.

The list of the members ordered to be transported being afterwards read, Savary, Boullay, and Tallien, spoke highly in favour of Normand, and proposed his erasure from the list, which was accordingly done.

Boullay made a similar proposition in favour of Thibaudeau. He bore witness to his attachment to liberty, and contended that in the report he lately made, he spoke the sentiments of the committee, and not his own.

Lehardy moved that the council should not decide *en masse* upon the fate of its members, but individually, after hearing every member who might chuse to speak for or against their erasure—which was adopted.

Dumont, of Calvados, and several other members, spoke in favour of Doulcet, whose name, as well as that of Thibaudeau, was ordered to be erased; Bailly de Torcey, Tarbe, and Noguiet Malguay, were also erased. Motions in favour of Duplat and Simeon were rejected, and the name of Ranel, late commandant of the guard of the legislative body, was added to the list.

The council of ancients concurred unanimously in the resolutions and proceedings of the council of five hundred. On the following day, on the motion of general

neral Jourdan (who at this time appears to have been reconciled with the directory), the council of five hundred proceeded to the nomination of proper persons to succeed the directors Carnot and Barthelemi. François de Neufchateau, Merlin, Garat, the generals Massena, Augereau, and Ernouf, Le Charlier, Charles de la Croix, Monge, and Gohier, were returned; out of these the council of ancients made choice of François de Neufchateau as the successor of Carnot; and a similar list being afterwards presented with only the insertion of the name of Talleyrand, instead of François de Neufchateau, Merlin, the minister of justice, was chosen as the successor of Barthelemi.

Such is the outline of this extraordinary transaction, on which we shall reserve our reflections till the publication of our next volume. By one party it is extolled as the only means of saving the republic—"as a great stroke applied in a great crisis, that crushed in an instant, and without the loss of a life, all the hopes of the enemy, and restored tranquillity to the interior"—while, by the opposite party, it is regarded as a violation of every principle of justice, as a sacrifice to a base and tyrannical faction, and as the overthrow of the French constitution.

Some documents were afterwards presented by the directory to prove the reality of the royalist conspiracy; and that general Pichegru in particular was engaged in the interest of Louis XVIII. These papers, though authenticated by the names of Buonaparte and Moreau, were, we confess, not satisfactory to us; but whatever might be the guilt of this general, or of any

other who was implicated in the affair, as Englishmen or friends of liberty, we never can approve the infliction of *any punishment*, in *any case whatever*, without a fair and open trial. Whatever may be the prejudices of speculative men in favour of any form of government, we will venture to assert, from the history of our own country, and from observation, that the TRIAL BY JURY is a practical improvement in government and jurisprudence which is worth all that speculative writers have ever produced, or modern reformers ever attempted in the science of politics. And we much doubt, whether to give up in a single instance so invaluable a privilege, to establish so bad a precedent, was not a more serious evil than any of those, with which, even taking for granted the statement of the directory themselves, the republic was threatened.

The event of the 4th of September probably contributed to the abrupt termination of a negotiation which was at this time carrying on at Lisle with the British government for the happy and desirable purpose of restoring peace between the two nations. In the course of the month of June a proposal having been made on the part of lord Grenville to the French minister for foreign affairs, for commencing a fresh negotiation, a passport was granted for a minister furnished with full powers to negotiate a definitive and separate treaty of peace, and Lisle was appointed as the scene of the negotiation. In the beginning of July, lord Malmesbury, the British plenipotentiary, arrived at Lisle; and, after exchanging his powers with the French plenipotentiaries, Letourneur *, Pleville, Pella, and Maret, had his first con-

* The director who went out on the preceding 20th of May.

ference of business on the 8th of the same month: in this conference lord Malmesbury delivered in his project as the basis of the negotiation—the leading articles of which were, that the principle of the state of possession before the war should be reciprocally adopted as the basis; and all conquests restored, unless such as should be excepted by the present treaty; and that all the conquests from the French republic by the British should be relinquished, and only Trinidad retained, as conquered from Spain; and Ceylon, and the cape of Good Hope, from Holland; a restoration of the effects of the stadtholder was also claimed, or an equivalent with a compensation for the loss of his hereditary dignities.

As the project of lord Malmesbury contained some particulars concerning which the French plenipotentiaries said their instructions did not fully enable them to conclude, they sent them, with their observations, to the directory; and, in the mean time, proposed to his lordship (on the 9th) to enter into some explanation concerning certain other points, the discussion of which might facilitate and hasten the important business. On his lordship assenting to this proposal, the French negotiators objected in the first place to the title of king of France, as used by his Britannic majesty, the abolition of which, they asserted, was essential to the full acknowledgment of the republic. The second subject on which they demanded satisfaction was, as his lordship justly remarks, of much greater importance; it was to ask, either a restitution of the ships taken at Toulon, or an equivalent for all which were either taken or destroyed in that port. They grounded their claim on the preliminary declarations of lord

Hood on his taking possession of Toulon, and on the 8th article of the declaration of the sections to him. They said that his Britannic majesty, in acknowledging the French republic, admitted that the sovereignty existed in that government, and of course the ships held only as a deposit by England, till this legal authority should be acknowledged, ought to be restored. The third question was, as to any mortgage which Great Britain might have on the low countries, in consequence of money advanced to the emperor; and they asked pointedly whether any such existed. On this last point the British negotiator, without replying to the question, informed them that, supposing the case to exist, the exceptions they required should have been stated in their treaty with the emperor. If they had taken the low countries with *all* their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that no exception was implied. As to the other questions, he said they went so far beyond his instructions, that he must make application to his court before he could proceed any further in the negotiation.

In this state the negotiation continued till the 16th of July, when lord Malmesbury received a note from the French plenipotentiaries, informing him that the French government, unable to detach itself from its treaties with its allies, required as a preliminary of negotiation, the restitution of *all* his Britannic majesty's conquests. To this note lord Malmesbury replied, in a conference, after having received fresh instructions from his court.—“That he was sure peace on such terms would not be heard of.”—His lordship added every argument in his power to convince them of the unreasonableness of the demand;

mand; but received for answer, that the instructions from the directory on that point were precise and positive; and therefore, before they proceeded, they must wait for further orders from the French government.

A considerable delay now ensued; but on the 12th of August one of the French plenipotentiaries informed lord Malmesbury, in confidence, that the delay was occasioned by the necessity of the French government consulting with its allies; and on the 14th he was given to understand that in four or five days the French ministers would receive their final instructions. On the 28th of August, however, a fresh cause of delay occurred in the negotiation; and the French ministers then informed lord Malmesbury, that the answer from Holland was so unsatisfactory, that the directory had remitted it to the Dutch ministers at Paris, who could not take it upon themselves to alter it in the way the directory proposed, but had been obliged to refer back to their own government for new orders.

While the negotiation continued in this state the important revolution of the 4th of September intervened. The old plenipotentiaries were recalled from Lisle, and Treilhard and Bonnier appointed in their stead. The first conference of business was held with the new plenipotentiaries on the 14th of September. The French ministers commenced with making the strongest professions of the sincere desire entertained by the directory for the return of peace; but the first and most material point, they observed, to be ascertained in every negotiation, was the extent of the powers with which the negotiators were vested; theirs, they said, would

be found to be very ample; and it was necessary to the success of their discussions that those of the British ministers should be equally so. They then proceeded to inquire whether lord Malmesbury was authorised to treat on a general principle of restitution or not. To this question the British minister strongly objected; and observed that from the very nature of the inquiry, he could not allow himself to give full credit to the pacific professions of the directory, or agree to what the French minister had asserted, that it was calculated at all to facilitate the negotiation. The French plenipotentiaries, on the other hand, persisted in their assertion, that a direct answer to their question was calculated entirely to promote the success of the negotiation, that it would *give it activity*, and prevent it from *stagnating*. They observed, that it might not be necessary for him to go to the full extent of his powers; but still it was necessary he should be invested with them, in order to bring the subjects immediately under discussion—Speed, said they, is our wish, and speed with peace for its object.

After a long discussion which it would be fruitless to detail, lord Malmesbury retired. On the 15th he received a note peremptorily asking whether his powers were sufficient to restore every possession taken from France or her allies; and, on his answering in the negative, he received on the following day another note requiring him to return in 24 hours, to obtain the necessary qualifications from his own court: and thus ended this unfortunate negotiation.

As the subject was canvassed at some length in the British parliament, we forbear to anticipate the
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arguments employed on both sides on this interesting subject, which will be impartially detailed in our succeeding volume. A negotiation equally fruitless was entered into by the French government with the court of Portugal, and a treaty was actually concluded at Paris, on the 10th of August, with the Portuguese minister, the chevalier d'Aranjo. Why the treaty was not carried into execution has never been satisfactorily explained: and we have only to remark that its rupture was generally attributed to the court of Lisbon, and was soon after followed by an almost unprecedented measure—the commitment of the chevalier d'Aranjo as a close prisoner to the Temple.

In reflecting on the present politics of Europe, there is little consolatory to the friend of liberty and of mankind. The French government has departed from the grand principle on which they professed to enter into war, to indulge in visionary schemes of aggrandisement, and to acquire conquests, which, in the end, will be destructive to themselves. They forget that the nation only which is happy and at peace

is truly great. They neglect the means of internal greatness, peace, and industry, to pursue a false glory which dazzles only to mislead and destroy.

With respect to ourselves, we are still convinced that the return of peace ought to be the principal, the sole object, with the British government; and that no colonial acquisitions can be an adequate compensation for even a single year of war. We are not of that class of politicians who are disposed to despair of our country. But our finances are deranged, and a season of tranquillity is necessary to restore them. Our commerce may not in appearance be diminished; yet, if the expenses with which it is at present burthened be taken into consideration, it can yet scarcely be said to be in a flourishing state. Our military arrangements may possibly be necessary for the security of the nation; but we are convinced that they are calculated ultimately to enervate and diminish its industry, which is the sole advantage Britain possesses over other European nations, its guardian, its support.

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1797.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

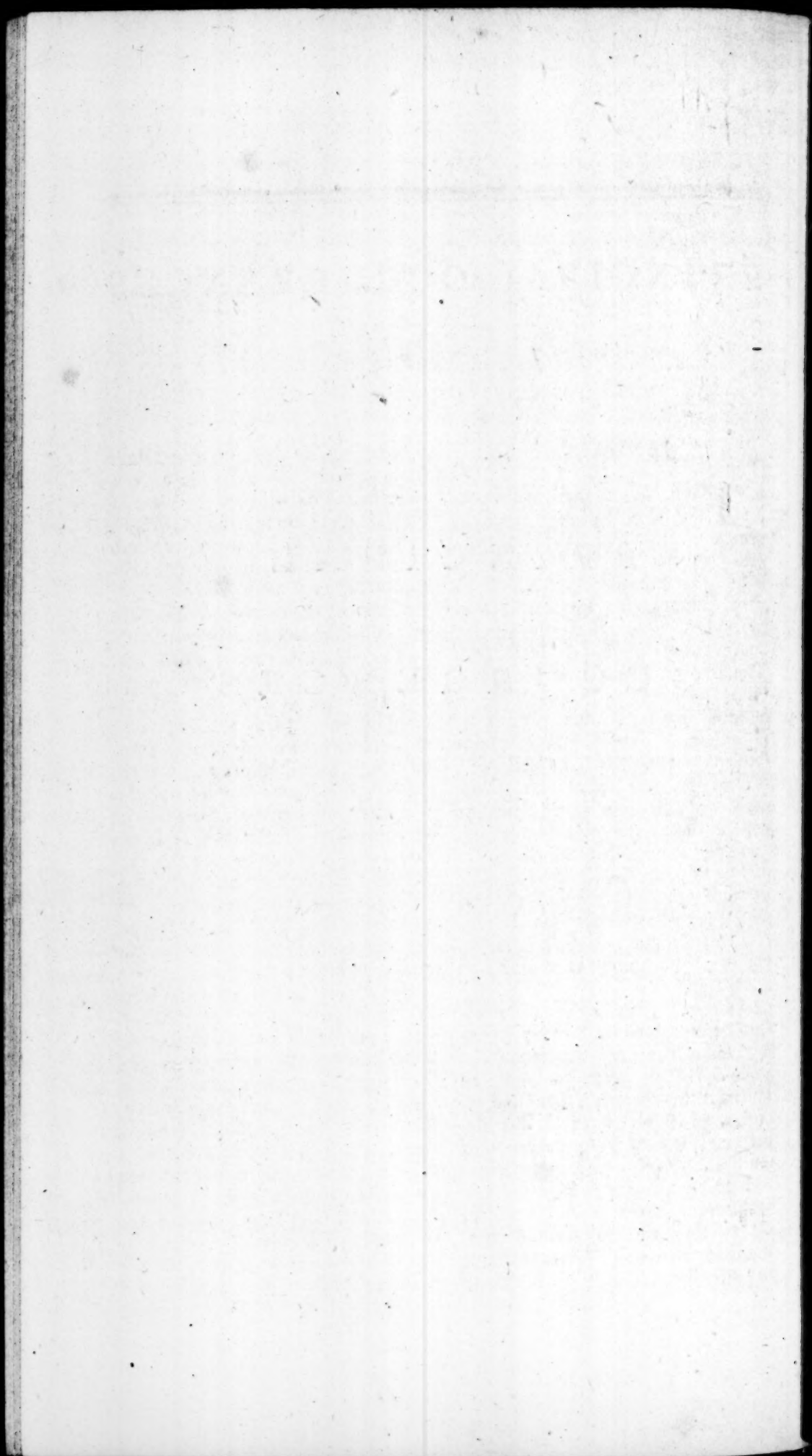
1797.	Bank Stock	3 per Cent.	ditto. conf.	4 p.c. conf.	5 p.c. ann.	Long Ann.	Short 1778-9	India Stock	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old New Ann.	Exche. Bills.	Irish 5 per cent.	Imp. 5 p.cents.	Imp. 3 Ann.	N. Loan 18 mil.	Lottery Tickets.	Irish Ditto.
Jan.	{ 146 1/2 138	{ 57 1/2 53 1/2	{ 56 1/2 54 1/2	{ 74 71 1/4	{ 84 1/2 82 1/4	{ 16 1/2 15 1/2	{ 7 1/2 6 1/4	{ 173 1/2 166 1/2	{ 15 dif. 21	{ 59 1/2 59 1/2	{ 55 1/2 54 1/2	{ 3 dif. 1	{ 73 71 1/2	{ 54 51	{ 10 1/2 10 1/2	{ 4 dif. 7	{ 12 1 11 13	{ 0 0
Feb.	{ 142 1/2 129 1/2	{ 55 1/2 51 1/2	{ 55 1/2 51	{ 75 1/2 65 1/2	{ 82 1/2 75 1/2	{ 16 1/2 15 1/4	{ 7 1/2 6 1/4	{ 164 151	{ 3 9	{ 58 1/2 58 1/4	{ 53 1/2 53 1/4	{ 3 2	{ 70 68 1/2	{ 53 1/2 49 1/4	{ 10 1/2 9 1/2	{ 7 1/2 10 1/2	{ 15 10 11 0	{ 0 0
Mar.	{ 136 128	{ 52 1/2 52 1/2	{ 52 1/2 50	{ 77 72	{ 77 72	{ 16 1/2 15 1/4	{ 7 1/2 6 1/4	{ 152 147 1/2	{ 4 23	{ 49 1/2 49 1/4	{ 49 1/2 49 1/4	{ 3 23	{ 69 67 1/2	{ 50 48 1/4	{ 10 1/2 9 1/2	{ 10 1/2 15 1/2	{ 60 0 15 0	{ 0 0
Apr.	{ 131 121 1/2	{ 50 1/2 47 1/2	{ 52 1/2 48 1/2	{ 62 62	{ 76 73	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2	{ 6 1/2 6	{ 151 147	{ 4 50	{ 57 1/2 52 1/2	{ 48 1/2 48 1/4	{ 2 3	{ 48 1/2 47 1/2	{ 48 1/2 47 1/2	{ 9 1/2 9 1/4	{ 5 1/2 pr. 1 1/2	{ 15 15	{ 0 0
May	{ 121 1/2 115 1/4	{ 49 47	{ 49 1/2 48	{ 62 59 1/2	{ 76 73 1/2	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2	{ 6 1/2 6	{ 151 143 1/2	{ 26 40	{ 54 53 1/2	{ 48 1/2 48 1/4	{ 2 3	{ 67 1/2 60 1/2	{ 51 1/2 44 1/2	{ 10 1/2 9 1/4	{ 12 1/2 13 1/2	{ 12 5 12 4	{ 6 16 6 6
June	{ 132 115 1/2	{ 53 46 1/2	{ 55 1/2 48	{ 65 1/2 59 1/2	{ 78 1/2 73 1/2	{ 14 1/2 13 1/2	{ 6 1/2 6	{ 168 144 1/2	{ 19 31	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2			{ 51 49	{ 10 1/2 10 1/2	{ 13 1/2 10 1/2	{ 12 4 12 0	{ 7 7 6 16
July	{ 133 127 1/4	{ 54 1/2 52 1/2	{ 54 1/2 52	{ 65 1/2 64 1/2	{ 77 1/2 75	{ 15 1/2 14	{ 7 1/2 6 1/2	{ 165 1/2 158 1/2	{ 3 20	{ 57 1/2 57 1/2				{ 49 1/2 48 1/2	{ 10 1/2 10 1/2	{ 12 1/2 10	{ 12 2 11 18	{ 9 0 8 10
Aug.	{ 132 128	{ 53 1/2 51 1/2	{ 52 1/2 50 1/2	{ 65 1/2 63 1/2	{ 76 1/2 74 1/2	{ 14 1/2 14 1/2	{ 7 1/2 6 1/2	{ 160 1/2 158	{ 11 16	{ 54 1/2 54 1/2				{ 49 1/2 48 1/2	{ 10 1/2 10 1/2	{ 12 1/2 10	{ 12 2 11 18	{ 9 0 8 10
Sept.	{ 131 120	{ 52 1/2 50 1/2	{ 52 1/2 47 1/2	{ 67 1/2 61	{ 76 70	{ 14 1/2 14 1/2	{ 7 1/2 7	{ 159 1/2 148	{ 4 16	{ 56 1/2 53	{ 52 1/2 52			{ 49 1/2 45 1/2	{ 10 1/2 10	{ 11 1/2 2	{ 12 0 11 13	{ 6 4 6 1
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Dec.	{ 118 1/2 116 1/2	{ 48 1/2 48	{ 49 1/2 49	{ 60 59 1/2	{ 73 72 1/2	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2	{ 6 1/2 6	{ 151 149	{ 10 14	{ 53 1/2 53 1/2	{ 48 1/2 48 1/4			{ 45 1/2 44 1/2	{ 9 1/2 9 1/2	{ 4 1/2 4 1/2	{ 11 16 11 13	{ 6 0 6

PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1797.

1797.

(A)



PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1797.

JANUARY.

2. **T**HE Lisbon mail, which arrived on Saturday evening, brings us the melancholy intelligence of the loss of his majesty's ships, the Bombay Castle, of 74 guns, commanded by capt. Sotheby, and the Courageux, of 74 guns, commanded by capt. Hallowell. The fleet of admiral sir John Jervis encountered a severe storm in coming through the Straits of Gibraltar. The Courageux was seen to go down.—Capt. Hallowell, the master, and about 100 of the crew were happily saved; but we lament to say that between 4 and 500 gallant men lost their lives.

The Bombay Castle was lost close to the Tagus, and the captain and all the crew fortunately saved.

The following are the official accounts of the attempt of the French upon Ireland;

Whitehall, January 3. By dispatches received on Sunday evening from the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, it appears that a part of the French fleet, consisting of eight two-deckers, and nine other vessels of different classes, had anchored in Bantry Bay, on the 24th ultimo, and had remained there, without any attempt to land, till the 27th in

the evening, when they quitted their station, and have not since been heard of. The wind, at the time of their sailing, blowing hard at S. S. E.

From their first appearance every exertion was made by general Dalrymple, the commanding officer of the district; and a considerable force was collected to repel the enemy.

The accounts further state, that the yeomanry and volunteer corps displayed the utmost zeal and alacrity in undertaking the guards in those places from whence the regular troops were withdrawn; and the universal readiness shewn by all descriptions of people to forward the preparations for defence, left no doubt of the event, in case the enemy had ventured to make a descent. In particular, the spirit, activity, and exertions of Richard White, Esq. of Seafield park, deserve the most honourable mention.

An officer and seven men were driven on shore in a boat belonging to one of the French ships, and were immediately made prisoners. This gentleman was conveyed to Dublin, and, upon examination, states that the fleet, upon its leaving Brest, consisted in all of about fifty sail, having an army of 25,000 men on board, commanded by general Hoche, and that it was destined for the attack of Ireland.

Whitehall, January 7. By dispatches received, this day by the
(A 2) duke

duke of Portland, from the lord-lieutenant of Ireland and Mr. Pelham, dated the 3d and 4th, it appears that a part of the French fleet had returned to Bantry Bay, and that another part had been seen off the mouth of the Shannon; but that both divisions had quitted their stations, and put to sea, on the evening of the 2d inst. without attempting a landing. The accounts of the disposition of the country, where the troops are assembled, are as favourable as possible; and the greatest loyalty has manifested itself throughout the kingdom; and in the south and west, where the troops have been in motion, they have been met by the country people of all descriptions, with provisions and all sorts of accommodations, to facilitate their march; and every demonstration has been given of the zeal and ardour of the nation to oppose the enemy in every place where it could be supposed a descent might be attempted.

Whitehall, January 17.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland to his Grace the Duke of Portland, dated Dublin Castle, Jan. 10, 1797.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your grace, that since the information transmitted to Mr. Greville, that the French had entirely left Bantry Bay, there has been no re-appearance of them upon the coasts; so that I trust, from the violence of the tempest, and from their ships being ill-found and ill-victualled, their expedition is for the present frustrated.

Upon reviewing what has passed during this expedition of the enemy, I have the satisfaction to reflect, that the best spirit was manifested by his majesty's regular and militia forces; and I have every

reason to believe, that if a landing had taken place, they would have displayed the utmost fidelity. When the flank companies of the Antrim regiment were formed, the whole regiment turned out, to a man, with expressions of the greatest eagerness to march; and the Downshire regiment, to a man, declared they would stand and fall by their officers.

At the time the army was ordered to march, the weather was extremely severe; I therefore ordered them a proportion of spirits upon their route, and directed an allowance of four-pence a day to their wives until their return. During their march the utmost attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed; so that in many places the meat provided by the commissaries was not consumed.—The roads, which in parts had been rendered impassable by the snow, were cleared by the peasantry. The poor people often shared their potatoes with them, and dressed their meat without demanding payment, of which there was a very particular instance in the town of Banagher, where no gentleman or principal farmer resides to set them the example. At Carlow a considerable subscription was made for the troops as they passed; and at Limerick and Cork every exertion was used to facilitate the carriage of artillery and baggage, by premiums to the carmen; and in the town of Galway, which for a short time was left with a very inadequate garrison, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants and yeomanry was peculiarly manifested, and in a manner to give me the utmost satisfaction. In short, the general good disposition of the people through the south and west was so prevalent, that, had the enemy landed,

landed, their hope of assistance from the inhabitants would have been totally disappointed.

From the armed yeomanry government derived the most honourable assistance. Noblemen and gentlemen of the first property vied in exerting themselves at the head of their corps. Much of the express and escort duty was performed by them. In Cork, Limerick, and Galway, they took the duty of the garrison. Lord Shannon informs me, that men of three and four thousand pounds a year were employed in escorting baggage and carrying expresses. Mr. John Latouche, who was a private in his son's corps, rode twenty-five miles in one of the severest nights, with an express, it being his turn for duty. The merchants of Dublin, many of them of the first eminence, marched sixteen Irish miles with a convoy of arms to the North, whither it was conducted by reliefs of yeomanry. The appearance in this metropolis has been highly meritorious. The corps have been formed of the most respectable barristers, attorneys, merchants, gentlemen, and citizens, and their number is so considerable, and their zeal in mounting guard so useful, that I was enabled greatly to reduce the garrison with perfect safety to the town. The numbers of yeomanry fully appointed and disciplined in Dublin exceed two thousand; above four hundred of whom are horse. The whole number of corps approved by government amount to four hundred and forty, exclusive of the Dublin corps. The gross number is nearly twenty-five thousand. There are also ninety-one offers of service under consideration, and one hundred and twenty-five proposals have been declined; and, in reply to a circu-

lar letter written to the commanders of the respective corps, their answers almost universally contained a general offer of service in any part of the kingdom.

Many prominent examples of individual loyalty and spirit have appeared. An useful impression was made upon the minds of the lower Catholics by a judicious address from Dr. Moylan, the titular bishop of Cork. I cannot but take notice of the exertions of Lord Kenmare, who spared no expence in giving assistance to the commanding officer in his neighbourhood, and who took into his own demesne a great quantity of cattle which had been driven from the coast. Nor could any thing exceed the ardor of the earl of Ormond, who, when his regiment of militia was retained as part of the garrison of Dublin, solicited with so much zeal a command in the flank companies, that I thought it a measure due to his majesty's service to encourage his lordship's request.

3. The London Gazette of this day announces the capture of *Le Suffrein*, a French vessel, with 250 troops, arms, &c. on board. She was taken off Cape Clear by Captain Sterling of the *Jafon*. Also of the *Didon* French cutter privateer, carrying four brass four-pounders and 30 men, by capt. Drew of the *Cerberus*. Also of the *L'Amaranthe* French brig, of 12 six-pounders and nine men, by the *Diamond*.

7. The London Gazette announces the capture of the *San Pio* Spanish corvette, of 18 guns and 140 men, by capt. Carthen of the *Regulus*; *Le Coup d'Essai*, a small privateer of 2 guns, small arms, and 28 men, by capt. Colvill of the *Star*.

8. The steeple of Horningtoft church, near Norwich, fell down;

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while

while the bell was ringing for divine service.

9. The London Gazette announces the capture of the L'Esperance French brig, by sir R. Strachan, of the Diamond; of L'Hiron-delle French privateer, of 12 guns and 70 men, by vice admiral Murray of the Cleopatra; and La Tortue, of 44 guns, 725 men, including troops, by capt. Lumsdaine of the Polyphemus.

11. About noon, a melancholy accident happened in Liverpool harbour. As Mr. Slack, deputy constable, was conveying a party of volunteers, raised in Manchester and the adjacent parishes, for the navy, the boat in which they were proceeding to the tender overfet, by which fatal accident 25 persons lost their lives.

The following address of the city of London was presented to his majesty by the lord mayor, accompanied by the aldermen Clark, Boydell, Le Mesurier, Sanderson, Curtis, Eamer, Newman, Anderson, Herne, Williams, and a few common council.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to approach the throne most humbly to thank your majesty for your gracious communication to both houses of parliament, of the measures adopted by your majesty on the recent manifesto of the court of Madrid, abruptly declaratory of an unprovoked war with Great Britain.

Your majesty's faithful citizens of London sincerely lament that your majesty's endeavours to preserve peace with Spain, and to adjust all matters in discussion with that court by amicable negotiation, have been rendered ineffectual, and the calamities of war thus unavoidably extended.

Nevertheless, relying on the justice of your majesty's cause, the resources of the country, the wisdom of your majesty's councils, and the bravery of your majesty's fleets and armies, we doubt not that, under the protection of Divine Providence, your majesty will be able to repel this unprovoked aggression, to subdue all your enemies, and finally to obtain the blessings of peace, to secure the dignity of your majesty's crown, and to advance the prosperity of these kingdoms.

Signed, by order of Court,

WILLIAM RIX.

His Majesty was pleased to make the following most gracious Answer:

I receive with great satisfaction this loyal address from my city of London.

I sincerely lament the failure of my endeavours to preserve peace with Spain; but, from the justice of my cause, the experienced valour of my fleets and armies, and the spirited and generous exertions of the nation at large, I trust, under the protection of the Divine Providence, that this aggression will be effectually repelled, and that the blessings of peace will be restored upon terms consistent with the honour of my crown, and with the security and interests of my people.

Alderman Herne, of Castle Baynard Ward, received the honour of knighthood, now sir W. Herne, knight.

12. At the Old Bailey sessions this day, the following singular cause was tried :

Launcelot Knowles was indicted for obtaining money under false pretences, and the indictment stated, that a person of the name of John Sanders was under judgment for a felony, and that the prisoner, intending to cheat and defraud one Ann Keys of a sum of money, knowingly and designedly did falsely pretend and affirm that he had great influence, credit, and interest with the duke of Portland, sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, and that by such influence, credit, and interest, he could procure pardon for the said John Sanders, and that he would procure such pardon, but that he must for that purpose have the sum of five guineas entrusted to him, for that he was to procure such pardon on paying one guinea through one channel, and another guinea through another channel, but that no part of that money was to be kept by himself. That the said Ann Keys gave him the sum of six guineas, and he said he would procure such pardon by exerting his influence, credit, and interest with the duke of Portland, sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, whereas in truth he had no such influence, credit, or interest with such persons, or with either of them, nor had he any reason to think that he had any such influence, credit, or interest.

Mr. Abbot opened the pleadings for the prosecution.

Mr. Garrow opened the case. The prosecution, he said, which the jury were now called upon to decide, appeared to him, from the facts on which it was founded, to be of the highest importance that could possibly occur to a court, or come before it in the shape of a misde-

meanour. It had been thought by those who filled the highest departments in the administration of public affairs, that it was their duty to lay this case before the jury, which involved in it the case of unfortunate individuals who were unable to protect themselves, and who had been the objects of the most rapacious and profligate plunder of the prisoner who now stood at the bar.

The charge which was exhibited against the prisoner was, what probably the jury would agree with him in thinking, came before them in a shape which the best men must lament to see, for the prisoner was only indicted for a misdemeanour. He really wished it had been an higher denomination of offence, and that to affect the prisoner's life. The charge, however, was only a misdemeanour, that of having obtained, at three several times, upon false pretences, the sum of six guineas of Ann Keys, by pretending to have interest with three most respectable persons, namely, his grace the duke of Portland, sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, as the jury has already collected from the opening of the indictment by his learned friend; and this was done under pretence, on the part of the prisoner, of procuring his majesty's pardon for a person of the name of John Sanders, who was convicted of a capital offence. Ann Keys was the mother of the unfortunate convict, John Sanders, and the prisoner now at the bar was introduced to her as a person who could procure his majesty's pardon to her son. The prisoner, without the least difficulty on his part, stated to this unhappy woman that he had such interest with the duke of Portland, sir Watkin Lewes, and Mr. Baldwin, as would enable him immediately to procure a remission of the capital

part of the punishment of her son, and that it might be followed, very soon, by a free pardon. But this, he said, was not to be done without money, for there was to be a guinea paid in one way, and a guinea in another, so that he was to have nothing of it himself. If the money could be procured, the pardon would follow as of course. The jury would easily conceive that a mother, believing that a pardon could be thus obtained for her son, would strain every nerve to procure the money. At first she could only raise three guineas, part of the sum which the prisoner required for this purpose: part of this she borrowed and gave to the prisoner. He then said, he must have more money. He appointed the next day to see her for that purpose. He afterwards gave the mother hopes that pardon would soon arrive; in the mean time he had two guineas more of her. She saw no more of him for a month, during which time she was in the most anxious suspense, dreading the execution of her son, but still waiting for the hopeful effect of this man's interest with these great characters. On a subsequent application from the prisoner to obtain another guinea from this poor woman, he had it, and that was all she could raise; she then said she hoped the pardon would soon arrive. He said it was actually accomplished, and only waited for certain matters of form that were absolutely necessary in such cases. He then asked her, in case the pardon came, how much more she would give him? She said, she would make it ten guineas. He asked how that was to be paid? She said she would give him her note of hand. No! a note of hand would not do; and finding he could not get any thing else from her, he made

use of a sentence that disgraced the character of a man. He damned her blood, and said he would do no more for her son; in that state he should leave her, and that he would use his influence to stop the pardon from going any further. In this distracted state this poor woman was left by the prisoner. However, she had afterwards an opportunity of stating her condition to those who, for the purposes of public justice, instituted this prosecution. The prisoner's pretence was that he had interest with the duke of Portland. That noble duke was at the head of that department of the state, from whence, on just occasions, the royal mercy flowed. It was the most valuable, the most important, and, he believed he might add, the most pleasant prerogative of his majesty, to shew his royal mercy; but he was confident that the noble duke would never suffer an appeal to be made to it, in his name, but in the most delicate manner, and on the most proper occasion. It was not to be obtained for money nor by any influence whatever, except in cases where it was just and proper that appeal should be made to the fountain of mercy. He should therefore be under the necessity of calling upon the noble duke to declare whether the prisoner had any influence with him: not that any man of sense in the kingdom could suspect such a thing, but merely out of form, to support one of the allegations of this indictment. He should put the same question, for the same reason, to sir Watkin Lewes and Mr. Baldwin. He should call the other witnesses to prove the case, and then, he believed, the jury would congratulate themselves on the opportunity they had of doing justice to the public in this most important case.

The

The conviction and sentence of John Sanders, the person for whom the prisoner pretended he would obtain a pardon, was proved, as a necessary point of form.

Ann Keys, the mother, was then called. She gave her evidence as follows:

I had a son of the name of John Sanders, he was convicted and confined in Newgate. I know the prisoner very well. He became acquainted with me by means of a woman of the name of Sells. He had done something for some smugglers that were confined. On the 1st or 2d of July, I do not know which, he came to me from Sells. He came to my house on a Saturday, but as I was not at home then, he came again on the Sunday afternoon. The first thing he asked me was, if I had a son in trouble? I told him I had. He told me he could be of great service to him, but it would be attended with a very great expence. I told him I was a poor woman, but I would do all that was in my power. He said he was sometimes a rich man himself, sometimes a poor man, sometimes a house-keeper, and sometimes a room-keeper. He told me he was a serjeant under sir Watkin Lewes in the city militia. He asked me what I would agree to give him for getting my son on board a man of war? I told him my son had served his majesty, and was wounded on the 1st of June; and that I wished him to serve his majesty again. He told me he could do it with a great deal of ease; that he had cleared smugglers, and that it was a great deal easier to clear a criminal than a smuggler, because smugglers were against government. He said, if I would put five guineas down, he would make no doubt but that he

should clear him, so that in a very little time he should go and serve his majesty. I agreed to give him five guineas. He told me if he could not get him to serve his majesty on board a man of war, he would return me my money again. He said he had an influence with Mr. Baldwin, and if he knocked at the door of the duke of Portland's house, he was introduced to his grace when noblemen in their carriages were obliged to wait. He told me he should not ask for any more money; but if he got my son on board a man of war, he should leave it to my generosity. He said he had an influence with his grace the duke of Portland's groom of the bed-chamber, and that he had been with him a great many times. I told him I had but three guineas then, but that I would the next day give him the remaining two guineas. I gave him the three guineas, and the next day he came for the other two. He said he had no doubt but that he should get the pardon, and that very soon, to go on board of a man of war, but if his free pardon came down he should not be surpris'd. All I wanted was a pardon on condition of his serving his majesty. He said that Mr. Baldwin was a great friend of his; that he was a serjeant in the city militia. Nothing further passed then. About a fortnight afterwards he came to me and shook hands with me; he wished me joy, and told me all was finished, but wanted to know if I could let him have a couple more guineas. I told him it was not in my power. He asked me if I would meet him in Newgate on the next Sunday, and let him have one guinea more? I agreed to meet him in Newgate, and I met him there in the condemned room, where my son

son was, and there I gave him one guinea. He shook hands with my son's friend, and wished him joy of his friend's pardon, which was come down, he said. I did not see him afterwards for a fortnight or three weeks, at which period he called at my house, and told me that all was settled, but asked me to let him have two more guineas. I told him it was not in my power to let him have it. I told him the agreement was for five guineas; and that I would give him more when my son was pardoned on condition of serving his majesty; upon which he put himself in a great passion, and said—"Damn his blood, he would not do any more for him; and he would stop what he had done for him." He told me he had saved his life. "No," says I; "you have not saved his life. Mr. Sheriff Liptrap has saved his life, if it is saved; for he had presented a petition for him." The prisoner said, it was the same sort of business as the smugglers': he had been promised 30*l.* for that, but had only 13*l.* He asked me what money I would give him of my own generosity, if his pardon should come down. I told him he had had six, and that I would give him four more, to make it 10. He said, "Ten!—what is 10?" "A great deal," said I, "for such a poor woman as I am." He asked me how he was to come at that money? I told him I would give him my note of hand. He said, that would not do. I said, "I would sell the bed from under me, when his pardon comes, to give you the money." He said, that would not do: it was not enough. At this time I began to suspect him. I thought he was a bad man. He said the money went through so many different channels, that he

should not have a halfpenny of it left for himself. From that time I saw no more of him, until I saw him at Bow-street.

Sarah Hackett corroborated the last witness, and swore she saw some of the money paid to the prisoner, who came to the mother's house in consequence of an application that she understood to have been made to him by the wife of Sanders, and who made that application to the prisoner after having heard that he had procured the pardon of some smugglers.

The duke of Portland was then examined to prove the matter of form stated by Mr. Garrow. The noble duke said, that the prisoner had no influence whatever with him.

Mr. Baldwin said, that certainly the prisoner had no influence with him, but on the contrary. That he held a confidential office under his grace the duke of Portland, through which the letters of pardon come. He had seen the prisoner, Knowles, before. He did not know whether it was for the purpose of soliciting pardon that he came to his office. He believed he might have come to his office to solicit pardon for Gee and Richards, two smugglers. The prisoner presented a petition at his office, and he thought he said he came from sir Watkin Lewes. Gee and Richards were pardoned, but they were pardoned on condition of serving in his majesty's navy, and they were very good seamen, and therefore it was thought proper under these circumstances to pardon them. Some time after this the prisoner, he thought, brought another petition to the office; whether it was for Sanders, or for a person of the name of Hill, he did not know. He asked the prisoner how
he

he came to have any thing to do with these matters, for he then began to suspect him, and doubted whether he was not improperly employed in that sort of business; and therefore told him, that any petition which he should bring after that would not be attended to, because he had great reason to think the prisoner was acting improperly. He therefore forbade his coming to the office on any business whatever: notwithstanding which, he believed that in a day or two afterwards he met the prisoner coming from the office. He asked him, how he could have the assurance of coming there after what had passed between them? and he would venture to affirm that the prisoner never could have any influence, or any chance of succeeding in any application that he should make at the office for pardon or any other favour.

This was in the summer; but whether in the month of July or not, he could not tell. Mr. Baldwin added, he thought it was fit that the court should know; he was sure it was fit that the public should know, that there was not one farthing of expence attending applications for pardons. No fees whatever are paid, nor any required that he knew of, upon these applications. That whenever a pardon was obtained it was without one farthing of expence in the granting it.

Sir Watkin Lewes was then examined. He said he knew the prisoner at the bar. He was recommended to him as a serjeant in the London militia. He told him he appeared to be too old for that office, but afterwards he told him he would make him a temporary serjeant, and that was the way he came to make use of the name of sir Watkin Lewes. He did not know him

antecedent to that time. Subsequent to that time he had employed him on various occasions, in going about business relative to the regiment, but on nothing else; and that he understood to be the principal employment. He had not the least influence with him. On the contrary, the prisoner desired him to give a letter to the duke of Portland or Mr. Baldwin relative to some pardon, but he positively refused, and told him he never did write a letter to the secretary of state, or make any recommendation in favour of any prisoner, unless upon petition presented and recommended by persons of respectability and whom he knew, stating the propriety of the application, and certifying the general good character and conduct of the person on whose behalf the pardon was solicited.

Mr. Knapp addressed the jury, on behalf of the prisoner, in a speech of considerable length, in which he contended, that, although it was clear from the evidence of the noble duke, of sir Watkin Lewes, and of his learned friend, Mr. Baldwin, that the prisoner had no influence with either, yet from all the circumstances of the case it was not unreasonable to suppose that the prisoner might have thought he could have succeeded in this case as he did in the case of the smugglers, and therefore there was no intent to defraud the person of whom the money was obtained for soliciting this pardon. He maintained that the parties had agreed in this case, that the prisoner should try what he could do; and although he failed, yet as he had used his endeavours, he had not obtained the money under false pretences, but was entitled to take it upon the general maxim that every labourer is worthy of his hire.

The prisoner said a few words in
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his own defence, but which had but little bearing upon the case.

The chief baron, in an able charge, stated to the jury the substance of the indictment, the whole of the evidence, and commented upon the points which were most material for their consideration.

This indictment, he said, was founded on an act of parliament passed in the 30th year of the late king. The necessary ingredients to prove this charge were, That the party accused should be proved to have represented himself to be in a situation in which he was not; or stating a thing to have happened which he knows has not happened; or stating that such a thing is likely to happen which he has no reason to believe will happen. These were the three ingredients which were necessary to substantiate the charge exhibited against the prisoner at the bar.

In considering this case, he thought it necessary to caution the jury in this stage of the business to repress all species of resentment against the act with which the prisoner was charged; to keep their minds perfectly cool upon the matter; and to leave out of the case entirely, for the present, all feelings of resentment against the detestable nature of the offence. This was important in many views of the subject. It was highly important to the individual who stood charged, and highly important also to the public administration of justice. It was impossible that any thing should be more important to this country than this; that the royal mercy should not be obstructed, or interrupted by the artifice of individuals making an impression against the propriety of applying for mercy, by the effect which their conduct might have in cases where they had attempted to

abuse that prerogative, and at the same time imposed on the minds of men who were overwhelmed with terror, when their lives were in jeopardy. And further, that the public opinion should be confirmed that the royal mercy flows in so pure a channel that nothing can corrupt or injure it. The price which we paid in this country for the due administration of justice and the settled rules of law, applied to the prerogative of mercy, as well as every other branch of distributive justice; because it was impossible to settle any precise rule of law which might not become too severe, if applied to every particular case that came under the description of that precise rule. Let precise rules be ever so wisely formed, some particular cases would fall under them, which, if judged of rigidly, would be hurtful to the feelings of the most humane and the most considerate; and therefore it was that the prerogative of pardon was given to the king, in order that those cases which could not be disposed of by these rules without great distress to our feelings, might be softened down by the exercise of royal mercy. Without such a prerogative, positive rules might sometimes occasion substantial injustice, and on this account his majesty's power to pardon became one of the great advantages of the subject. With respect to petitions for mercy, it was not to be considered that the leave to present a petition was matter of favour. It was the right of the subject in this country to petition for mercy as well as for any other object. When these petitions were presented, they were sifted as much as possible at the office of the secretary of state, and the result of the whole was laid before his majesty, who, with the advice of his council, disposed

posed of them as should seem meet.

The jury would now consider whether the allegations in the indictment were or were not proved; and that was their exclusive province to determine. [Here his lordship recited the evidence.]

The question for the jury would be, Whether the prisoner did or did not pretend to an influence which he did not possess, in order to obtain the money of this poor woman? In judging of this case, the jury would take the whole of it into consideration. The main points were three: Whether he did or did not misrepresent himself as to his own situation? whether he did or did not do what he did with intent to defraud; and, whether he did not actually obtain this money in consequence of false representations? If the jury found these facts in the affirmative, it would be their duty to find the prisoner guilty; if they doubted either of these points, they should acquit him.

The jury withdrew, and remained out of court for above half an hour, and returned their verdict—Guilty. This, although only a misdemeanor, subjects the prisoner to transportation for seven years.

There is another charge of the same kind against him at the instance of another person.

14. The London Gazette, announces the capture of La Mufette, of 22 guns and 150 men, by his majesty's sloop the Hazard; and of the Deux Amis, of 14 guns, and 18 men, by the Polyphemus and Apollo. These prizes were brought into Cork.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 14.
Copy of a Letter from Capt. Barton, of his Majesty's Ship Lapwing, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Basseterre Roads, Dec. 3, 1796.

SIR,

A packet leaving this place to-day for England, I embrace the opportunity, for the satisfaction of their lordships, to acquaint them that I anchored at St. Kitt's on the 25th ultimo, when an express boat had been sent from the island of Anguilla, to inform the admiral that the island was attacked by two French men of war, and several small vessels, containing four hundred troops. I felt it my duty (as the express-boat returned here with the loss of her main-mast) to leave the service I was ordered on, to endeavour to relieve that place. The wind, being to the northward, prevented my getting up there in time to stop them from burhing the town; but I have the pleasure to say, after an action of near two hours, I effectually relieved that island, by taking the ship and sinking the brig. The ship proved to be Le Decius, mounting twenty-four six-pounders, two twelve-pound carronades, and two brass field-pieces, with one hundred and thirty-three men of her own complement, and two hundred and three troops, commanded by citizen André Senis, and the brig La Vaillante, mounting four twenty-four pounders, with forty-five men and ninety troops commanded by citizen Laboutique. The particulars of the action I have transmitted to rear-admiral Harvey, for the information of their lordships.

I am, &c.

R. BARTON.

N. B. I am informed that they were picked troops from Victor Hugues, for the sole purpose of plundering and destroying the island.

R. B.

Parliament-street, Jan. 16. Dispatches, of which the following are an extract and copy, have been this day

day received by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from major-general Charles Graham, commanding his majesty's troops in the Leeward islands in the absence of lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B.

Extract of a Letter from Major-General Charles Graham to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, dated Head Quarters, Martinico, October 16, 1796.

Our affairs in Grenada wear the most favourable aspect. I may say, indeed, tranquillity is completely restored, as they enjoy it in the most comprehensive sense: the communication throughout the island is perfectly open; there are some few stragglers, no doubt, in the woods, but they never molest even single passengers, and their number is so inconsiderable, and their state so wretched, that they rather deserve our contempt than merit our resentment. Fedon has not yet been taken, and opinions are various with respect to his death or escape: the former, however, I think most probable, as it is reported a canoe, that had been overset, was found by a vessel some distance from the coast, with a compass nailed to the bottom, which was known to be one that he had had in his possession; it is therefore likely he may have been lost, in endeavouring to make his escape.

I embrace with satisfaction the opportunity this affords me of having the honour to inform you, that a negotiation has been opened, for a general exchange of prisoners, with the commissioners of the French republic at Guadaloupe; the commissary sent here to treat on that business has in consequence returned with two hundred; an equal number of ours are to be sent

by the cartel; when the business is finally settled, I shall have the pleasure of acquainting you with the particulars.

Head-Quarters, Martinico,

SIR, *Nov. 13, 1796.*

It affords me great satisfaction to have an opportunity of informing you of the entire reduction of the Brigands and Charibs in St. Vincent's, which was communicated to me by major general Hunter shortly after I had the honour of addressing you on the 16th ultimo; a copy of whose letter I herewith transmit, together with the return of killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES GRAHAM,
Major-General.

St. Vincent's, O^r. 18, 1796.

SIR,

When I had the honour of writing to your excellency on the 22d of August, I inclosed a copy of the terms offered to the Charibs by governor Seton and myself, in consequence of sir Ralph Abercromby's orders and instructions to me upon that subject. At the same time I acquainted you with the plan I had adopted in order to reduce the remaining brigands, and to compel the Charibs to surrender.

I have now the satisfaction to inform you of the total reduction of the Brigands and Charibs on this island.

Marin Padre, (a Negro of St. Lucia) who has commanded the Brigands and Charibs since the capture of the Vigie, and who had great influence and authority over both, surrendered on the 2d instant.

The number of Brigands who have surrendered or have been taken since the 4th of July amounts to 725, the number of Charibs to 4633, including women and children.

I have

I have much pleasure in making known to you, for his majesty's information, the zeal, activity, and humanity which have actuated every description of officers and soldiers employed under my command during the whole of the Charib war; and I am happy to say, that, notwithstanding the season of the year and the fatigue the troops have undergone, they are in general very healthy.

Inclosed you will receive a return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops since the commencement of the Charib war.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. HUNTER, Maj. Gen.

To his excellency

Maj. Gen. Graham,

Return of the Killed and Wounded of His Majesty's Forces in the Island of St. Vincent between the 20th of July and 15th of October, 1796.

26th light dragoons.—1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

Royal artillery.—1 gunner wounded.

3d foot, (or buffs).—4 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 19 rank and file wounded.

40th foot.—4 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

42d foot.—1 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

63d foot.—3 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded.

2d West India regiment.—1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 ensign, 3 rank and file, wounded.

Lewenstein's chasseurs.—4 rank and file killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Haffey's St. Vincent's rangers.—1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant,

6 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

Major Trench's St. Vincent's rangers.—2 rank and file killed; 2 serjeants, 8 rank and file, wounded.

Total.—3 serjeants, 31 rank and file, killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 12 serjeants, 1 gunner, 66 rank and file, wounded.

Officers wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Graham and ensign Towes, of the 2d West India regiment,

Lieutenant Millar of the 40th regiment.

Lieutenants Beaufire and Roquier, of Lewenstein's chasseurs.

Lieutenant M'Kenzie, of lieutenant-colonel Haffey's St. Vincent's rangers,

(Signed)

W. J. CURREY, Aid-de-camp.

Whitehall, Jan. 16. A letter, of which the following is an extract, has been received from governor Seton by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, dated St. Vincent's, October 12, 1796.

I have the satisfaction to inform your grace, that tranquillity is on the eve of being restored to this colony, owing in a very great measure to the unremitted exertions of major-general Hunter, and to his humane conduct towards the enemy of every description. All the Charib chiefs have surrendered, their people are coming in daily, and we have at this moment about three thousand five hundred in our possession. Nearly all the Brigands, with their leader, have also surrendered.

By a subsequent letter, from the governor to his grace, dated St. Vincent's, the 16th of November last, it appears, that the remainder of the Charibs and Brigands had surrendered

surrendered themselves, and that the island was in a state of perfect tranquillity.

16. The sessions at the Old Bailey closed, when the recorder pronounced sentence of death on Thomas Smith, for burglary, and stealing in the day-time; Nathan Jacklin, for highway-robbery; William Smith, William Green, John Milton, George Waring, and Tate Corbet, for burglaries; Thomas Ellstone, for returning from transportation; and John Bates, for privately stealing in a dwelling-house to above the amount of forty shillings.

John Cunningham, for manslaughter, was ordered to be imprisoned one year in Newgate, and fined 1s.

Elizabeth Waring, for receiving stolen goods, to be transported for fourteen years.

Lancelot Knowles to be transported for seven years: as were also Thomas Bull, Ann Rochford, George Morgan, W. Nowland, Mary Cordell, Eliz. Ogle, Eliz. Lewis, W. Wyatt, George Bird, Thomas Spencer, Elias Nathan, G. Bursbich, and James Dempsey.

Four were ordered to be imprisoned for two years, four for one year, and five for six months.

Ann Williams, Charles Harris, George Barber, and Mary Lumf-dale, who had been capitally convicted at former sessions, were put to the bar, and offered his majesty's pardon, upon condition of being transported to New South Wales for the term of their natural lives; which the three first accepted with thanks, but the latter absolutely refusing, she was ordered to a condemned cell.

The sessions were then adjourned to Wednesday the 15th of February next.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 17, 1797.
Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, November 10, 1796.

SIR,

I am to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that his majesty's sloop *Fury*, on the 18th ultimo, captured, between the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, a French national schooner, called *L'Elize*, carrying ten guns and fifty-six men, from Cape François going to St. Thomas, which captain Evans sent into Tortola.

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

17. The Irish loan of 300,000l. was taken by Messrs. Robarts, Curtis, and Co. bankers, of London, on the following terms:

For every 100l. subscribed,
100l. os. od. Irish 5 per cents.
4l. 15s. od. annuity, for 13½ years.

The interest to commence from the 25th of September, 1796, payable at the bank of England.

This day the following melancholy intelligence arrived from America.

Savannah, Nov. 29. On Saturday the 26th instant, this city exhibited a scene of desolation and distress, probably more awfully calamitous than any previously experienced in America.

Between six and seven o'clock in the evening, a small bake-house, belonging to a Mr. Gromet, in Market-square, was discovered to be on fire. The citizens, together with the officers and crews of the vessels in the harbour, were soon convened; but, unfortunately, no immediate

immediate and decisive measures were adopted, by which the fire could be stopped at its beginning. The fortunate escape from this destructive element which the city for many years past experienced, had greatly lulled the vigilance of its inhabitants, and prevented suitable preparations for such a calamity.

The period when such precaution and the united efforts of active exertion could have been used, was, however, of very short duration.

The season, for two months previous to this incident, had been dry; the night was cold, and a light breeze from N. N. W. was soon increased by the effect of the fire. The covering of the buildings being of wood, were from the above circumstances rendered highly combustible. Several of the adjoining houses were soon affected, and then almost instantly in flames: the wind now became strong, and whirled into the air, with agitated violence, large flakes of burning shingles, boards, and other light substances, which alighting at a distance added confusion to the other terrors of the conflagration.

The use of water was now rendered totally vain, its common extinguishing power seemed to be lost. Torrents of flames rolled from house to house, with a destructive rapidity, which bid defiance to all human controul, and individual exertions were from this time principally pointed towards the securing of private property.

The direction of the fire being now committed to the wind, its rage was abated only when, by its extending to the common, it found no farther object, wherewith to feed its fury.

On the north side of Market-
1797.

square, and thence in a south-easterly direction, the inhabitants were enabled, by favour of the wind, to save their houses, and limit the conflagration.—On the other hand, by the time it had extended on the bay, nearly to Abercorn-street, the prodigious quantity of heat already produced in the centre of the city began to draw in a current of air from the east, and enabled some of the most active inhabitants and seamen to save a few houses in that quarter, after having been in imminent danger.

Between twelve and one, the rage of the fire abated, and few other houses from this time took fire. The exhausted sufferers, of both sexes, had now to remain exposed to the inclemency of a cold frosty night, and to witness the distressing spectacle of their numerous dwellings, covered with volumes of smoke and flame, tumbling into ruins.

Thus was this little city, soon after emerging from the ravages of our revolutionary war, and which had lately promised a considerable figure among the commercial cities of our sister-states, almost destroyed in a single night. The number of houses (exclusive of other buildings) which are burned, is said to be nearly 300, but of this (together with an estimate of property destroyed) a more particular statement than we can now furnish, is expected shortly to be offered to the public. We can now only say, that two-thirds of the city appear in ruins, in a direction from the corner of Market-square, along the bay to Abercorn-street, thence in a south-east direction, taking the whole centre of the city to the south and east commons; a few houses quite in the south-east part
(B) only

only excepted. 'Tis said, that three or four white men, and two or three negroes, lost their lives in rendering assistance during the fire; and whether any more, is not yet ascertained.

During the conflagration on Saturday night last, in four hours, 229 houses, besides out-houses, &c. were burnt, amounting to one million of dollars, exclusive of loose property; 375 chimneys are standing bare, and form a dismal appearance — 171 houses only, of the compact part of the city, are standing — upwards of 400 families are destitute of houses.

New York, Saturday, Dec. 9. — Dreadful Conflagration. — About one o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in one of the stores on Murray's wharf, coffee-house slip, and raged with such fury as to baffle all human exertion, till it had laid in ashes the whole block of buildings included between that slip, Front-street, and the Fly-market. The number of buildings consumed may be from fifty to seventy, consisting mostly of large warehouses, with some large and valuable dwelling houses. The goods in the stores first burnt, were all consumed, with all the books and papers of the occupiers. Of this number are Messrs. Robinson and Hartshorne, Messrs. Loomis and Tillinghast, Wm. and S. Robinson, and the representatives of Nicholas Cook.

The merchandize in the stores nearer to the Fly-market was much of it saved.

Fortunately it was high water, and the wind off shore, by which means the shipping was saved.

The principal proprietors of the buildings burnt, are Stewart and Jones, John Murray, jun. John Marston, Robert Browne, John

Taylor, Carey Ludlow, Robert and Peter Bruce, and Henry H. Kip.

Other sufferers are Robinson and Hartshorne, Loomis and Tillinghast, estate of Nicholas Cook, David Wagstaff, Benjamin Strong, John Rathbone, Isaac Riley, David G. Hubbard, D. Bethune, and Co. Scheiwhauser and Co. — Many others who had property stored in the warehouses, have suffered greatly, but we cannot ascertain their names.

The progress of the fire was finally arrested by cutting down the fish-market.

It would be imprudent at present to hazard a guess at the amount of property destroyed. It must be immense.

The warehouses were all of wood, and many of them contained large quantities of rum and spirits, which rendered the flames terrible in rapidity and extent.

December 14. Serious cause of alarm! — Citizens of New-York, you are once more called upon to attend to your safety. It is no longer a doubt — it is a fact, that there is a combination of incendiaries in this city, aiming to wrap the whole of it in flames! — The house of Mr. Lewis Ogden, in Pearl-street, has been twice set on fire — the evidence of malicious intention is indubitable, and he has sent his black man, suspected, to prison. Last night an attempt was made to set fire to Mr. Lindsay's house, in Greenwich street. The combustibles left for the purpose are preserved as evidence of the fact. Another attempt, we learn, was made last night in Beekman-street. A bed was set on fire under a child, and his cries alarmed his family.

[In the course of the above conflagration at New-York, captain Sharpe,

Sharpe, and the crew of his majesty's packet the Swallow, exerted themselves in a manner to impress with the warmest gratitude the inhabitants of New-York. They cut out of the flames several vessels that had actually caught fire, and saved the lives of thirty persons who were on board. The papers are full of testimonies to their brave and humane exertions. We copy the following as an example.

At a meeting of the associated underwriters in the city of New-York, it being unanimously agreed to express the thanks of that body to captain Sharpe of his Britannic majesty's packet Swallow, for his exertions at the late fire, the following letter was yesterday addressed to him by their president.

JOHN FERRERS, Sec.
New-York, Dec. 10, 1796.

SIR,

The associated underwriters in the city of New-York take the opportunity, before your departure from this port, to express the sense they entertain of the services you rendered the commercial interests of this city, by your ready assistance and exertions at the fire which happened in the night of the 8th instant, to which must be attributed, in a great degree, the safety of a number of vessels from the consequences of that calamity.

They also request the favour of you to distribute the enclosed sum among those persons who aided you with their services on that occasion.

I beg leave to subscribe myself

In behalf of the association,

With much respect, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

C. SANDS, President.

John Sharpe, Esq. commander of his Britannic majesty's packet Swallow.

To which captain Sharpe returned the following answer:

SIR,

It gives me infinite satisfaction to find that any part of my conduct during the late melancholy and distressing conflagration, should be considered as meriting, in the smallest degree, the attention of so respectable a body of merchants; at the same time, I beg to assure you, on that calamitous occasion, I felt it no less my duty than my inclination to exert my best endeavours to stop the rapid progress of an enemy which threatened the total destruction of so great a commercial city. I feel, sir, deeply for the very heavy losses which many of the inhabitants of New-York must have experienced on the occasion, and lament that it was not in my power to have rendered them more effectual aid and assistance.

I cannot omit to express to you, how much I feel myself indebted to Dr. William Bache, for his indefatigable exertions and assistance on board the two first ships transported from the flames.

The sum of money which you have so liberally voted, shall be distributed agreeably to your wishes.

I have the honour to be,

With the utmost respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN SHARPE,

His Britannic majesty's packet Swallow.

Comfort Sands, Esq. president of the associated underwriters.

December 12, 1796.

Jan. 19. A considerable change has taken place in the position of the stones which form that extraordinary relic of the ancient superstitions of our countrymen, called Stonehenge. This change took place on the 3d instant, and is attributed

(B 2) tributed

tributed to the rapid thaw which on that day succeeded a very hard frost. The following is an extract of a letter from Salisbury on the subject:

On the 3d inst. some people employed at the plough, near Stonehenge, remarked that three of the larger stones had fallen, and were apprised of the time of their fall by a very considerable concussion, or jarring, of the ground. These stones prove to be the western of those pairs, with their imposts, which have had the appellation of trilithons. They had long deviated from its true perpendicular. There were, originally, five of these trilithons, two of which are, even now, still remaining in their ancient state. It is remarkable, that no account has ever been recorded of the falling of the others, and, perhaps, no alteration has been made in the appearance of Stonehenge for three centuries prior to the present tremendous downfall. The impost, which is the smallest of the three stones, is supposed to weigh 20 tons. They all now lie prostrate on the ground, and have received no injury from their aerial separation.

They fell flat westward, and levelled with the ground a stone also of the second circle, that stood in the line of their precipitation. From the lower ends of the supporters being now exposed to view, their prior depth in the ground is satisfactorily ascertained; it appears to have been about six feet. The ends, however, having been cut oblique, neither of them was, on one side, more than a foot and a half deep. Two only of the five trilithons, of which the adytum consisted, are now, therefore, in their original position. The destruction of any part of this grand oval we

must peculiarly lament, as it was composed of the most stupendous materials of the whole structure.

21. This night, at 11 o'clock, a cottage at Newtown Ferrers, about eleven miles from Plymouth, in which slept an industrious widow (cottager) and her two children, was overwhelmed by the bursting of a very large field and orchard on a hill above the cottage, in Memblard-lane. It totally destroyed the cottage and a barn, and suffocated the widow and her two children, who were found dead under a very great heap of earth, elm-trees, and cider-trees. A large chasm in the field above the cottage was found, out of which issued a rivulet of water. The farmers imagine it was owing to the bursting of a spring, that this accident happened. The bodies were dug out on Monday; and Mr. Whitford, coroner for the southern district of Devon, took an inquisition, and the jury returned a verdict, "Accidental death."

From the London Gazette, Jan. 21.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 20, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Harvey to Mr. Nepean, dated on board the Prince of Wales, Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, December 4, 1796.

SIR,

You will please to acquaint their lordships, that a few hours after I anchored with the Squadron in this bay, the 2d instant, I received a letter from captain Barton, of his majesty's ship, Lapwing, acquainting me that he had destroyed the French ship *Le Decius*, and *La Vaillante* brig, off St. Martin's, and that two French frigates, *La Thetis* and *La Pensée* were at anchor off St. Martin's; referring me to lieutenant St. Clair for further information.

In

In consequence of the two frigates lying at St. Martin's, I immediately ordered the *Bellona* and *Invincible* to St. Kitt's, and directed captain Wilson to obtain such information as was necessary at that island, and then proceed towards St. Martin's and Anguilla, using his best endeavours to destroy the French frigates, and protect the island of Anguilla; and he sailed the same evening on that service.

Captain Barton having referred me to lieutenant St. Clair, whom he detached in a Danish schooner with his letter, it appears that the French had landed about three hundred men on the island of Anguilla, the 26th ultimo, and that after having plundered the island, and burnt several houses, and committed every devastation possible, attended with acts of great cruelty; that on the appearance of the *Lapwing* they re-embarked their troops the night of the 26th, and the following morning, early, the *Lapwing* came to action with the *Decius* of twenty-six guns, and *Vaillante* brig, mounting four thirty-two and twenty-four pounders, as a gun vessel; that after a close action of about an hour the brig bore away, and in half an hour after the *Decius* struck her colours. The brig ran on shore on St. Martin's, and by the fire of the *Lapwing* was destroyed; that on the *Lapwing* taking possession of the *Decius*, it was found she had about eighty men killed and forty wounded, being full of troops; that the following day the *Lapwing* was chased by two large French frigates, and captain Barton found it necessary to take the prisoners and his men out of the *Decius*, and set fire to her, when he returned to St. Kitt's, and landed one hundred and seventy prisoners.

I shall take the earliest opportunity of transmitting any further accounts which may be sent by captain Barton; but it evidently appears that captain Barton's conduct was highly meritorious by the capture and destruction of this force of the enemy, and saving the island of Anguilla from further depredation.

The French troops employed on this service were picked men from Guadaloupe; and there is great reason to suppose the greatest part of them have been taken or destroyed. Many of the soldiers were drowned in attempting to swim on shore.

The *Lapwing* had but one man killed (the pilot), and six men wounded.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HENRY HARVEY.

Admiralty Office, Jan. 21, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Captain of his Majesty's Frigate, *Indefatigable*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated January 17, 1797.

I have the honour to make known to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on Friday last the 13th instant, at half past noon, in latitude 47 deg. 30 min. N. Ushant bearing N. E. 50 leagues, we discovered a large ship in the N. W. quarter, steering under easy sail for France; the wind was then at west, blowing hard, with thick, hazy weather. I instantly made the signal to the *Amazon* for a general chase, and followed it by the signal that the chase was an enemy. At four P. M. the *Indefatigable* had gained sufficiently upon the chase for me to distinguish very clearly that she had two tier of guns, with her lower deck ports shut, and that she had no poop.

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At

At fifteen minutes before six we brought the enemy to close action, which continued to be well supported on both sides near an hour, when we unavoidably shot a-head; at this moment the Amazon appeared a-stern, and gallantly supplied our place; but the eagerness of captain Reynolds to second his friend, had brought him up under a press of sail, and, after a well supported and close fire for a little time, he also unavoidably shot a-head. The enemy, who had nearly effected running me on board, appeared to be much larger than the Indefatigable, and, from her very heavy fire of musquetry, I believe was full of men; this fire was continued until the end of the action with great vivacity, although she frequently defended both sides of the ship at the same time.

As soon as we had replaced some necessary rigging, and the Amazon had reduced her sail, we commenced a second attack, placing ourselves, after some raking broadsides, upon each quarter; and this attack, often within pistol shot, was by both ships unremitted for above five hours: we then sheered off to secure our masts. It would be needless to relate to their lordships every effort that we made in attack, which commenced at a quarter before six P. M. and did not cease, excepting at intervals, until half past four A. M. I believe ten hours of more severe fatigue was scarcely ever experienced; the sea was high, the people on the main deck up to their middles in water, some guns broke their breechings four times over, some drew the ring-bolts from the sides, and many of them were repeatedly drawn immediately after loading; all our masts were much wounded, the main top-mast com-

pletely unrigged, and saved only by uncommon alacrity.

At about twenty minutes past four, the moon opening rather brighter than before, shewed to lieutenant George Bell, who was watchfully looking out on the fore-castle, a glimpse of the land; he had scarcely reached me to report it, when we saw the breakers. We were then close under the enemy's starboard bow, and the Amazon as near her on the larboard; not an instant could be lost, and every life depended upon the prompt execution of my orders; and here it is with heart-felt pleasure I acknowledge the full value of my officers and ship's company, who, with incredible alacrity, hauled the tacks on board, and made sail to the southward. The land could not be ascertained, but we took it to be Ushant, and in the bay of Brest, crippled as we were, I had no particular fears, but before day we again saw breakers upon the lee bow; the ship was instantly wore to the northward, and being then satisfied that the land we had before seen was not Ushant, the lingering approach of day-light was most anxiously looked for by all; and soon after it opened, seeing the land very close a-head, we again wore to the southward, in twenty fathoms water, and a few minutes after discovered the enemy, who had so bravely defended herself, lying on her broadside, and a tremendous surf beating over her. The miserable fate of her brave but unhappy crew was perhaps the more sincerely lamented by us, from the apprehension of suffering a similar misfortune. We passed her within a mile, in a very bad condition, having at that time four feet water in our hold, a great sea, and the wind dead

dead on the shore; but we had ascertained, beyond a doubt, our situation to be that of Hodiern Bay, and that our fate depended upon the possible chance of weathering the Penmark rocks. Exhausted as we were with fatigue, every exertion was made, and every inch of canvas set that could be carried, and at eleven A. M. we made the breakers, and, by the blessing of God, weathered the Penmark rocks about half a mile.

The Amazon had hauled her wind to the northward, when we stood to the southward; her condition I think was better than ours, and I knew that her activity and exertions were fully equal to any thing that could be effected under similar circumstances; the judgment with which she was managed during so long an action, and the gallantry of her attacks, could not but merit the highest commendation, and to the heart of a friend it was peculiarly gratifying. I have full as much reason to speak highly of my own officers and men, to whom I owe infinite obligations. The lieutenants, Thomson, Norway, and Bell, lieutenants, O'Connor and Wilson, of the marines, and Mr. Thomson, the master, have abundant claims upon my gratitude, as well as every inferior officer in the ship. The sufferings of the Amazon are unknown to me; and I am singularly happy to say that my own are inconsiderable. The first lieutenant, Mr. Thomson, a brave and worthy officer, is the only one of that description wounded, with eighteen men; twelve of which number have wounds of no serious consequence, consisting chiefly of

violent contusions from splinters. I am, &c.

(Signed)

ED. PELLEW.

The same Gazette announces the capture of La Ville de l'Orient, a large French ship, having on board 400 hussars, with a great quantity of ammunition, by the Druid; of the Atalanta of 16 guns and 120 men, off Cape Clear, by capt. Barlow of the Phœbe; of the La Favorite, French privateer, of 8 guns, and 60 men, by the Hind, lieut. Gardiner; of the brig l'Allegre, by the Spitfire; and of the l'Eclair of 18 guns and 120 men, by the Unicorn, sir Thomas Williams.

25. J. W. Haygarth, G. Trusfel, J. Bowen, A. Brown, A. Warham, W. Osmond, and W. Bampton, old lieutenants in his majesty's navy, are just chosen to be the seven poor naval knights of Windsor, a new establishment of a private nature, according to the will of the late S. Travers, esq.; each has an apartment near the castle, and 60*l.* per annum salary, independent of the half pay, with 12*l.* per annum additional to the senior. They are single, and without children, according to the said will. Two estates in Essex are settled in trust to make good the said establishment.

Downing-street, Jan. 30. Official accounts have this day been received from Mr. Robert Craufurd, of the surrender of Kehl, on the 10th inst. to the Austrians, after a siege of 49 days. It appears, that from Dec. 31. to Jan. 7, several attacks had been made by the Austrians upon the enemy's principal outworks, in all of which the former were completely successful. Mr. Craufurd speaks in the highest

(B 4)

terms

terms of the skill and perseverance of his royal highness the archduke Charles, the gallantry and good conduct of prince Ferdinand of Orange, and of the patience and cheerfulness with which the troops submitted to the greatest hardships.

31. About 6 this evening, as the earl of Strathmore was proceeding in a post-chaise near Finchley common, the chaise, in which were his lordship and a French nobleman, was stopped by two highwaymen, one of whom came up to the window, and presented a pistol to his lordship, which he attempted to fire, but it flashed in the pan; at the same instant his lordship discharged a piece at the robber, which shot him in the neck, and he directly fell from his horse, and expired. His companion made off with the greatest precipitation, leading off with him the horse on which his comrade had rode. On inspection of the body, it turns out to be that of William Lancaster, a very old offender, and who was liberated only on Monday last, having been confined on a charge of robbing lord Borringdon. His lordship, who was on his way for Scotland, immediately returned to town, and sending notice of the accident to the public office, Bow-street, Fugion and Rivett, two of the officers, who went down, instantly recognised him, although disguised in a most extraordinary manner. This is the same person who some years ago made his escape, when in custody for robbing Mr. Staley, a king's messenger.

31. The London Gazette announces the capture of la Liberté, a French lugger, of 3 carriage-guns, 4 swivels, and 18 men, by the

armed cutter Griffin, in Yarmouth roads.

FEBRUARY.

1. This night, colonel Frederic, son of the late Theodore, king of Corsica, shot himself in the west porch of Westminster Abbey.

2. The coroner's jury met at St. Margaret's work-house, in Dean-street, Westminster, on the body of the late colonel Frederic.

Thomas Sterling, of Northumberland-street, Strand, said he had known the deceased for a number of years, particularly for the last seven years, during which time the deceased had lodged in his house. That he had always been of a most lively disposition till within these few months, when his conduct became very unsettled; and he understood it arose from the derangement of his circumstances.

The witness gave a very long and affecting history of the deceased's life.

John Gretton, esq. of St. Margaret's-street, Westminster, gave a long account of his acquaintance with the deceased, of whom he spoke in the highest terms, and said, that about three months since the deceased called upon him, and appeared much altered in his conversation from what he had formerly been, and confessed he was distressed in his circumstances; that he had received a letter from the duchess of Wirtemberg, wherein she informed him, that, on account of the distressed state of Germany, it was not in her power to continue the annuity of 200l. a year to him, but, as a substitute, she had procured him a regiment of German infantry, in the disposal of which the deceased solicited the assistance

assistance of the witness, which was complied with, and every endeavour possible was made by the witness with the East India company and the Portuguese ambassador; by the former it was rejected, but the latter agreed to the hiring of the troops, but waited the sanction of his court; during the negotiations the deceased was very impatient, and called frequently on the witness, and every time the disordered state of his mind appeared to increase. Last Sunday when he called, his behaviour was so very violent, that the witness's wife and servants were apprehensive he was going to attack the witness's life, and he directed the witness to send a very insulting letter to the Portuguese ambassador to break off the negotiation.

Elizabeth Seagur, who keeps Waghorn's coffee-house, Old Palace-yard, said she had known the deceased for these ten years past. She described his deranged conduct within these few months.

William Lynn, surgeon, who examined the body of the deceased, described the mangled state in which he found the deceased's face and head.

Counsellor Robinson and Mr. O'Bryan, of Craven-street, Strand, were particularly intimate with the deceased, and gave an account of his conduct for these few months past.

A witness proved that the deceased borrowed a pistol from a pawnbroker, in St. Martin's-lane, a few days since.

The jury returned a verdict, that the deceased had shot himself in a fit of insanity.

The remains of this unfortunate gentleman were interred in the church-yard of St. Ann's, Soho,

near to the body of his father. The hearse was accompanied by two mourning coaches, in which were some gentlemen, who admired and esteemed him when living, and were solicitous of paying this last tribute to departed worth. — About an hour before the interment, a very respectable person desired to place upon the church-wall, at the head of the grave, the following character. It was submitted to the minister, who granted the request.

‘ Here lie the mortal remains of colonel Frederic, son of Theodore, king of Corsica. In his deportment he was a finished gentleman; in honour, honesty, and truth, he was princely. He was poor in circumstances, rich in the possession of the most liberal heart; and the greatest distress he laboured under was the want of abilities to relieve the distresses of others. — God be with him.”

A proclamation was issued ordering a general fast in England, on Wednesday, March 8; and in Scotland on Thursday, March 9.

A court of common council was held at Guildhall; present the lord mayor, 14 aldermen, the two sheriffs, and 200 commoners.

Mr. Woodbridge then moved,

That a dutiful and loyal address be presented to his majesty, offering our grateful thanks to his majesty for his constant and paternal regard for the prosperity of this country, and the welfare and happiness of his subjects, more particularly evinced in his majesty's most gracious and benevolent design of restoring peace to these realms, and deeply lamenting that his endeavours to obtain that desirable end have been unhappily frustrated by the abrupt termination

tion of the late negotiation in the haughty and insulting dismissal of his majesty's ambassador from Paris; expressing also the consolation we derive from the conviction that the calamities that may attend the continuance of the war, can only be ascribed to the exorbitant views and inimical disposition of the present government of France, and assuring his majesty he may confidently rely on the zeal, public spirit, and resources of this corporation, for every future exertion that may be deemed necessary for co-operating with our fellow subjects in the vigorous prosecution of a war, the termination of which the overbearing and unreasonable conduct of the enemy has rendered independent of his majesty's will; trusting however, that the united efforts of a loyal people may yet oblige the enemy to accede to a just, solid, and honourable peace for Great Britain and her allies, and thereby secure the future repose and tranquillity to Europe.

This motion was seconded by alderman Lushington.

Mr. Goodbehere, after calling for several addresses, which were read, moved, by way of amendment,

That the proposed address to the throne is unnecessary, as the testimonies of loyalty presented by this court, together with the support it has given and tendered in aid of the war, must have afforded indubious proof of this city's zeal and regard for the honour of his majesty's crown and the interest of his people, and cannot fail deeply to impress the royal breast with a sense of the inexpressible concern the members of this corporation feel in the frustration of the efforts

his majesty has employed to obtain the blessings of peace.

This amendment was seconded by Mr. Griffiths.

A long debate ensued, and the principal speakers were sir James Sanderfon, Mr. ald. Lushington, Messrs. Kemble, Dixon, Birch, Hodgson, Simmonds, Goodbehere, Griffiths, and Waithman.

The question being put, there appeared,

For the amendment,

2 aldermen

67 commoners

2 tellers

—

71

Against the amendment,

12 aldermen

123 commoners

2 tellers

—

137

Majority 66 against amendment.

Mr. Waithman, in a long and able speech, moved the following amendment:

That a dutiful and loyal address be presented to his majesty, assuring him of the lively interest we feel in supporting, as a branch of the constitution, the honour and dignity of the crown, and expressing our solicitude for the happiness of his majesty and his august family, regretting that the tenor of the instructions sent to lord Malmesbury, appointed by his majesty to negotiate a peace with the French nation, should have had so little tendency to conciliate the mutual animosities, and adjust the subsisting claims of the two nations; lamenting that his majesty's ministers, by preferring demands apparently inadmissible, should provoke the dismissal of his majesty's ambassador, and render the prospect

prospect of peace, so necessary to the welfare and prosperity of this country, an object of doubtful hope and fearful uncertainty — reminding his majesty, that his faithful subjects, during the present disastrous contest, have hitherto patiently submitted to oppressive and accumulated burthens and unconstitutional abridgment of their rights and liberties; and conceiving that a farther prosecution of the present war, for the support of his majesty's allies, (in which Great Britain hath no interest) would be highly detrimental to his majesty's subjects, and unavailing in its effects; to implore his majesty to direct that such steps may be taken to avert the evils inseparable from a continuance of hostilities, as shall manifest to the whole world a sincere and ardent desire on the part of this country, to heal the wounds of suffering humanity, and unequivocally to demonstrate a serious disposition to promote the repose of Europe, and to assure his majesty, that should unexpectedly his gracious endeavours to restore peace be defeated by the unreasonable demands of the French nation, that we will cordially co-operate in every measure that may appear necessary to compel the enemy to a pacification, consistent with the honour and dignity of the crown, and the liberties and independence of the people.

The amendment was negatived — the original question was then carried, and a committee appointed of all the aldermen and a commoner out of each ward, who withdrew, and drew up an address, which was approved and ordered to be presented to his majesty, by the whole court.

7. In the court of King's Bench,

lord Walpole v. lord Cholmondeley, this was a case which came before the court upon a writ of error from the Common Pleas, [see our last volume p. (24.)] where there had been a trial at bar, and a verdict had been given for lord Cholmondeley. In addition to the writ of error, there was a bill of exceptions, tendered on the part of the plaintiff in error, on account of the court of common pleas having refused to receive certain parole evidence at the trial.

The dispute arose upon the codicil of the will of the late lord Orford. His lordship had made two wills, the one dated in the year 1752, the other in 1756. — By the one, the estate went to the noble family of Cholmondeley; by the other, to that of Walpole. — The question at the trial was — To which of the two wills the codicil referred?

The single question of law now was — Whether the parole evidence which was offered to the court of common pleas, ought to have been received?

This question was very ably argued by Mr. Serjeant Williams, for the plaintiff, and Mr. Serjeant Palmer, for the defendant in error.

The court was unanimously of opinion, that the decision of the court of common pleas was right, upon the broad and general principle of law, 'that no parole evidence should be received to explain the meaning of a will, where there is no latent ambiguity in the instrument itself,' and therefore the judgment of the court of common pleas was affirmed.

11. In the court of King's-bench Mr. Law moved the judgment of the court upon John Smith, who had been convicted of a libel, [see last volume p. (67.)]

Mr.

Mr. Justice Ashhurst addressed the defendant to the following effect :

John Smith, you have been convicted of publishing one of the most villanous and atrocious libels that ever appeared in a court of justice. That libel is contained in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Duties of Citizenship*, and which has been so lately before the court, in the case of one of your brethren, John Birks, that it is quite unnecessary for me to repeat any part of it, for every man who heard it must remember, and remember with horror, the nature of its contents;—the tendency of which is to undermine and destroy all law, all government, and all religion; from the further publication of such materials, the world can never derive either amusement or edification, it is therefore much better to bury it in oblivion; indeed the only edification which others can derive, either from you or your conviction, is, that of learning from your punishment and example, that it is far better for them to endeavour to earn an honest livelihood by honest industry, than by endeavouring to debauch the minds, and contaminate the morals of his majesty's subjects.

But you have made an affidavit, in which a physician and a surgeon join with you, stating that the state of your health is such that a long imprisonment must necessarily occasion your death. When you published the wicked pamphlet, which is the subject of the present prosecution, you paid but little attention to the cause of humanity; for had it succeeded to the extent of your wishes, it might have endangered the lives of others, whose safety and welfare are far more important to society than yours; therefore an ap-

peal to the humanity of the court comes with an ill grace from your mouth; but this court will never lose sight of humanity, even to the most undeserving. You alleged that the condition of a certain prison was such as would occasion your death, if you should be confined in it. We therefore caused to be made diligent enquiry as to the state of the prison at Clerkenwell, and we are informed by Mr. Mainwaring and Doctor Glas, that although it has been represented to us as an unwholesome prison, where people are daily dying, yet the fact is not so, and that although Joseph Birks was sent there in a bad state of health, yet by the discipline of the prison he is restored to health; and that although 149 prisoners have been confined there for several months, there has not been one death, except that of one person who was brought there in a dying state. This intelligence has relieved the court from an anxiety which was the effect of its feeling and humanity. But our duty to our king and country demand from us to take care not to suffer to be let loose upon the public such monsters of iniquity as you are. The court having considered the whole of your case, doth therefore adjudge and order that, for this your offence, you be imprisoned and kept to hard labour in the house of correction, in Clerkenwell, for two years, and that, at the end of your imprisonment, you do enter into your own recognizance in the sum of 1000*l.* for your good behaviour for five years; and I wish you to keep it in mind, if you are guilty of any offence in that time, so as to forfeit that recognizance, you must take it upon yourself, and not upon the court that imprisons you.

Lord Kenyon—After the misrepresentation—

presentation which has taken place, and from what we now know of the prison at Clerkenwell, we were called upon, and we think we could not do better, than to send this person there. This prison, I verily believe, is admirably regulated. I wish that every other prison was in the same condition. I wish that every keeper of a prison would recollect and feel, that he owes a duty to the public, that is, to see that the prison under his care is duly regulated. Instead of this, I am sorry to hear that, in many prisons, there are some of the most shocking scenes of riot and confusion: that in some of them are committed offences of the greatest enormity. I wish the keepers of such prisons to remember, that their inattention in such cases is highly criminal in them. That such inattention in the keeper of a prison is, by law, an indictable offence. That there must be a reformation, a speedy reformation, in these things, or else severe punishment must follow.

The prisoner said, I will not detain the court for half a minute. This sentence is equal to a sentence of death upon me.

Lord Kenyon.—We have examined, with a minute anxiety, into the condition of this prison, and of this prisoner, and we have found the whole that has been represented by him is a gross imposition in every part of it. All that has been said by him with respect to the prison is grossly false. We have the examination of a physician respecting the state of the health of this very prisoner now standing upon the floor. That physician was asked, ‘Whether the state of the prisoner’s health is such as that his life would be endangered if he was confined and subjected to the discipline of this prison.’ That

very physician, who attended him for this very purpose, has answered that question in the negative.

14. The London gazette announced the capture of *La Sanspeur*, French cutter privateer, of two swivels and 18 men, by the *Siren*, capt. Gosselin.

Philadelphia, Feb. 8.

The president of the senate thus addressed the two houses:—

Gentlemen of the senate,
And gentlemen of the house of representatives,

By the report which has been made to congress by the tellers appointed by the two houses to examine the votes, there are—

Votes for

John Adams	- - - - -	71
Thomas Jefferson	- - - - -	68
Thomas Pinckney	- - - - -	59
Aaron Burr	- - - - -	30
Samuel Adams	- - - - -	15
Oliver Ellsworth	- - - - -	11
George Clinton	- - - - -	7
John Jay	- - - - -	5
Jeremiah Iredell	- - - - -	3
George Washington	- - - - -	2
John Henry	- - - - -	2
Sam. Johnson	- - - - -	2
C. C. Pinckney	- - - - -	1

The whole number of votes are 138; 70 votes, therefore, make a majority; so that the person who has 71 votes, which is the highest number, is elected president; and the person who has 68 votes, which is the next highest number, is elected vice-president.

The president of the senate again addressed the two houses—

In obedience to the constitution and laws of the United States, and to the commands of both houses of congress, expressed in their resolutions passed in the present session— I declare, that John Adams is elected president of the United States for four years, to commence

on

on the 4th of March next; and that Thomas Jefferson is elected vice-president of the United States for four years, to commence on the 4th day of March next. And may the sovereign of the universe, the ordainer of civil government on earth, for the preservation of liberty, justice, and peace among men, enable them both, conformably to the constitution of the United States, to discharge the duties of those offices with conscientious diligence, punctuality, and perseverance.

15. In the court of Chancery, the attorney general addressed the court as follows:

My lord,

In the cause of Burke and John Owen, I am humbly to move your lordship, that the defendant, together with his servants and workmen, may be restrained from publishing a work, intituled, 'A Letter from the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, containing fifty-four Articles of Impeachment against the Right Honourable Charles James Fox.' That the defendant and his servants may be restrained, by the injunction of this court, from publishing such work, as also such other of the plaintiff's letters as are in his hands.

It is stated, my lord, that in the year 1792, the plaintiff composed a work, consisting of a letter to his grace the duke of Portland. That it was never printed by the order of the plaintiff; that he never gave the defendant order to print or publish it, and that the plaintiff never parted from his property therein; and that therefore he ought to have the possession thereof; that the defendant obtained such letter, and has advertised the publication,

and is now publishing and making sale thereof.

My lord, I do not trouble your lordship with any observation of mine upon this case, my mind is hardly equal to framing observations that would sufficiently describe this transaction. I have an affidavit of these facts. They are positively sworn to, not by the plaintiff, for he is at present in the country.

The affidavits were then read.

Lord chancellor.—These injunctions have been very commonly granted, I believe, for printed works or publishing private letters. —Take your injunction.

18. The London gazette announced the capture of the Buona-parte privateer, of 17 guns and 82 men, by the Espion, capt. Dixon; and of the Jean Emilie, of 10 guns and 62 men, by the Triton; and of the Recovery, French privateer, of 14 guns and 46 men, by the same.

21. Announced in the London gazette the capture of the Difficile privateer, of 18 guns and 206 men, by the Phœnix, Triton, and Scourge; of Le Tartane, privateer of 16 guns and 60 men, by the Greyhound, capt. Young; and of the Le Flibustier, French lugger privateer, of 14 guns and six swivels, by the Eurydice, capt. Talbot.

22. In the court of King's-bench, *Eстен v. the duke of Hamilton*. This was an action brought to recover damages of the defendant, for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.

Mr. Gibbs opened the case on the part of the plaintiff; he stated that this action was brought by the plaintiff, Mr. James Esten, against the defendant, the duke of Hamilton, to recover compensation for an injury which he had received,

in consequence of what the jury had heard stated from the declaration.

The circumstances which ought to govern the conduct of a jury in estimating damages in cases of this sort, were different in almost every case from those which went before it; but the principle upon which these damages were to be estimated was always the same. The jury would apply the circumstances of this case to that principle, and then they would examine what compensation was in their opinion due to Mr. Esten; whatever they thought was due they would give to him, and with that he would be content.

Mr. Esten, in the year 1783, was the purser of a ship in the navy, and not opulent. He became acquainted with Mrs. Esten about this time, and in the year 1784 they were married; they lived together in England, where they had a daughter, the issue of the marriage; in the year 1787, they went from hence to Dublin; during all this time there was no imputation upon either Mr. Esten, or Mrs. Esten's honour; he continued to support himself and his family from his situation, which, as had been observed already, was that of a purser, and not a very opulent one. Mr. Esten was at this time incapable of making for his wife and daughter such further provision as he could have wished; and Mrs. Esten imagining she had, and as it appeared she had, talents for the stage, she tried such talents at Dublin, and she was successful, and consequently was soon enabled to support herself handsomely; but Mr. Esten not chusing to be a burthen upon his wife, and his embarrassment having increased on him, and finding that he was incapable of supporting his wife, and thinking it improper, if she was ca-

pable, that Mrs. Esten should support him, although so well able to support herself, determined on looking out for means whereby to better his fortune. Had Mr. Esten been left to his own choice, nothing would have contributed to his happiness so much as that of living with his family, but it became necessary for him to try to improve his fortune, and, therefore a temporary separation between him and Mrs. Esten took place. Mrs. Esten was accordingly left with the child at Dublin, and Mr. Esten returned to England, pursued the line of life which had been already mentioned, and continued from that time to the present without the least imputation upon his character. In the year 1789, Mr. Esten went as purser in his majesty's ship the *Europa*, from England to Jamaica, and from thence to St. Domingo, and entitled himself by his conduct to the regard of those under whom he acted, and was advanced to a situation of trust and profit, by which his fortune was much improved, which improvement he might have enjoyed with his wife, but for the conduct of the duke of Hamilton. But for the act of that noble duke, Mr. Esten might have enjoyed the society and comfort of his wife, and with that respect which he wished. Mrs. Esten continued on the stage until the year 1793. She quitted the theatre in Dublin and came to Edinburgh, and from the time she went on the stage to the moment he was about to speak of, the breath of scandal had been never directed towards her name; no imputation had been cast upon her, that she had been faithless to her husband's bed; and Mr. Esten hoped he would have been able, as he would have been but for the conduct of the

the defendant, to return to the domestic comfort which it was his object to prepare when he separated for a time from his wife; as he fairly left, so he hoped upon his return to find the honour of his wife. In the year 1793, as he had stated already, Mrs. Esten appeared on the stage in Edinburgh; there the duke of Hamilton met her; what means he used to corrupt her, he knew not, but the facts he had to state of her were these: that the duke of Hamilton went from his palace in Scotland to the theatre in Edinburgh, and openly, publicly, and in the face of day took Mrs. Esten into his carriage, and carried her with him in triumph to his palace, where they afterwards lived together publicly and avowedly as man and wife, and from that time to this the duke of Hamilton had cohabited with Mrs. Esten as his wife. The means by which he practised on her virtue he could not state, as he knew nothing of them. He was stating only the facts, for he knew of nothing else in the matter. These being the circumstances of the case, the only question for the jury would be, the damages they would give to Mr. Esten for what had happened. In speaking upon that subject, he should not deserve credit with the jury if he stated this as one of those aggravated cases which sometimes appeared before a jury.—This was not a case in which the defendant, the duke of Hamilton, had become the acquaintance with the plaintiff, been received into his house as a friend, and then, under the mask of friendship, had converted the opportunity which the plaintiff's hospitality had given him to the use of seducing his friend's wife, and afterwards had carried her away from that friend's house in which

he had been received as a guest. It was not a case in which there was that species of malignity. But the defendant was a man of high rank: he trusted the jury would think on the effect which the conduct of great men was sure to have on the morals of the lower classes of the community. It had been justly said by the noble and learned judge, that it was in vain for the higher ranks of society to expect their inferiors to be correct in their morals by mere precept; the great should set to them an example of good morals. It was their duty to do so; every intelligent man expected it of them, from the advantage of their education, and from the comforts which their fortunes so easily procured for them, so as they had less distress they had less temptation. He desired the jury to look at the situation and conduct of this defendant, and also at the situation and conduct of this plaintiff, at the time when this injury happened.—The plaintiff's wife, it was true, was not torn from his bosom; but while he was commendably endeavouring to improve his fortune, and had hopes of returning to his wife to enjoy it, this injury was done, which destroyed all his hopes. That he had great hopes of enjoying happiness with his wife, was evident, which he wrote to a friend when he was informed of what had happened. He said in that letter that he could scarcely give any answer to his friend upon the subject. He said that the temporary separation from his wife was absolutely for his fortune. He thought he should have been happy to return to a wife whom he adored. That he had always thought her immaculate. God only knew what means had been used to accomplish her ruin, &c.

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It might be said that Mrs. Esten was left in a situation where she was exposed to attack: that her husband left her on the stage, where she was much exposed. He did not know whether it was to be insisted upon, that a woman being left on the stage, without her husband, was a reason for the damages being small, for that much levity was natural to that condition; he knew the good sense of his learned friend would not induce him, of his own mind, to urge such a topic for defence to such an action as this. The theatre, like other situations in human life, was much diversified as to the morals of those who follow it as a profession. He knew many of that profession who were excellent examples for the practice of virtue and conjugal fidelity, and therefore he was confident the jury would not think that the damages should be the less, because the plaintiff's wife was on the stage at the time this injury happened. Had it not been for the conduct of the defendant, this lady's character might have been still immaculate. He had nothing extraordinary to urge on the part of the plaintiff for large damages in this case; what he had chiefly to urge upon that topic, was for the sake of example to the public. It was not very important to the plaintiff what the damages were, for they would never restore to him that which he had lost.—He was now in a situation that placed him above want, and that, in the present condition, was almost all he cared for. But although the question was thus indifferent to him upon the score of damages, it was by no means so with regard to the public, of whose good morals juries were the guardians. Here was a noble duke, who, in defiance of

1797.

all morality, goes from his palace to the theatre, and in the public face of day committed this very immoral act; carried the plaintiff's wife to his own palace, and from thence to London, and lived with her afterwards in open and avowed adultery.—He insisted very much on the necessity of the jury correcting this species of licentiousness in high life, by way of a wholesome lesson to all orders of the community, and to shew that the law does not allow a man, on account of his rank or fortune, to set public morality at defiance.

The marriage being proved,

Thomas Fairal, servant to his grace the duke of Hamilton, was examined. He said he had lived with his grace for upwards of twenty years. He remembered going with him from his palace in Scotland, to the theatre in Edinburgh, in August, 1793. He believed it was in order to fetch away Mrs. Esten.—The noble duke brought her with him to his palace. They have lived together ever since as man and wife. They are now in England, and have constantly and publicly lived together, and a child was born some time ago of Mrs. Esten.

Lord Kenyon asked, What was the age of the duke of Hamilton. He was answered that his grace was about 40.

His lordship asked, Whether the duke was divorced from his duchess? He was answered that it was understood that his grace was separated only, and not divorced from his duchess, but that he had been separated a long time before the cause of this action arose.

Mr. Erskine said he was of counsel for his grace the duke of Hamilton, who was called into the court according to the process of

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the

the English law, to answer to Mr. Esten, the plaintiff in this cause. There was no man less disposed than himself to differ from his learned friend, who was of counsel for the plaintiff, in a great many observations he had made to the jury this day, nor less disposed to differ from the learned and noble judge who sat upon the bench in the general sentiments he had uttered on the trial of causes of this description. But the more weighty the general observations were, the more important it was that they should not be misunderstood or misrepresented; that in the administration of justice, an example should be held up to the public in punishing any individual for an offence to public morals, growing out of an injury to another individual, was a doctrine to which he readily subscribed. But however deeply that was impressed upon his mind, yet when any individual came into that court to complain of a civil injury, he must have his case determined by the rules of the English law: and upon that broad principle he denied that the duke of Hamilton could be called upon to answer for this charge as the present case stood; and however the noble and able judge might lament the conduct of the duke of Hamilton in this case, and he did stand in that court to defend that conduct, yet he was persuaded his lordship would find himself called upon by the rules of law, which were more important in a court of justice than the conduct of any individual, however exalted he might be, to say that the plaintiff could not maintain this action. He admitted that the noble duke had been guilty of a breach of moral duty, but still the case must be disposed of according to the rules of

the law of England. He was not instructed by the duke of Hamilton to attack the character of Mr. Esten. He was ready and willing to admit that he became the husband of the lady because he loved her. It was extremely natural he should, for she was certainly a very handsome woman, and highly accomplished; he had, as well as many others, had occasion to admire her talents, as she had given public proof of them upon the stage. He did not accuse Mr. Esten of any thing dishonourable. He did not mean to say, that at the time he left his wife it was not necessary he should do so, in order that he might go to other parts of the world to increase his fortune. He admitted to the full extent the observations of Mr. Gibbs upon the virtue as well as vice of persons upon the stage. He had the pleasure to be acquainted with the greatest and the brightest character that ever appeared upon it; she was a pattern to others for her conjugal fidelity and her maternal affection, as well as for her transcendent talents; she was an ornament to her sex as well as to her profession. There were many others whose virtue was unquestionable; nor did he mean to insinuate that damages ought to be small, because the person alleged to be seduced had appeared upon the stage; no such illiberal idea had ever entered into his mind, and he hoped it never would. But the question here was, what was the situation of the party complaining? Upon that he maintained that the plaintiff had no right of action in this case. He might, however, if that was his object, go with his nonsuit before the house of lords, and he did not apprehend that that would be a reason for parliament refusing to grant him a divorce.

He

He held a paper in his hand, which would put an end at once to this cause, notwithstanding that the duke of Hamilton had done that with ostentation in public which ought not to have been done any where; and so he was sure his lordship would tell the jury when that paper came to be read. Mr. Estlin separated from his wife, no matter whether for a good or a bad reason. That separation put an end to his right to maintain this action. For the law of England in this case was governed by the very same rules that governed the Greenland fishery. If you strike a whale, it is yours while you keep hold of the line; keep the line fast and the fish is yours;—so that if you strike a whale in Greenland, and your line is long enough, the fish shall be yours, though it should pass to Nova Zembla, provided you keep hold of the line: but if you let go the line, the fish becomes the property of the next who strikes it.—So in this case, the wife would be the property of the plaintiff, had he kept fast the line: but having let go the line, she became the property of the next who struck her. Such were the plaintiff's and defendant's cases; for the law of Greenland with respect to whales, was the law of England with respect to women. The plaintiff in this case had let the line slip out of his hand when he signed an agreement for a separation between him and his wife.—[Here Mr. Erskine read the deed of separation, by which the plaintiff covenanted that he should have no future authority over his wife during life, and agreed to separate for ever.]

Lord Kenyon asked Mr. Gibbs what he had to say to this deed?

Mr. Gibbs said, he was aware of this deed, but he wished his lord-

ship to make a case of this, that it might be argued before the court.

Lord Kenyon said, he was of opinion that this deed put an end to this action, for the ground of the action was, that the plaintiff had lost the comfort of the society of his wife. If he gave up his right of insisting upon that society, as by this deed he clearly had, the very ground of the action was gone. He could not, however, forbear lamenting, that a branch of one of the oldest families in this country, one of the first in rank in North Britain, should be guilty of such indecorum as the noble duke had been in this case. He felt it as an instance of shameful depravity, and he should not be sorry if there were means of punishing him for his guilt, by the law; but he could not do it; his judgment must be consistent with the rules of law.

Mr. Gibbs asked his lordship to grant a case upon the subject.

Lord Kenyon said, that when a gentleman of known and acknowledged talents and abilities at the bar asked for a case, upon a matter which he really thought to be arguable, he should be sorry to refuse it, but he could not do that out of mere compliment to the anxiety of the parties. This was a point which did not involve any doubt, and therefore, unless Mr. Gibbs pressed it with confidence, he thought it his duty not to grant a case, for it would be idle to argue a thing that was already clear. Had there been only a temporary separation, he should have thought that no bar to the action; but here the separation was absolute, for the plaintiff could never compel his wife to return to him, and therefore this act, however immoral, and immoral it certainly was, and highly so from such an elevated

character as that of the noble duke, yet the plaintiff could not say on this record that he had lost the comfort of the society of his wife by the conduct of the defendant, since the plaintiff himself had given up his right to insist on that society.

The plaintiff was therefore nonsuited.

Saturday, Feb. 25.

The following letter was this day sent to the lord mayor of London.

‘ My Lord,

‘ I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that intelligence has been received that two French frigates, a corvette, and a lugger, appeared off the east of Pembroke-shire, on the 22d instant, and on the evening of that day disembarked some troops (reported by deserters to be about 1200 men, but without field pieces.) Every exertion had been made by the lord lieutenant and gentlemen of that county and its neighbourhood for taking the proper steps on this occasion; and the greatest zeal and loyalty has been shewn by all ranks of people. Immediately on an account having been received at Plymouth of this force having appeared in the Bristol Channel, frigates were dispatched from Plymouth in quest of them. I have the honour to be, &c. PORTLAND.’

This letter was followed in the evening by an extraordinary gazette; containing the same facts, as stated in a letter from lord Milford, lord lieutenant of the county of Pembroke; and accompanied with the following letter to the duke of Portland from lieutenant-col. Orchard, commanding the North Devon volunteers.

‘ I think it my duty to state to your grace that I yesterday received an express from Ilfracombe, men-

tioning that there were three French frigates off that place; that they had scuttled several merchantmen, and were attempting to destroy the shipping in the harbour. They begged that I would immediately order the North Devon regiment of volunteers under my command to march to their assistance. In consequence of this representation, I ordered the men to get ready to march as soon as possible. I have great satisfaction in saying, that in four hours I found every officer and man that was ordered to the parade at Biddeford (fifteen miles from home) ready and willing to march to any place they should be commanded to go to. I cannot express the satisfaction I felt on seeing the men so willing to defend their king and country; at the same time as silent, orderly, and sober, as might be expected at a morning parade of an old regiment. The greatest exertions were made by all descriptions of people to assist, and to render every service in their power. As I was preparing to march, I received an account from Ilfracombe, that the French ships were gone from the coast, and that tranquillity was again restored to the town. How far the report was well founded, I cannot possibly say; but, as this affair may be misrepresented and exaggerated, I trust your grace will excuse my troubling you with this letter; and I flatter myself it must give you pleasure to hear of the loyalty of this neighbourhood, and that the behaviour of the volunteers and inhabitants will meet the approbation of his majesty.’

Sunday, Feb. 26.

Another extraordinary gazette has the following extracts of letters from lord Milford to the duke of Portland.

Haver-

Haverfordwest, Feb. 24, 6 A. M.

'Since I had the honour of writing last to your grace by express, I have received information of the French ships having sailed, and left three hundred men behind, who have surrendered themselves prisoners. The great spirit and loyalty that the gentlemen and peasantry have shewn on this occasion exceeds description. Many thousands of the latter assembled, armed with pikes and scythes, and attacked the enemy, previous to the arrival of the troops that were sent against them.'

Haverfordwest, Feb. 24, 9 P. M.

'I have the honour and pleasure to inform your grace, that the whole of the French troops, amounting to near fourteen hundred men, have surrendered, and are now on their march to Haverfordwest. I have taken the first opportunity of announcing this good news to your grace, and shall have the honour of writing again to your grace by to-morrow's post.'

Whitehall, Feb. 27. 1797.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from the right honourable lord Cawdor, by his grace the duke of Portland, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

Fishguard, Friday, Feb. 24, 1797.

My lord,

In consequence of having received information, on Wednesday night at eleven o'clock, that three large ships of war and a lugger had anchored in a small roadstead, upon the coast in the neighbourhood of this town, I proceeded immediately, with a detachment of the Cardigan militia and all the provincial force I could collect, to the place. I soon gained positive intelligence they had disembarked

about 1200 men, but no cannon. Upon the night's setting in, a French officer, whom I found to be the second in command, came in with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose to your grace, together with my answer: in consequence of which they determined to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and accordingly laid down their arms this day at two o'clock.

I cannot at this moment inform your grace of the exact number of prisoners, but I believe it to be their whole force: it is my intention to march them this night to Haverfordwest, where I shall make the best distribution in my power. The frigates, corvette, and lugger got under weigh yesterday evening, and were this morning entirely out of sight.

The fatigue we have experienced will, I trust, excuse me to your grace for not giving a more particular detail; but my anxiety to do justice to the officers and men I had the honour to command, will induce me to attend your grace, with as little delay as possible, to state their merits, and at the same time to give you every information in my power upon this subject.

The spirit of loyalty which has pervaded all ranks throughout this country, is infinitely beyond what I can express. I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

Cardigan Bay, 5th of Ventose, 5th year of the republic.

Sir,

The circumstances under which the body of the French troops under my command were landed at this place, renders it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated

mated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer, and in the mean time hostilities shall cease.

Salute and respect.

TATE, Chef de Brigade.

To the officer commanding his

Britannic majesty's troops.

Fishguard, Feb. 23, 1797.

Sir,

The superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon any terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to shew an enemy whose numbers are inferior.

My major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by ten o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort that will conduct him to me without molestation.

I am, &c.

CAWDOR.

*To the officer commanding
the French troops.*

The city of London has been for some days thrown into a state of unusual alarm, by the stoppage of payment in cash at the bank of England. The following particulars will give an idea of this affair.

27. The critical posture of the empire making it necessary to take the king's pleasure on a step of the highest and most important nature, and which nothing but desperate alarm can justify, Mr. Shaw, the messenger, was sent on Saturday

to request his majesty to come to town on Sunday morning to assist at a privy council. It is the first time during his reign that his majesty has come to town to do business on Sunday. The council was accordingly held at St. James's; present his majesty, the chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of York, the duke of Portland, lord Grenville, the marquis Cornwallis, earl Spencer, and the earl of Chatham; the deliberation lasted till three o'clock, when a proclamation was directed to be issued.

As soon as the plan was agreed upon at the privy council, the ministers were met in Downing-street by the governor and deputy governor of the bank, Mr. Thornton; Mr. Bosanquet, and other gentlemen in the direction. It was communicated to them, and a long and warm conference took place on the occasion. — The substance of the measure is, a recommendation to the bank of England not to issue any more gold in payment of their notes until the sense of parliament shall be taken.

On this day (the 27th) the following notice was published by the directors of the bank.

Bank of England, Feb. 27, 1797.

In consequence of an order of his majesty's privy council notified to the bank last night, a copy of which is hereunto annexed,

The governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the bank of England, think it their duty to inform the proprietors of bank stock, as well as the public at large, that the general concerns of the bank are in the most affluent and prosperous situation, and such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes.

The directors mean to continue their usual discounts for the accom-

commodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in bank notes, and the dividend warrants will be paid in the same manner. (Signed)

FRANCIS MARTIN, secretary.
Copy of the order of privy council.

At the council chamber, Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1797.

By the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council. Present,

The Lord Chancellor,
Lord President,
Duke of Portland,
Marquis Cornwallis,
Earl Spencer,
Earl of Liverpool,
Lord Grenville,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Upon the representation of the chancellor of the exchequer, stating that from the result of the information which he has received, and of the inquiries which it has been his duty to make respecting the effect of the unusual demands for specie, that have been made upon the metropolis, in consequence of ill-founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country, it appears that unless some measure is immediately taken, there may be reason to apprehend a want of a sufficient supply of cash to answer the exigencies of the public service. It is the unanimous opinion of the board, that it is indispensably necessary for the public service, that the directors of the bank of England should forbear issuing any cash in payment until the sense of parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereupon, for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture; and it is ordered, that a copy of this

minute be transmitted to the directors of the bank of England, and they are hereby required on the grounds of the exigency of the case to conform thereto until the sense of parliament can be taken as aforesaid.

(Signed) W. FAWKENER.

A meeting was held on the same day at the mansion-house, of the merchants and bankers, &c. to consider of the steps which it may be proper to take to prevent embarrassments to public credit, from the effect of any ill-founded or exaggerated alarms, and to support it with the utmost exertions at the present important conjuncture.

The lord-mayor in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, that we, the undersigned, being highly sensible how necessary the preservation of public credit is at this time do most readily hereby declare that we will not refuse to receive bank-notes in payment of any sum of money to be paid to us, and we will use our utmost endeavours to make all our payments in the same manner.

BROOK WATSON.

This resolution, which is nearly a copy of that used in the year 1745, when there was a run upon the bank, was signed in a few days by the principal bankers, merchants, and traders; and the following appeared in the London Gazette.

At the council chamber, Whitehall, the 28th of February, 1797.

Present,

The lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being desirous to contribute, as far as we can, to the support of the public and commercial credit of this kingdom at this important crisis, do hereby agree and bind ourselves to receive

(C 4)

the

the notes of the bank of England in all payments as money, and to support, as far as depends on us individually, their circulation.

J. Cantuar,
Loughborough, C.
Chatham, P.
Dorset,
Leeds,
Montrose,
Roxburgh,
Portland,
Townshend,
Cornwallis,
Bute,
Pembroke,
Westmorland,
Chesterfield,
Sandwich,
Drummond Hay Kinnoul,
Macclesfield,
Spencer,
Liverpool,
Mornington,
Gower Sutherland,
Sydney,
Grenville,
Onslow and Cranley,
Walsingham,
Kenyon,
Malmesbury,
Auckland,
St. Helen's,
Henry Addington,
W. Pitt,
Henry Dundas,
Cha. Townshend,
C. F. Greville, V. C.
J. C. Villiers,
James Grenville,
R. P. Arden,
Wm. Wynne,
Thomas Steele,
A. Macdonald,
S. Douglas,
W. Windham.

For the farther proceedings on this subject, see the Public Papers of this volume.

Admiralty-office, Feb. 28, 1797.

Copy of a Letter from Commo-

dore Nelson to Admiral Sir John Jervis, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, dated December 20, 1796.

Last night at ten o'clock, I saw two Spanish frigates, and directed captain Cockburne, in the Minerve, to attack the ship which carried a poop-light; the Blanche bore down to attack the other. I have not yet received from captain Preston an account of his action; but as I saw the Blanche this morning to windward with every sail set, I presume she had not suffered much damage.

Captain Cockburne brought his ship to close action at twenty minutes before eleven, which continued without intermission till half past one, when La Sabina, of forty guns, twenty-eight eighteen-pounders on her main deck, two hundred and eighty-six men, captain Don Jacobo Stuart, having lost her mizen mast, (as she did after the action) main and fore mast, one hundred and sixty-four men killed and wounded, struck her colours.

You are, sir, so thoroughly acquainted with the merits of captain Cockburne, that it is needless for me to express them; but the discipline of the Minerve does the highest credit to her captain and lieutenants, and I wish fully to express the sense I entertain of their judgment and gallantry: lieutenant Culverhouse, the first lieutenant, is an old officer of very distinguished merit; lieutenants Hardy, Gage, and Noble, deserve every praise which gallantry and zeal justly entitle them to, as do every other officer and man in the ship. You will observe, sir, I am sure, with regret, amongst the wounded, lieutenant James Noble, who quitted the captain to serve with me, and whose merits and repeated wounds, received

received in fighting the enemies of our country, entitle him to every reward which a grateful nation can bestow. The Minerve's opponent being commanded by a gallant officer, was well defended, which has caused her list of killed and wounded to be great, as also her masts, sails, and rigging, to be much damaged.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

Killed. Seven.

Wounded. Thirty-four.

Missing. Four, supposed to be in the prize.

Officers wounded. Lieutenant J. Noble, Mr. Merryweather, boat-swain.

Petty officers killed and wounded.

Killed. One midshipman.

Wounded. Captain's clerk, and sergeant of the 11th regiment, serving as marines.

Damages. All her masts shot through, and furniture much cut.

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

[A second letter from commodore Nelson, gives an account of captain Cockburne's having by great address saved his ship against two Spanish line of battle ships, which were within shot of him.

Captain Preston, in the *Blanche*, silenced the ship he fought; but he could not take possession of her, owing to three more ships heaving in sight, and she therefore escaped.]

Downing-street, Feb. 28, 1797.

A Letter, of which the following is a copy, has been received from Robert Craufurd, Esq. by the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Head-quarters of the Austrian army, Mannheim, Feb. 7, 1797.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your

lordship, that in consequence of a capitulation concluded on the 2d instant, between lieutenant general the prince of Furstenburg and the French general commanding the works of the Tete-de-pont of Huningen, and of the island called the Shuster Insel, the said works and island have been evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by the troops of his imperial majesty.

The French had bestowed very considerable labour on this post during the time that their armies were advanced into Germany. The Tete-de-pont itself was supported and outflanked by the extensive horn-work on the Shuster island, as were both by the fire of the fortrefs of Huningen, as well as of several temporary batteries on the left bank of the Rhine. But a considerable quantity of heavy artillery having been sent to the Upper Brissgaw immediately after the reduction of Kehl, the attack, after its arrival, was carried on with effect; and by its successful termination the right bank of the Upper Rhine has been completely cleared of the enemy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ROB. CRAUFURD.

[The Gazette also contains a letter from rear admiral Bazeley, stating that sir John Colleton, in the *Swift* cutter, had taken the *Aventurier*, French schooner, carrying eleven men, with pistols and cutlasses.

Also a letter from captain Macnamara, of the *Southampton*, stating that he took the *Corso*, a Spanish brig.

Also a letter from captain Hargood, that the squadron off Scarborough had taken the *Victorieux*, of Dunkirk, mounting 4 guns and 30 men.]

MARCH.

MARCH.

The London Gazette Extraordinary.

Admiralty-Office, March 3, 1797.

Robert Calder, Esq. First Captain to Admiral Sir John Jervis, Bart. arrived this Morning with Dispatches from him to Mr. Nepean, of which the following are Copies.

SIR,

Victory, in Lagos Bay, February 16, 1797.

The hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet, expressed in my letter to you of the 13th instant, were confirmed that night, by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal-guns, and by intelligence received from captain Foote, of his majesty's ship the Niger, who had, with equal judgment and perseverance, kept company with them for several days, on my prescribed rendezvous (which, from the strong south-east winds, I had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than the distance of three or four leagues from us. I anxiously awaited the dawn of day, when, being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, I had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south-west to south, the wind then at west and by south. At forty-nine minutes past ten, the weather being extremely hazy, La Bonne Citoyenne made the signal that the ships seen were of the line, twenty-five in number. His majesty's Squadron under my command, con-

* Victory,
Britannia,
Barfleur,
Prince George,
Blenheim,
Namur,
Captain,
Goliath,
Excellent,
Orion,
Colossus,
Egmont,
Culloden,
Irresistible,
Diadem.

sisting of the fifteen ships of the line named in margin*, happily formed in the most compact order of sailing, in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half past eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect, and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be lost; and, confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers and men I had the happiness to command, and judging that the honour of his majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprise, I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system; and passing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one-third from the main-body, after a partial cannonade which prevented their rejunction till the evening;

and by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the ships named in the margin † were captured, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening.

† Salvador	Guns.
del Mundo	112
San Josef,	112
San Nicolas,	80
San Ysidro	74

I enclose the most correct list I have been able to obtain of the Spanish fleet opposed to me, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line, and an account of the killed and wounded in his majesty's ships, as well as in those taken from the enemy. The moment the latter (almost totally dismasted), and his majesty's ships the Captain and Culloden, are in a state to put to sea, I shall avail myself of the first favourable wind to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, in my way to Lisbon.

Captain

Captain Calder, whose able assistance has greatly contributed to the public service during my command, is the bearer of this, and will more particularly describe to the lords commissioners of the admiralty the movements of the Squadron on the 14th, and the present state of it.

I am, Sir, &c.

J. JERVIS.

List of the Spanish Fleet opposed to the British, the 14th of February, 1797.

	Guns.		Guns.
Santissima Trinidad,	130	Pelayo, - - -	74
Mexicana, - - -	112	San Genaro, - - -	74
Principe de Asturias	112	San Ildephonso, - -	74
Conception - - -	112	San J. Nepomuceno,	74
Conde de Regla - -	112	San Fran. de Paula, -	74
Salvador del Mundo	112 taken.	San Ysidro, - - -	74 taken.
San Josef - - -	112 taken.	San Antonio, - - -	74
San Nicolas, - - -	84 taken.	San Pablo, - - -	74
Oriente, - - -	74	San Firmin, - - -	74
Glorioso, - - -	74	Neptuno, - - -	74
Atlante, - - -	74	Bahama, - - -	74
Conquestador,	74	Name unknown, - -	74
Soberano, - - -	74	Name unknown, - -	74
Firme, - - -	74		

J. JERVIS.

List of Killed and Wounded in the Squadron under the Command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, in the Action with the Spanish Fleet the 14th of February, 1797.

14th of February, 1797.		Killed.				Wounded.				Total K. & W.
Ships.	Commanders.	Officers.	Seamen.	Marines.	Soldiers.	Officers.	Seamen.	Marines.	Soldiers.	
Victory,	{ Ad. Sir J. Jervis, K. B. 1st Capt. Rt. Calder 2d Capt. G. Grey	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	-	6
Britannia,	{ Vice Ad. Thompson Capt. T. Foley	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Barfleur,	{ V. A. W. Waldegrave Capt. J. R. Dacres	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	7
Pr. George	{ Rear Admiral Parker Captain J. Irwin	-	7	1	-	-	7	-	-	15
Blenheim,	C. T. Lenox Frederick	-	10	-	2	2	40	-	7	61
Namur,	Capt. J. H. Whitshed	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	7
Captain,	{ Commodore Nelson Captain R. W. Miller	1	20	-	3	2	50	-	4	80
Goliath,	C. Sir C. H. Knowles	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	-	8
Excellent,	Capt. C. Collingwood	1	8	2	-	-	10	2	-	23
Orion,	Capt. Sir J. Saumarez	-	-	-	-	-	7	2	-	9
Coloifus,	Capt. G. Murray	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	5
Egmont,	Capt. John Sutton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Culloden,	Capt. T. Troubridge	1	7	2	-	-	39	8	-	57
Irresistible,	Capt. G. Martin	-	4	1	-	1	12	1	-	19
Diadem,	Capt. G. H. Towry	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2
		3	59	6	5	5	189	21	12	300
		Blen.								

Officers Killed and Wounded.

Blenheim.—Mr. Edward Libby, acting lieutenant, wounded; Mr. Peacock, boatswain, wounded; Mr. Joseph Wixen, master's mate, wounded, since dead.

Captain.—Major William Norris, marines, killed; Mr. James Godench, midshipman, killed; commodore Nelson, bruised, but not obliged to quit the deck; Mr. Carrington, boatswain, wounded in boarding the San Nicolas; Mr. Thomas Lund, midshipman, wounded.

Excellent.—Mr. Peter Peffers, boatswain, killed; Mr. Edward Augustus Down, master's mate, wounded.

Orion.—Mr. Thomas Manfel, midshipman, wounded.

Culloden.—Mr. G. A. Livingstone, lieutenant of marines, killed.

Irresistible.—Serjeant Watfon, marines, killed; Mr. Andrew Thompson, lieutenant, wounded; Mr. Hugh McKinnon, master's mate, wounded; Mr. William Balfour, midshipman, wounded.

J. JERVIS.

List of Killed and Wounded on board the Spanish Ships, taken by the Squadron under the Command of Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. on the 14th of February, 1797.

Ship Names.		Kd.	Wd.
San Ysidro	Officers	4	8
	Artillerists, seamen, and soldiers	25	55
		29	63
Salvador del Mundo	Officers	5	3
	Artillerists, seamen, and soldiers	37	121
		42	124
San Nicolas	Officers	4	8
	Artillerists, seamen, and soldiers	140	51
		144	59
San Josef	Officers	2	5
	Artillerists, seamen, and soldiers	44	91
		46	96
Killed		261	
Wounded		342	
Total		603	

Note.—Among the killed is the general Don Francisco Xavier Winthuyfen, Chef D'Escadre.

Victory in Lagos Bay, Feb. 16, 1797. off Oporto merit my highest approbation. I am

SIR,

I inclose a letter received from captain Marsh, of his majesty's sloop the King's Fisher, whose services

Your most obedient
Humble servant,

J. JERVIS.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

King's

*King's Fisher, off Oporto,
January 28, 1797.*

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you that on the 23d inst. I fell in with two Spanish privateers; one of which, a lugger, mounting one carriage gun, and manned with thirty-eight men, I captured, and drove the other on shore, between Villa Conde and Vianna; the latter was a schooner, and, I understand from the prisoners, mounted twelve carriage guns, and was manned with between sixty and seventy men; those vessels had, for some time past, infested this coast, and had captured several English merchant vessels.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble servant,

EDWARD MARSH.

*Sir J. Fervis, K. B. Adm. of the Blue,
and Commander in Chief, &c. &c.*

4. The London Gazette of this day announces the capture of the L'Approprate brig, of 14 guns and 65 men; and the L'Hirondelle cutter, of 6 guns and 45 men, by the Stag, captain Yorke.

9. This day the bank began to issue dollars at 4s. 9d. each. There is the mint stamp affixed on each, which consists of the king's head marked on the king of Spain's neck.

11. The captures in this day's London Gazette are, the L'Impromptu, and the Le Bonheur, small vessels, by lieutenant Festing, of the Nimble cutter; and the Le Voltigeur French privateer, no guns and 23 men, by captain Talbot, of the Eurydice. The following list is also given.

A List of French and Spanish Vessels captured and destroyed by his Majesty's Squadron under the Command of Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren, K. B.

between the 24th of January and 7th of March, 1797.

French.

La Providence, sloop, in ballast, from Brest to Bourdeaux, sunk.

L'Intrepide sloop, in ballast, from Brest to Bourdeaux, sunk.

La Jennée, brig, wine and brandy, from Bourdeaux to Brest, sent to England.

Le —, brig, empty casks, burnt.
Spanish.

La Santa Theresa, brig, empty casks, from St. Andero to Vigo, burnt.

St. Jago de Compostella brig, in ballast, from St. Andero to Vigo, sunk.

J. B. WARREN, Commodore.

15. A fire broke out in a malt-kiln at Burwell, near Newmarket, occupied by M. Barlow and Wedge, which entirely consumed the same, with the malting, in which were 351 coombs of malt and barley, most of it damaged; also a house and workshop, the property of Mrs. Brown, fellmonger, widow, a house of Mrs. Mary Isaacson's, another of Rich. Buntings, a coal-shed of Mr. Robt. Edwards's, and part of the premises belonging to Mr. William Shaw. Fortunately, the wind blew from the south-east, which drove the flames towards the Fen. Bunting is a great sufferer; being a waterman, he had several sums of money belonging to Lynn, all of which were lost in the flames, not having time to get any thing out of his house.

17. Court of Common Council.

The lord mayor stated to the court that he had been requested to convene a common hall, which he had declined to do until he had taken the opinion of that court thereon.

Mr. Powel said it was improper for them to interfere with the livery

—it

—it had been once done before, but had caused great dissatisfaction.

Mr. Dixon stated his objections to such a proceeding.

Mr. Waithman desired his lordship to state what communication he had had with the gentlemen who signed the requisition.

His lordship then read the following papers :

To Brook Watson, Esq. Lord Mayor of the City of London.

My Lord,

We, the undersigned liverymen, in behalf of ourselves and the livery at large, request your lordship to convene a common hall, within eight days from the date hereof, to consider a motion then to be made, "That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace."

[Signed by 43 liverymen.]

He then read the answer, and the protest of the livery, which are as follow :

Manfion House, March 13, 1797.

Gentlemen,

I duly received on the evening of the 10th inst. the requisition whereby you desire me to convene a common hall, and within eight days from that date, to take into consideration a motion then to be made, "That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace." In answer to this your request, I think it my duty to say, that, under a full consideration of all

circumstances, it appears to me highly proper first, to consult the court of common council. They will meet on Friday the 17th instant, when your requisition shall be brought under their consideration.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

BROOK WATSON, Mayor.

Addressed to Joseph Jackson, apothecary, and 42 other liverymen who signed the requisition.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

My Lord,

We the liverymen who signed the requisition to your lordship, requesting a common hall to be convened for the purpose of considering a motion, "That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty upon the present alarming state of public affairs, &c." have received your lordship's answer thereto, whereby you decline to call a common hall until you have submitted the propriety of calling the same to a court of common council, which will be holden on Friday next.

Having taken the same into consideration, beg leave to suggest to your lordship, that we conceive any interference of the court of common council with our rights and franchises as liverymen, will be unconstitutional, and that it will be highly derogatory to the character of a chief magistrate of this city, (elected by the liverymen at large) to submit a requisition of his constituents for a common hall to the opinion or controul of a court of common council, elected by citizens, freemen, and householders. We do therefore, on behalf of ourselves and the livery at large, solemnly protest against any such interference

terference of the court of common council.

First, Because a common hall is constituted by the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, in common hall assembled, the livery being the sole known constituents of the chief magistrate, sheriffs, and other great officers of the city.

Second, Because the court of common council are not known to us as liverymen, but are merely representatives of the citizens free-men householders, several of whom are not in themselves of the livery, therefore cannot, according to the known laws and custom of the city, interfere with the livery without a gross and manifest violation of their rights and privileges.

Third, Because the right of calling common halls (other than for the express purpose of chusing officers) is vested in the chief magistrate. And when important and alarming circumstances have occurred to make it necessary or prudent to take into consideration circumstances peculiar to the times, such right hath not been exercised by the chief magistrate as an absolute right in him, but when requested by a respectable number of the livery to convene a common hall, it hath been (with very few exceptions) granted as of right and justice.

Fourth, Because the present times are as alarming and big with important events as any that occur in the history of our country. We therefore deemed it proper to apply to your lordship in the usual form to convene a common hall; but we can by no means consent to our requisition for that measure being submitted to the opinion of a body of men unknown to us in that character, who, in their close deliberations, have for the last three or four years agreed to resolutions of a di-

rect contrary tendency to those passed by the livery, the more especially when such of their deliberations and resolves have taken place subsequent to the resolutions at common hall, thereby intending to counteract the opinion of the livery at large.

Lastly, For the above and many other forcible reasons, we again request your lordship to convene a common hall without having recourse to the opinion of the court of common council, protesting, as we have before and still do protest, against any such interference. But if your lordship shall still persist in taking the opinion of that court upon this occasion (which we hope and trust you will not), then we shall feel the rights of the livery violated, and they thereby compelled to meet for redress of grievances as warranted by the existing laws of the country.

Signed by order of the liverymen who signed the requisition.

JOSEPH JACKSON, Chairman.

London, March 14, 1797.

Mr. Waithman then rose. He said the objections stated in that paper were so strong against having their requisition submitted to the decision of that court that little remained for him to state. That court had no right whatever to judge of the propriety of convening the livery; they were two distinct and separate bodies. The chief magistrate was elected by the livery, and could not, without the grossest insult to the livery, take the opinion of any other body of men. It was pretended that they were their representatives; it was no such thing; they represented the citizens householders. Many of the livery did not reside in the city, therefore had no share in electing them. He understood there was a private council

it held at the mansion house, on Sunday night, who had advised his lordship. He did not blame him in taking counsel, but it was a little singular that he should have selected such persons only who were members of the court, and who had been all on one side; indeed, they had guided the measures of the court for some years past. Mr. W. concluded with moving, "That it would be highly improper in this court to give any opinion respecting the propriety or expediency of convening a common hall." Mr. Alderman Skinner defended the common halls, and declared he had uniformly observed the greatest regularity; and particularly, when he was chief magistrate, he had an opportunity of knowing every precaution had been used to keep out improper persons.

Which was seconded by Mr. Slade. Mr. Birch moved an amendment, which not being seconded, he afterwards withdrew, tending to censure the proceedings of the common hall, and advising his lordship to refuse convening it. Mr. Hodson said, that they were not then debating whether it was proper to call a common hall; or whether their proceeding had been regular; but, whether it was proper for that court to interfere. The right of convening a common hall was vested in the lord mayor; and this court had no power or jurisdiction over their proceedings.

Mr. Combe observed, that as the general opinion upon the question was very manifest, there needed but little to be said upon the occasion. The circumstance most striking was the distance of the date between receiving the requisition and giving the answer, for it was dated and delivered on the 10th, and not replied to till the 13th; and as every one knew that his lordship was quick in conception, quick in discernment, prompt in action, and slow in nothing but speech, that distance of time, therefore, which occurred between the dates, was most probably occupied in consultation; and, by the long amendment moved by the worthy deputy, it should seem that he was of the privy council.

The lord mayor conceived an indignation was made that he had consulted administration. Sir James Sanderson moved another amendment, which, after a few remarks from Mr. Box and Mr. Simmonds, was withdrawn.

Mr. Combe said he had no such suspicion; he only deplored that those whom he had consulted, and

The motion was then agreed to by a great majority.

Mr. Birch moved the two following resolutions: That, at this important juncture, it is the duty of every loyal subject to make himself acquainted, as early as possible, with the use of arms, under the operation of the volunteer corps bill, as well to defend his own person and property, as the invaluable constitution under whose privileges and protection he lives, from the open or secret attacks of enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

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mettle, who may avail themselves of the circumstances of the times to invade the safety of either.

That the members of this corporation; ever faithful to their professions of duty to their sovereign and veneration for the constitution of their country, and zealous for the honour and security of those whom they represent, think it an indispensable obligation on their part to stand foremost in so patriotic a work; and to recommend to the aldermen and common council of each ward to convene a public meeting of the loyal house-keepers within their said wards, to make good their former declarations, and to associate immediately for the above purpose, for the general defence of the city at large, and their own wards in particular; thereby evincing a determination to stand or fall by each other, in defence of their king and country, and to maintain their liberty and property against an invading foe or a lawless rabble.

They were seconded by deputy Lecky; upon which Mr. Box moved the previous question, and expressed his surprize that so preposterous a proposition should be brought forward, which he pronounced to be the most dangerous he ever recollected.

Mr. Slade opposed them in an able speech; the deputy, he observed, had libelled the livery of London, he had libelled the people of this country, and he had even libelled human nature, for he would never believe nature had erected such a monster as our natural enemy; he would never allow such a term.

Mr. Waithman had endeavoured, but in vain, to conjecture the gentleman's motive for bringing them forward; the most probable,

1797.

at first, he imagined to be a desire of serving his majesty's ministers; for while they were filling the country with alarms, he was always starting forward with addresses and resolutions to promote them; indeed, he might be termed the addresser general of that court; but now he brought forward these motions, and was endeavouring to excite alarms, at the very time that his majesty's ministers (after the unfortunate direction they had taken) were persuading the country the alarms were unfounded; he was now, however, not promoting their cause; the impropriety of the measures proposed were so glaring, and of so mischievous a nature, he thought nothing need be said to excite the indignation of the court.

Upon the division there were for it 1 (Mr. deputy Birch).

Against it 3 aldermen—58 commoners—2 tellers—total 63.

London Gazette, March 18.

Admiralty Office, March 18, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B. to Mr. Nepean, dated Royal George at Sea, March 10, 1797.

I am now to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that on the 7th instant sir Harry Neale, in the St. Fiorenzo, recaptured the Cynthia brig, from Lisbon to Poole, laden with fruit, which had been taken eight days before by a privateer brig. On the 8th inst. the Impereux captured La Vatur, a small cutter privateer, armed with muskets, having twenty-eight men on board, and only one day from Brest. In the afternoon of that day, the wind coming to the northward, I bore up for Ushant, and detached the St. Fiorenzo and Nymphé to look into Brest; and I have the satisfaction to inform their lordships, that on the St. Fiorenzo and

(D)

Nymphé's

Nymphe's returning to join the Squadron, they fell in with and captured La Resistance and La Constance, French frigates. The taking these ships does Sir Harry Neale, with Capt. Cooke, and their officers and men, the highest honour, and I hope their skilful and spirited conduct will meet their lordships' approbation, as I warmly feel they have merited my particular thanks. Herewith you will also receive a copy of Sir Harry Neale's letter to me on this occasion.

St. Fiorenzo, at Sea, March 9, 1797.

MY LORD,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that after having, (agreeable to your direction) with the assistance of Capt. Cooke, of his majesty's ship La Nymphe, under my orders, reconnoitered the enemy's force in the outer-road of Brest harbour, Capt. Cooke informed me he saw two ships to the westward, standing in for Brest; in consequence of which we tacked, and made sail close on a wind, for the purpose of gaining the weather gage, which being with ease accomplished, we bore down upon the ships together, having ascertained them to be two French frigates; and as we were not more than two or three leagues from Point St. Matthew's, with a leading wind out of Brest, and the French fleet in sight from our tops, it was an object of great importance to be as decisive as possible in our mode of attack. As the largest ship was the headmost, we both engaged her very warmly, at the distance of about forty yards, and compelled her to surrender after a short resistance. By this time the smaller frigate had arrived up, and being immediately attacked by both ships in the same manner as the former, her resistance, though better made, was not long: she struck her

colours about nine o'clock A. M. The whole of the action was a running fight, and did not last more than half an hour.

I have great pleasure in expressing to your lordship that I feel particularly obliged to my friend Capt. Cooke, for his judicious and active conduct during the time we jointly engaged the enemy. I have long known his abilities and zeal for the service, and am happy to have this opportunity of testifying it both as an act grateful to myself, and as a duty I owe to his majesty's service.

I should be wanting in gratitude to all my officers and ship's company if I did not acknowledge myself much indebted to them for their steady zeal, and the assistance I received from them during the action. Lieutenants Durell, Farnell, and Renwick, Mr. Kitcatt the master, and lieutenant Caruthers, the officer of marines, are particularly entitled to my thanks for their activity at their different stations. Mr. Durell, my first lieutenant, who has been an officer eighteen years, merits my warmest recommendation. And it is with equal pleasure I express myself obliged to the officers and ship's company of La Nymphe; Capt. Cooke speaks of the assistance he received from them in terms highly to their honour; and in particular of lieutenants Irvine, Lawrence, and Masters, and Mr. Dyer, the master, and lieutenant Campbell, the marine officer. In mentioning them to your lordship I comply with their captain's wish. I beg your lordship will mention lieutenant Durell and lieutenant Irvine to my lords commissioners of the admiralty, as officers deserving of the highest commendation.

The ships taken are La Resistance, commanded by monsieur Montagne, mounting 48 guns, 18 pounders

pounders on her main deck, and manned with 345 men. She is only six months old, built upon a new construction, and is, in every respect, one of the finest frigates the French had, and certainly the largest, measuring 45 feet beam. The other frigate, *La Constance*, commanded by monsieur Defauney, mounting 24 nine pounders upon the main deck, and manned with 189 men. She is two years old, and a very fine ship. These are two of the frigates which landed troops in Wales: it is a pleasing circumstance to have completed the failure of that expedition. I am particularly happy to inform your lordship that neither the *St. Fiorenzo* or *La Nymphe* have had any men killed or wounded, or the ships hurt; the *St. Fiorenzo* only having received two shot in her hull. *La Resistance* had ten men killed, the first lieutenant and eight men wounded. *La Constance* had eight men killed, and six wounded.

I have the honour to be,

Your lordship's

Most obedient servant

H. NEALE.

Admiral Lord Bridport, K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

The same gazette announces the capture of the *Surveillant* privateer of 16 guns and 156 men, by Capt. Brown of the *Alcmene*.

19. This morning, about four o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Brigg's timber-yard, adjoining Haydon-square, in the Minories; which burnt with unopposed fury for near two hours before water could be procured, and spread so wide, that, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the engines, nearly thirty houses were destroyed, including six or seven houses in front in the Minories. A great quantity of property belonging to

the unhappy sufferers was secured in the church of the Trinity, in the Little Minories, under the protection of parties of the guards and west London militia.

21. A most extraordinary accident happened on the road near Bournbridge, early this morning. The mail-coach, coming from London, met a broad-wheel waggon belonging to Mr. Archer, of Barton Mills, loaded with upwards of four tons of hay, when the lamp of the coach striking against the hay, broke the glass, and instantly set the hay on fire, and the wind being brisk, the whole load of hay and the waggon were consumed, and it was with the utmost difficulty the shaft horses were saved.

23. A common hall was held to consider of a motion for an address to his majesty upon the alarming state of public affairs, and to pray him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace.

Though the attendance of the livery was more numerous than on any former occasion, all their proceedings were guided by that gravity and decorum which the magnitude of the question demanded. Beside the lord-mayor, aldermen Plomer, Skinner, Sanderson, Curtis, Newman, Combe, Anderson, Lushington, and sheriffs Langston and Staines were present.

Mr. S. F. Waddington opened the business in a very able and impressive speech. He took an extensive view of the situation of the country in consequence of the war. He was of opinion that ministers had commenced hostilities with France upon principles inimical to the constitution, and that their flagrant mismanagement of public affairs had now totally destroyed the

commerce of the nation. The last but most alarming proof of their misconduct, was the order of council, prohibiting the bank from paying in specie. This had already produced the greatest distress, and he was afraid it was a blow which the trade of the country would never recover. He concluded by moving—

“That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace.”

Mr. Farmer seconded the motion.

The question being put, it was carried in the affirmative. Among 3000, the number supposed to be present, there appeared only seven dissenting voices.

Mr. Waddington then produced a petition, which was read and moved, “That this petition be presented to his majesty.”

Mr. alderman Skinner seconded the motion, which was carried with only five dissenting voices.

Mr. Taddy moved, “That the said petition be presented to his majesty sitting on his throne, by the lord-mayor, the two sheriffs, and the four representatives of the city in parliament.”

Mr. Anson (the Blackwell-hall factor) seconded this motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Taddy moved the thanks of the common hall to the court of common council, for their refusing to countenance the conduct of the lord-mayor, when he declined to convene the livery of London agreeably to the constitution of the city.

Mr. Anson seconded the motion.

Mr. W. Smith, M. P. supported the motion. He censured, in very strong terms, the conduct of the lord-mayor, in endeavouring to infringe the rights of the citizens of London. He proved, that, according to the constitution of the city, the livery had a right to a common hall whenever they demanded it. He pointed to the statue of Beckford, and hoped that the chief magistrates of the metropolis would always look to that immortal character for an example.

The Lord Mayor attempted to vindicate himself; but he spoke in so low a tone of voice that the livery could not hear his apology.

This motion was also carried unanimously.

The thanks of the common hall were moved to Mr. alderman Combe, for his firm, patriotic, and independent conduct, in the house of commons, in opposing those measures which had brought the country into its present ruinous situation.

Mr. alderman Combe said; that it was not his intention to have obtruded himself on their notice if the flattering compliment they had paid him had not called for his grateful acknowledgments. It was much satisfaction that his conduct, since receiving their favour, had proved itself to them consonant to his professions when he sought that favour. He always thought that public situation was only desirable as it gave effect to private opinion, and that a public man should be nothing but a private man unfolded to public view. With respect to the conduct of the lord-mayor, he must observe, that it could not be the emanation of a fixed principle, because his previous conduct had been diametrically opposite, and when he was called upon by the livery

livery to convene a common hall on the subject of the money being sent to the emperor, without the consent of parliament, he acquiesced in it immediately—the constitution of the city was similar to the constitution of the country, and it was as injurious to city interest for one branch to assume the privileges of another, as for one branch of the constitution to invade the rights of another—and with this view he could not but be the more anxious to maintain the independence of the livery, because upon a view of national circumstances it appears, that in proportion as the liberty of the subject has been abridged, the calamity of the country has increased—in proportion as the people have concurred in the measures of the minister without controul or enquiry, the oppression of the subject has been increased, and the national disasters multiplied. He returned thanks for the honour they conferred upon him, and repeated his assurances that when he was left to himself he should follow the dictates of conscience; when his constituents thought proper to instruct him, he would be their obedient representative.

Mr. Waithman moved, “That the foregoing resolutions be published in all the morning and evening papers,” which was seconded by Mr. Cox.

Watson, Mayor.

In a meeting or assembly of the mayor, aldermen, and liverymen of the several companies of the city of London, in common hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Thursday the 23d day of March,

1797, Resolved,—That an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty, upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and pray-

ing him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step toward obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace.

And an humble address and petition being prepared, the same was read and agreed to.

Resolved,—That the said petition be fairly transcribed, and signed by the town clerk.

Resolved,—That the lord-mayor, attended by the sheriffs, and this city's representatives in Parliament, be requested to present this petition to his majesty on the throne.

Resolved,—That the sheriffs be requested to wait on his majesty, to know when he will be pleased to receive this petition.

Resolved,—That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the 43 independent liverymen, who have so honourably defended the rights and privileges of the livery of London.

Resolved,—That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the court of common-council of this city, for the spirit and unanimity with which they determined at their last court:

“That it would be highly improper in that court, to give any opinion respecting the propriety or expediency of convening a common-hall.”

Resolved,—That the thanks of this common-hall be given to our worthy representative, alderman Combe, for the faithful fulfilment of his duty in parliament, on the business of the last common-hall.

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The London Gazette Extraordinary, March 27, 1797.

Parliament-Street, March 27. Early this morning captain Drew, of the 45th regiment, arrived from the island of Trinidad, with a dispatch

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from lieutenant-general sir R. Abercromby, K. B. to the right honourable Henry Dundas, of which the following is a copy.

Head-quarters, Trinidad, Feb. 27, 1797.

SIR,

On my arrival in this country, I did not fail to lay before the admiral my instructions, and to consult with him upon the means to carry them into execution. I found in him every desire to co-operate in the execution of the views to which they are directed. The arrival of part of the convoy from England enabled us to proceed with confidence in our operations; therefore, as soon as the troops could be collected from the different islands, which were ordered to rendezvous at Cariacou, the admiral sailed from Martinique, which island he left with his squadron on the 12th instant.

The precision with which the admiral had given his orders to assemble the ships of war and transports, left us not a moment of delay. On the 15th, in the morning, the fleet sailed from Cariacou; on the 16th, in the afternoon, it passed through the Bocas, or entrance into the Gulf of Paria, where we found the Spanish admiral with four sail of the line and a frigate, at anchor, under cover of the island of Gaspargrande, which was fortified.

Our squadron worked up, and came to anchor opposite to, and nearly within gun-shot of the Spanish ships. The frigates and transports were ordered to anchor higher up in the bay, and at the distance nearly of five miles from the town of Port d'Espagne. The disposition was immediately made for landing at day-light next morning, and for a general attack upon the town and ships of war.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th, we perceived the Spanish squadron to be on fire; the ships burnt with great fury. One line of battle ship excepted, which escaped the conflagration, and was taken possession of at day-light in the morning, by the boats from our fleet; the enemy at the same time evacuated the island, and abandoned that quarter.

This unexpected turn of affairs directed our whole attention to the attack of the town. The troops were immediately ordered to land, and, as soon as a few hundred men could be got on shore, about four miles to the westward of it, we advanced, meeting with little or no resistance. Before night we were masters of Port d'Espagne and the neighbourhood, two small forts excepted. In the morning a capitulation was entered into with the governor Don Chacon, and in the evening all the Spanish troops laid down their arms, and the whole colony passed under the dominion of his Britannic majesty.

Copies of the capitulation, of the stores and provisions taken, are herewith transmitted.

It is a peculiar satisfaction to me that there is no list of killed or wounded; lieutenant Villeneuve, of the 8th regiment of foot, who was brigade major to brigadier general Hompesch, being the only person who was wounded, and he is since dead of his wounds.

From the admiral I have experienced every possible co-operation. Captain Woolley, of his majesty's ship the *Arethusa*, and captain Wood, of the *Favourite* sloop of war, who had been sent to reconnoitre in the Gulf of Paria, afforded us minute information of the situation of the enemy previous to our arrival. Captain Woolley, who directed

directed the disembarkation, shewed all the zeal and intelligence which I have experienced from him on former occasions. To lord Craven, who begged to attend the expedition, I am indebted for great zeal and exertion.

Lieutenant-colonel Soter, who is intimately acquainted with this country, has been, and continues to be, of very great use to me. I should not do justice to his general character, if I did not take this opportunity to express it. My aide-de-camp, captain Drew, of the 45th regiment, will have the honour to deliver this letter: he has served long in this country, and is capable to give such further information as may be required. I humbly beg leave to recommend him to his majesty's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. ABERCROMBY, K. B.

Articles of Capitulation for the surrender of the Island of Trinidad, between his Excellency Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land Forces; his Excellency Henry Harvey, Esq. Rear Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Ships and Vessels of War; and his Excellency Don Josef Maria Chacon, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, Brigadier of the Royal Navy, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Island of Trinidad and its Dependencies, Inspector-General of the Troops of its Garrison, &c. &c. &c.

Art. I. The officers and troops of his Catholic majesty, and his allies, in the island of Trinidad, are to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, am-

munition, money, effects, plans, and stores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his Catholic majesty; and they are thereby transferred to his Britannic majesty, in the same manner and possession as has been held heretofore by his said Catholic majesty.

Art. II. The troops of his Catholic majesty are to march out with the honours of war, and to lay down their arms, at the distance of three hundred paces from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening, the 18th of February.

Art. III. All the officers and troops aforesaid of his Catholic majesty are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their swords.

Art. IV. Admiral Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca, being on shore in the island, after having burnt and abandoned his ships, he, with the officers and men belonging to the squadron under his command, are included in this capitulation, under the same terms as are granted to his Catholic majesty's troops.

Art. V. As soon as ships can be conveniently provided for the purpose, the prisoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain, they remaining prisoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the peace; it being clearly understood that they shall not serve against Great Britain or her allies until exchanged.

Art. VI. There being some officers among his Catholic majesty's troops, whose private affairs require their presence at different places of the continent of America, such officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the said places for six months, more or less, after which period they are to return to Europe; but as the number receiving

(D. 4) this

this indulgence must be limited, his excellency Don Chacon will previously deliver to the British commanders a list of their names, rank, and places which they are going to.

Art. VII. The officers of the royal administration, upon the delivery of stores with which they are charged to such officers as may be appointed by the British commanders, will receive receipts, according to the custom in like cases, from the officers so appointed to receive the stores.

Art. VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well Spaniards as may such as have been naturalized, is preserved to them.

Art. IX. All public records are to be preserved in such courts or offices as they are now in, and all contracts or purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British government.

Art. X. The Spanish officers of administration, who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majesty; and they are further allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property, and to retire elsewhere.

Art. XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

Art. XII. The free-coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants; they taking the oath of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as become good and peace-

able subjects of his Britannic majesty.

Art. XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his Catholic majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British government, leaving the expence to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

Art. XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but to be attended, and to be under the inspection, of their own surgeons.

Art. XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to his government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island.

Done at Port d'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February, 1797.

RALPH ABERCROMBY.

HENRY HARVEY.

JOSEPH MARIA CHACON.

Return of the Spanish Garrison of the Island of Trinidad made Prisoners of War, Feb. 18, 1797.

Royal artillery. — 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 43 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates.

Engineers. — 1 brigadier, 2 captains, 1 subaltern.

Trinidad regiment. — 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 captains, 15 subalterns, 1 adjutant, 2 ensigns, 1 surgeon, 1 chaplain, 504 non-commissioned officers, drummers and privates.

French officers. — 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 1 subaltern, 2 engineers.

Fifty men sick in general hospital.

JOHN HOPE, Adj. Genl.
Return

Return of the Naval Officers and Seamen made Prisoners of War at
the Capture of Trinidad, February, 18, 1797.

1. Chief of the Squadron.
2. Brigadier.
3. Captains of line of battle ships.
4. Captains of frigates.
5. Lieutenants of line of battle ships.
74 Officers of all other descriptions.

- 90 Officers.
581 Marines.
1032 Seamen.

1613 Total of marines and seamen.

(Signed) JOHN HOPE, Adj. Gen.

Office of Ordnance, Trinidad, Feb. 20, 1797.

Return of Stores and Tools found in the Engineer Arsenal of the
Town of Puerto de Hispania.

Species of stores.	Serviceable.
Pickaxes belved	1918
Shovels	2739
Hoes	3461
Bill hooks	2385
Sledges	1979
Cleavers	416
Chisels	192
Crow bars, iron	84
Crow bars, small ditto	2015
Wedges, assorted	1989
Screws	124
Ladles	96
Plates for wedges	4010
Steel, lbs.	7788
Iron small drawn, lbs.	825
Iron bars, flat 60, lbs.	3454
Iron bars, double 190, lbs.	12300
Iron bars, round 62, lbs.	14045
Jumpers, 5 feet long	1436
Prickers	1732
Axes, mafons	1427
Hammers, mafons	134
Nails, spike of 13 inches, lbs.	1800
11 inches, lbs.	3000
6 inches, lbs.	2500
4 inches, lbs.	930
1 1/2 inch, lbs.	600
Nails, scupper	1000
Sheets of lead, each 8 cwt.	24

N.B. No

N.B. No return has as yet been received from the commissary sent to Gaspar Grandé, to take an account of the engineer stores deposited in that island, but it is understood there are, amongst other articles, in-trenching tools sufficient for 500 men.

(Signed)

CHARLES SHIPLEY, major and commandant
royal engineers, windward and leeward
islands.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition and Stores, captured on the Island
of Trinidad, Feb. 18, 1797.

Brass Ordnance.

- 2 Twenty-six pounders, dismounted.
- 6 Twenty-six pounders, 4 twenty-four pounders, 9 sixteen pounders, 6 twelve pounders, on travelling carriages.
- 3 Sixteen pounders dismounted.
- 11 Four pounders, on travelling carriages, with limbers.
- 2 Four pounders, on garrison carriages.
- 8 Twelve-inch mortars on brass beds.

Iron Ordnance.

- 10 Sixteen pounders, dismounted.
- 4 Twelve pounders, on travelling carriages.
- 4 Short twelve pounders, on garrison carriages.
- 2 Six pounders, dismounted.
- 7 Six pounders, on garrison carriages.
- 13 Four pounders, on ditto.
- 6 Four pounders, dismounted.

Loose Round Shot,

- 1,698 Twenty-six pounders.
- 2,799 Twenty-four pounders.
- 200 Eighteen pounders.
- 4,240 Sixteen pounders.
- 1,400 Twelve pounders.
- 450 Ten pounders.
- 220 Eight pounders.
- 1,082 Six pounders.
- 5,092 Four pounders.
- 200 Three pounders.
- 125 Six pounders, double headed.
- 43 Four pounders, double headed.
- 54 Six pounders, in tin cases.
- 30,000 Loose iron balls, 1½lb. each.
- 18,600 Ditto, 4 oz. each.
- 1,067 Twelve inch shells, empty.

Canvas Cartridges, filled with Powder,

- 195 Twenty-four pounders.
- 193 Sixteen pounders.
- 201 Twelve pounders.
- 480 Six pounders.
- 143 Four pounders.
- 258 Twenty-four pounders, empty.

85 Whole

- 85 Whole barrels of powder, H.L. of 100lbs. each.
 6 Half barrels of ditto.
 5,883 Pounds of powder, in casks, in No. 39
 70,800 Musquet cartridges, in barrels, C. H.
 7,718 Ditto, in boxes.

Spare Travelling Carriages.

- 2 Twenty-six pounders.
 11 Sixteen pounders.
 2 Twelve pounders.
 3,225 Musquets, with steel ramrods and bayonets.
 142,000 Musquet flints.
 30 Cwt. flow match.
 108 Cartouch boxes, with slings.
 400 Spades, with helms.
 400 Hoes, with ditto.
 200 Felling axes, with ditto.
 100 Picks, with ditto.
 100 Pickaxes, with ditto.
 400 Hand-bills.
 62 Covers of leather for musquet locks.
 9,436 lbs. of lead, in pigs.

With a suitable proportion of side-arms and small articles in the ordnance department.

N. B. 2 iron six pounders; 138 cartouch boxes, with slings; 298 scabbards, with bayonets; 118 thirteen inch fuzees; 1420 tubes; and 227 portfires, unserviceable, and not included.

Note. The sixteen pounder brass guns are the exact dimensions of English eighteen pounders.

(Signed)

JOHN SMITH, major, commanding royal artillery,
 Windward and Leeward Islands.

Return of Provisions found in the Stores in the Island of Trinidad, delivered over to me by the Commissary (or Contador) in the Service of the King of Spain.

632 Whole barrels of American flour.

99 Half ditto.

154 Tierces of Rice.

(Signed)

JOHN GLASFORD, Dep. Com. Gen.

Port of Spain, Trinidad,
 Feb. 20, 1797.

Admiralty Office, March 27, 1797.

Captain Harvey, of his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, arrived at the Admiralty this morning with a dispatch from rear-admiral Henry Harvey, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, dated off Port d'Espagne, in the Gulf of Pa-

ria, February 21, 1797. to Mr. Nepean, secretary of the admiralty, of which the following is a copy:

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, that it having been determined an attack should be made on the island of Trinidad, both with

with a view to that colony, and to the Spanish Squadron which had been there for some time past, the troops intended for this expedition from Martinique were accordingly embarked in the ships of war, and transports, and I sailed from Port Royal Bay, the 12th instant, with the ships and vessels of his majesty's Squadron under my command, as per margin*. Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby embarked with me in the Prince of Wales.

The Invincible had previously sailed for Barbadoes, with two transports, to embark a part of the 14th regiment, and the Thorn and Zebra were ordered to receive the detachment from Tobago. The Favorite was sent to St. Vincent to collect some troops from that island, and the whole were ordered to rendezvous at the island of Cariacou, one of the Grenadines, on or before the 13th; and, on my arrival at that island, the 14th, I found all the ships and transports were assembled.

On the 15th, in the morning, I sailed with the Squadron and transports, passing between Cariacou and Grenada; and on the 16th arrived off Trinidad, and stood toward the Gulf of Paria, when having passed through the great Bocas channel, at half-past three in the afternoon, the Spanish Squadron were discovered at anchor in Shagaramus Bay, consisting of four sail of the line, under the flag of a rear-admiral, and one frigate.

As the day was well advanced before I approached the bay, and the enemy appeared in strength on Gasparaux island, which commanded the anchorage, by batteries erected for that purpose, I ordered the Arethusa, Thorn, and Zebra, to

proceed a little farther up the gulf, and anchor with all the transports. The Alarm, Favorite, and Victorieuse were ordered to keep under sail above the transports during the night, and prevent any vessels sailing from Port Espagne.

In the evening, just before dark, I anchored with the ships of the line in order of battle, opposite the enemy's Squadron, within random-shot of their ships and batteries, and in constant readiness to prevent their escape during the night, which I suspected they might attempt, as all their sails were bent, and they appeared perfectly ready for sailing.

At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th we discovered one of their ships on fire, and soon after three others, all of which burnt with great fury until near day-light, when they were entirely consumed. One of them having escaped the conflagration, the boats were sent from the Squadron, and she was brought out without having received any damage.

I have great satisfaction in acquainting their lordships that this Squadron of the enemy, commanded by rear admiral Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca, were destroyed or captured according to the list I herewith enclose; and although this service was effected without any other act on the part of his majesty's Squadron under my command, than being placed in such a situation as to prevent their escape, I am fully convinced that had they remained at their anchorage until the next day, the officers and men whom I have the honour to command, would have completed, by their exertion and zeal, the capture of the whole, notwithstanding the advantage of their situation, under

* Prince of Wales, Bellona, Vengeance, Scipio, Favourite, Zephyr, Terror bomb.

the cover of about twenty pieces of cannon and three mortars, which were mounted on Gasparaux island, and had been placed there for the sole purpose of defending the ships in the bay: that island, which, like the ships, had been abandoned during the night, was taken possession of soon after day-light by a party of the queen's regiment.

General Abercromby, early in the morning, joined the Arctusa, and the troops were all landed, in the course of the day, under the direction of captain Woolley, covered by the Favourite sloop, about three miles from the town, without

opposition: the general took possession of the town the same evening, and the 18th the governor desired to capitulate for the whole island, and the articles were agreed to, and signed the same day; a copy of which I herewith transmit*.

Captain Harvey, of his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, from whom I have always experienced the greatest zeal and attention to his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY HARVEY.

List of Ships of War, burnt and captured in Shaggaramus Bay, in the Gulf of Paria, February 17, 1797, by the Squadron under the Command of Rear Admiral Harvey.

San Vincenté,	84	R. A. Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca,	} Burnt.
Gallarado,	74	Captain Don Geronimo Mendoza,	
Arrogante,	74	Don Gabriel Sorondo,	
San Damafo,	74	Don Raphael Benafa,	
Santa Cecilia,	36	Don Toref Jordan,—captured.	
		Don Manuel Urtesabel,—burnt.	

HENRY HARVEY.

28. On Sunday afternoon, about four o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out at the old family mansion of the duke of St. Alban's, at Hanworth-park, near Hampton; which, in the course of three hours, destroyed every part of the building, and all the beautiful gallery of paintings, which were an heir-loom with the house. Very little of the furniture was saved. The fire broke out at the back of the house, near the library, and was occasioned by a girl belonging to the farm-yard lighting her fire too near the windows; owing to the high wind, the flames caught the shutters, and the conflagration spread through the mansion before any assistance could be obtained.

The ordinary gazette of this

evening announces the following captures by the vessels employed at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands: The French corvette *Le Cerf Volant*, by captain Rickett's of *La Magicienne*; the *L'Africaine*, of 18 guns, by captain Cook of the *Quebec*; the *General Leveau*, 16 guns and 80 men, and a Dutch brig and Spanish schooner by the *Resource* and *Mermaid*; the *Maria Topaze*, of 10 guns and 64 men, by the *Lapwing*, captain Burton; the *Galzo*, 18 guns, 124 men, by the *Alarm*, captain Fellows; *La Legere*, of 6 guns and 48 men, by the *Bellona*; *La Buonaparte*, 14 guns, by *La Suffisante*, captain Wittman; the *L'Espoir*, 4 guns and 48 men, by the *Lapwing*; and a French schooner of 2 six pounders and some

* Vide Sir Ralph Abercromby's Letter.

swivels by the Matilda. This gazette also contains the following accounts:

An Account of Spanish Vessels, detained (by Admiralty Order, being Spanish Property) by his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Command of Henry Harvey, Esq. Rear Admiral of the Red, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. Leeward Islands.

Schooner Pastora, laden with oxen, hides and cocoa, sent in by the Bull Dog.

Sloop Maria Manuel, laden with cattle, sent in by the George armed sloop.

Launch Delbarmen, laden with mules, sent in by the Alarm.

Schooner Flora, laden with sundries, sent in by the Alarm.

Sloop Prince of Asturias, in ballast, sent in by the Alarm.

Launch Rosaria, laden with 900 dollars and some hogs, sent in by the Alarm.

Launch San Joseph de Arminas, laden with corn, sent in by the Alarm.

Launch Del Carmen, laden with mules, sent in by the Alarm.

Sloop San Nicholas, in ballast, sent in by the Alarm.

Launch Rosario, laden with mules, sent in by the Alarm.

Launch Del Carmen, laden with corn, sent in by the Alarm.

Ship Anna Maria, laden with dry goods, sent in by the Fury.

(Signed)

HENRY HARVEY.

An Account of Vessels recaptured by his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the Command of Rear-Admiral Harvey, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c. Leeward Island Station.

Ship Britannia, in ballast, sent in by the Bull Dog, recaptured, having been taken by a French privateer.

Brig Lady Mary Fitzmaurice, laden with merchandise, sent in by the Lapwing, recaptured, having been taken by a French privateer.

Sloop Ferdinand, laden with merchandise, sent in by the Lapwing, recaptured, having been taken by a French privateer.

Schooner Syren, laden with sugar and cotton, sent in by the Ariadne, part of the cargo condemned as a lawful prize.

Schooner L'Alexandre, laden with warlike stores, sent in by the Ariadne, condemned as a lawful prize.

Guinea ship, Helen, laden with slaves, &c. sent in by the Vengeance's tender, captured the 7th of December, 1796, by the Scipion, French corvette.

Ship Aspinall, laden with slaves, sent in by L'Aimable, recaptured.

Ship Thomas, laden with sugar coffee, and mahogany, sent in by the Invincible, recaptured.

HENRY HARVEY.

29. The earls of Suffolk and Oxford were at the levee at St. James's; the former nobleman, who made a motion in the house of lords on Monday for the dismissal of Mr. Pitt, had a private conference with his majesty before the council commenced, for near twenty minutes, in which the noble earl laid before his majesty a picture of the distresses which his ministers had brought on their country.

A P R I L.

1. The London Gazette announces the capture of the Spanish brig the Magallanes, of 4 guns, but pierced for 18, and 36 men, by lieutenant Kent of the Dover armed transport.

Common Hall.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London assembled

bled in common hall, to consider the report of his majesty's answer as to the time of receiving their address voted on the 23d of last month.

The hall being opened with the usual formalities, the lord mayor informed the meeting that the report of the sheriffs would be read by the common serjeant.

Mr. Sylvester (the common serjeant) read the report. It stated that the sheriffs had attended at St. James's on Friday, the 24th of March, to know when the address, carried in the common hall, which was held on the 23d, should be presented to his majesty; that the duke of Portland had informed the sheriffs that his majesty received addresses from the city of London as a corporate body only, and that he would receive the address of the livery in the common form at the levee on the Wednesday following, or upon any other levee day.

Mr. Hanson, after a speech of considerable length, moved, "That the sheriffs of London have at all times a right to an audience of the king, and when deputed by the livery of London, they are in duty bound to demand it."

Mr. Farmer seconded the motion. He said he had more respect for his majesty than to believe that the answer given to the sheriffs was the king's answer. Precedents had been sought for to support the present refusal to receive the city address, and it had been said that it was in some degree warranted by an act of parliament passed in the reign of Charles II. but that was surely an æra too inauspicious to liberty to permit any of its regulations or practices to be now held up as examples.

The question being put, the resolution was carried in the affirmative,

as were all those which followed. On the shew of hands only two appeared against each resolution.

Mr. Waddington said the resolution he had to propose would have come with peculiar propriety from the alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without (Mr. Wilkes), who, he was sorry to observe, was not present on that day. He thought the sheriffs had acted very improperly in taking an answer from the duke of Portland, and returning without having an audience of the king. The duke of Portland acted, in this instance, only as a servant, and it did not become the citizens of London, in common hall assembled, to receive the answer of a servant of servants. He hoped the livery of London would not suffer the rights and liberties of the city to be so infringed. He concluded by moving, "That the lord mayor, attended by the sheriffs and the representatives of the city in parliament, be again requested to present to his majesty the address voted in the common hall of the 23d of March, and that no answer be received through the medium of a secretary of state."

Mr. Waithman seconded the motion.

The following resolution, moved by Mr. Hanson and seconded by Mr. Waddington, was next carried—That the sheriffs of London, attended by the city remembrancer, do wait on his majesty to know when he will be graciously pleased to receive the said address on the throne.

To the motion of Mr. Farmer it was resolved—That the sheriffs be instructed, if necessary, to inform his majesty, that the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, cannot deliver their address in any other manner

manner than to the king on his throne.

After this resolution was passed, Mr. sheriff Langston came forward and informed the livery, that they might depend upon the sheriffs of London doing their duty agreeably to their instructions.

Mr. Waithman stated, that the proceedings relative to the calling of the last common hall had not been entered upon the journal. He therefore moved, "That the answer of the lord mayor to the requisition of the livery for holding the last common hall, together with their remonstrance, be entered upon the journal of their proceedings."

Mr. Waithman said, that however he might have disapproved of the conduct of the chief magistrate with regard to the calling of the last common hall, his lordship on the present occasion had acted in such a manner as could not fail to procure him the approbation of the livery. Impressed with this sentiment, he moved, "That the thanks of this meeting be given to the lord mayor for his impartial conduct this day."—Carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. Farmer, the resolutions were ordered to be correctly copied, signed by the town-clerk, and published in all the morning and evening papers.

3. A meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held in Palace-yard, (Westminster-hall having been shut against them by order of the keeper) to consider of an address to his majesty, &c.

Peter Moore, Esq. one of the seven gentlemen who signed the notice for the meeting, was called to the chair. He stated the occasion of the meeting. He was glad to see so numerous an attendance. He was one of the house-keepers who had signed the advertisement to call

them together upon this important occasion; and as he was voted into the chair he would perform his duty as well as he was able; but as he was not in the habit of addressing audiences of such respectability and numbers, he hoped for the indulgence of the meeting, while he delivered to them the reasons for calling them together. They had seen by the advertisement, which called them together, that it was intended by those who convened them, that they should be better accommodated than they were. The place (Westminster-hall) usually allotted to the citizens, parishioners, and inhabitants of Westminster, when they met to deliberate on public business, had been forcibly and rudely shut against them. So deprived of their usual accommodation, they were reduced to the necessity of proceeding, under the canopy of heaven, in very unfavourable weather, to do the best they could do in the cause of their expiring liberty. Under these circumstances, discouraging as they were, the inhabitants of Westminster would fight to the last gasp for the recovery of their rights; he did not mean that they should fight with weapons of destruction, but with arguments, that they would firmly assert the rights which had been so bravely fought for by their ancestors, and transmitted by them to us as a sacred deposit to be handed down unimpaired to our posterity. That they would, by petition to the throne, state their calamities and grievances, with that firmness which the consciousness of justice, integrity, and honour could never fail to inspire. The question was, whether we were to have peace or not? *Peace! peace!* resounded from all parts of the company. This was not a question of loyalty, for there was no doubt they were all loyal;

loyalty it was not a question of the patronage of ministers; that was too insignificant to be considered now; it was a question which involved the salvation of this country, and with it, the happiness, and even the comfort of every individual whom he had the honour of addressing. It was a question which involved the interest of the inhabitants of the greatest part of the world in which we live.

There was a petition prepared, the substance of which was, to address his majesty on the calamitous condition of this country; and which related facts which, he believed, the company would think was descriptive of the last four years of the administration of this country; of the violent, outrageous conduct of his majesty's ministers towards the people of this country; as that conduct regarded the lives, the liberties, or the property of the people of this country; so that little would be necessary for him to say to satisfy the meeting of the propriety of the petition. If he were to proceed to take notice of the conduct of ministers, from the commencement of their career to the present hour, the means by which they came into power, he was sure he might bring against these ministers charges to which they themselves must plead guilty. But he did not mean to detail the whole of their contradictory, delusive, daring and wicked conduct, by which they had exhibited so much corruption and iniquity, and in which they had been guilty of almost every act that could tend to debase the human character. Much of this their conduct he would pass by, and for the purposes of brevity he would consent to forgive ministers for the whole of their misdeeds for eight years of their administration. It was only for the

last four years that he should exhibit any complaint against them, and in this narrative he should be short. In the year 1792, the minister brought forward a state of the nation before our house of representation. In the course of which he said, that the annual probable income of this country would exceed its expenditure by 900,000l. he said also, that 700,000l. more would be afterwards saved each year. He also congratulated the country on the hopes that the national debt should be reduced, in consequence of which the burthens of the people would be so far eased, that 200,000l. a year should be taken off annually of taxes which were felt, severely, and were extremely obnoxious. These were taxes which never ought to have been laid, for they were taxes on female industry. The minister, however, at this time, assured the public that he was not holding forth the language of delusion, that prosperity was within our view, for that we had a fair prospect of the long continuance of peace. This was in the year 1792. Four months after this, in the month of June, the parliament was prorogued; still countenance was given to the hope of the continuance of peace, and afterwards parliament was dissolved, still the people expecting much alleviation from taxes. Five months more elapsed, and there came out a proclamation under the royal authority: complaining of whom? Of the foreign enemy? No—of those whom ministers were pleased to call the domestic enemies of this country. On the 15th of December 1792, an address was voted to the throne by parliament, which, if true, there was not one man who heard him this moment who ought not to be hanged. It stated that a vast number of

persons were ready for insurrection in this country; if that proclamation had been true, every man in the present meeting ought to be suspected, and almost every person who was not there ought to be suspected, for that proclamation stated, in substance, that every man who was not a minister, or an advocate for ministers, was ready for an insurrection in this country. The military power was called out; for what purpose? To quell an insurrection? No. There was no insurrection. It was to support ministers in their plan to enslave the people. Had ministers really thought there was any disposition to insurrection in the people, why did they not call out the military power sooner? All the great armament of the country was raised against what ministers called the internal enemies of this country; but by which they really meant the people of this country. Ministers saw that truth was about to pervade the land. Truth was their enemy, and therefore they resolved that truth should be suppressed. We now saw too plainly the whole of the ministerial system. The immense military preparations here were not intended to protect us against the attempts of an invading enemy, for ministers remained perfectly neutral with regard to affairs on the continent for a great length of time; we now saw most clearly, that this armament was intended to carry on a certain system at home against the people of this country, against every man in the present meeting; and he, as one of it, would take his share of the inconvenience. This system of falsehood continued to be carried on under the idea of an alarm for the safety of our constitution, until that alarm was exhausted. What was the next deception which ministers played off

upon the public? Why the rumour of a famine. A mere juggle. There never, never was any real foundation for the apprehension of a famine in this country, while the ministers pretended there was. He himself travelled at that time 1400 miles over this country; and he would undertake to declare, there was no deficiency in the harvest any where in this country. But what was the effect of this rumour of famine? A prodigious high price in corn and all the other necessities of life. What was to become of the honest labourer, and the industrious mechanic, and working manufacturer? They were induced to enlist in large numbers into military service to save themselves from starving. What was the situation of the people of this country, calling itself free, when men were compelled to undergo military slavery in order to procure bread? What was the minister's view in bringing the people to this condition? To put them under military command in order to terrify the remaining part of the public, and to keep them from opposing the minister in his schemes. There was another complaint now to be considered, for there was now no money in the bank; this was also the fault of the minister, and by which a great evil was to be apprehended, for public credit was almost entirely destroyed; the public creditor was to be defrauded, in order that the soldier should be paid with the money of that public creditor; and now we were upon the point of being called upon to submit to any measure which the minister might think proper to dictate, however unjust it might be, or however insulting to humanity.

[Here he said the petition should be read, which was done accordingly,

ingly, and for which see the Public Papers.]

Such, he said, was the petition which was offered to the meeting, which, if it met their approbation, was to be presented to his majesty. They would perceive it was a summary of the conduct of his majesty's ministers for the last four years. By it they were reminded that ministers had sown the seeds of distrust in every family throughout the kingdom. They had set the father against the son, and the son against the father, in order to extinguish our love of liberty, if that were possible. If any man who heard him doubted this, he would desire him to attend to the three following sentences, as descriptive of the conduct of his majesty's present ministers: They have increased the number of our poor-houses, which are not yet numerous enough to contain our poor; they have enlarged our jails; and they have erected and established barracks all over this kingdom.

The question, that the petition be adopted by the company as their petition to the king, was then put and carried without so much as one dissent.

It was then moved, "That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Fox for the firm and faithful discharge of his public duty, and particularly for opposing that fatal system of measures, of which he prophetically foresaw the ruinous consequences."

Mr. Fox said, that, before he returned his heartfelt thanks for the honour now conferred upon him, he begged leave to congratulate the meeting upon the numerous and respectable attendance which he observed on the present occasion. It had been the object of ministers to throw every obstacle they could

devise in the way of petitioning. Last parliament they had introduced laws by which this right of the subject was encumbered with vexatious difficulties. Legal means, however, were yet left, by which the people could assemble to express their sentiments; and of these they had now availed themselves. But ministers were not contented with the encroachments they had already made upon the right of petitioning, but endeavoured to defeat the exercise of what yet was left. They had prevented the livery of the city of London from presenting that address which they had voted to his majesty. Even on the present occasion they had practised every pitiful artifice which their malice could devise to create embarrassment, and had given direction to some of their creatures to shut the hall in which the present meeting was meant to be held. Fortune at first seemed to favour the wishes of ministers, and they hoped that by the inclemency of the weather the meeting would be disconcerted. The result, however, would furnish additional proof of their steadiness and sincerity. They had shown that they were not to be deterred by considerations of personal inconvenience from performing their duty. The state of the weather in which they had assembled, added to the glory of standing forward upon an emergency so critical, and evinced a deliberate conviction of the danger in which the country was placed, and the necessity of abandoning the system of measures by which it had been occasioned. He was glad that his conduct had been thought worthy of their approbation. The conduct which had gained this mark of their esteem, was a decided and uniform opposition to the present war, and

his hostility to the mock negotiations by which the return of peace was prevented. He congratulated the meeting, and the public, upon the result of the present day. The able explanation which had been given by the worthy chairman of the reasons of the present measure, rendered it unnecessary for him to go at length into the subject. With the remarks he had to offer, he should even in the present weather trespass upon their indulgence for a few minutes. The minister had indeed reduced the national debt 20 millions; but he had added 150; he had repealed taxes to the amount of 200,000*l.* but he had added six millions and a half; yet, enormous as the burdens which he had imposed were, it had been confessed that they were not sufficient to satisfy the just claims of the national creditor; never was there a minister who possessed greater means, and who was less scrupulous in the means he employed, who had been so unsuccessful in the ends which he pursued, and in the enterprises which he attempted; he had not spared the money of the people; that they well knew; he had not spared their liberty; that they had sufficiently experienced in a sister kingdom; he had not scrupled to deprive a whole province of the benefit of the constitution, and to subject them to martial law. Here he had not scrupled to attack the very vitals of public liberty, and by ill-founded charges of high treason, to attack the lives of innocent men; in this attempt, however, ministers had been disappointed by the noble and patriotic conduct of English juries; and the country, deciding as a jury, had confirmed the verdict. Had it not been for this steady and independent conduct, who could pretend to point out the sacrifices

which the minister might have demanded? And could it be said that any present would have been safe if the attempts of the minister had not thus been checked in their commencement? The minister, it had been seen, had declared that there was not money to pay the public creditor; yet he thought that there was money to send to the emperor of Germany. That it was the intention of ministers to make farther advances to the emperor, appeared from a paper laid before the house of commons on Friday last. This was a paper of the most extraordinary nature, and ought to be known to every man in the country. It appeared that advances had been made to the emperor, and the security was worthy of remark. It was not that a fund was provided for the payment, but it was said, when you lend me more, I will repay what you have already advanced; it was the security of a man who borrows twenty pounds, and promises to pay the debt when the creditor shall lend him an hundred. The sentiments which he had expressed from the hustings last election, he had found no reason to retract. He was more and more convinced, that if the country at large would display the same spirit, manifested by the electors of Westminster, the affairs of the public would be in a better situation. He hoped that the public would be animated by the glorious example which was now given them, and catch a portion of that spirit by which his constituents were animated. In a situation like the present, they ought to examine into the state of public affairs. If an individual found that under the administration of his steward, his revenues were impaired, and his property dilapidated, would he not think

think it time to change his servant, and to examine into his affairs? They ought to examine into the state of their affairs therefore; and whoever were the ministers, they ought not to resign themselves to their administration with implicit confidence. They ought to prescribe the mode of conduct which was in future to be pursued. He believed that it was not yet too late to save the country: but if ministers were allowed to go on in the present system, no exertion, no spirit could save us from the ruin by which we were threatened.

The duke of Bedford said, that he was perhaps called upon to say a few words, in consequence of being named to accompany those who were to present the petition; but he should not detain the meeting long with what he had to observe. He hoped that they would confirm by their signatures what they had sanctioned by their votes. It was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the throne. It was the first and the best inheritance of freemen. They ought to approach his majesty with a language calm, yet temperate; respectful, but manly; loyal, but such as was fitting freemen to employ. The advantage of public meetings had been experienced on many important occasions. That they now met on the present occasion was a glorious proof of the advantage of the meeting last year, and though they had not gained their full object, they had reason to be satisfied with what they had thus been able to preserve of their rights. He hoped the example of the inhabitants of Westminster would be followed by the country at large. The late parliament might justly be called the king's parliament, for they had shown themselves more attentive to

the mandates of his majesty's ministers than to the interests of the people. He hoped they would continue to exert themselves; that they would remember what their forefathers had done; what Englishmen had achieved in defence of liberty, and that they would glory to distinguish themselves in the same career. If they did not persevere, their liberties would be crushed for ever, and the nation ruined beyond recovery.

The chairman informed the meeting that the petition was prepared for signature, and he hoped that none would go away before they confirmed their votes by their signatures.

The chairman returned his thanks to the meeting for the approbation they had expressed of his conduct.

The whole of the business was conducted with the utmost decorum and propriety. The meeting, which was very numerous, dispersed in the most orderly manner.

Having given an account of the sentiments of this meeting, we have to add that similar meetings were held in the course of the spring in the following counties and cities, and similar resolutions and addresses voted. To detail the speeches at each would far exceed our bounds,

Surrey

Kent

Hampshire

Cambridgeshire

Gloucestershire

Bedfordshire

Forfarshire

London

Westminster

Southwark

Edinburgh

Dublin

Glasgow

Paisley

Nottingham

(E 3)

Licester

Leicester
Boston
Steyning
Salisbury
Canterbury
Rochester
Evesham
Middlesex
Yorkshire
Northumberland,
Norfolk, &c. &c.

From the London Gazette.

Admiralty-Office, April 4, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Pringle, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Cape of Good Hope, to Mr. Nepean, dated at that Settlement on the 15th of January last.

On the 31st ult. his majesty's ships Jupiter and Sceptre returned here from their cruise off the Mauritius, having captured three small vessels, two of which they destroyed; the third, a brig, arrived the 12th instant. Captain Losack left that station on the 25th of November, having previously detached the Crescent, Braave, and Sphinx, to look into Foul Point and Augustine Bay. On the 13th these last ships returned to this place, having captured five vessels, as per inclosed list, and also destroyed an establishment of the enemy at Foul Point, upon the island of Madagascar; the articles of the capitulation of which I now enclose, together with captain Spranger's letter to me upon the subject.

Inclosures referred to in the foregoing Letter from Rear-Admiral Pringle, viz.

*Crescent, Cape of Good Hope,
Jan. 14, 1797.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you,

that, in pursuance of my orders, I proceeded with his majesty's ships Braave and Sphinx under my command to Foul Point in the island of Madagascar; and having landed the marines and small-arms-men of the squadron, and summoned the French resident to surrender, I took possession of the fort and factory in behalf of his Britannic majesty, and remained there till I had completed the demolition of the establishment, agreeable to my directions.

The French had a considerable dépôt of arms and ammunition, stores and merchandize for trading with the natives, the destruction of which must greatly distress the enemy, as the island of Mauritius draws its principal supplies of provisions from this settlement.

I have also the honour to transmit you the capitulation of M. Raffelin, the resident, who I sent, together with other prisoners in a cartel to the Isle of France; and remain with great respect, Sir, &c.

J. W. SPRANGER.

Rear-Admiral Pringle, &c.

Translation of a Letter from Mons. Raffelin, Resident at Foul Point, to Captain Spranger, containing the Terms for the Surrender of that Settlement.

SIR,

Having been summoned by you to surrender this settlement, I am to acquaint you, that the superior force you have brought against it renders all resistance on my part useless: I have therefore to desire, before I lower the French colours, that you will cause a few guns, unshotted, to be fired at the place, which I will answer in the same manner, and then the three-coloured flag shall be hauled down; but I must repeat my desire that no shot may

may be fired by you, lest any mischief or alarm should be occasioned to the natives.

Foul Point, Island of Madagascar, 12th Frimaire, Fifth Year of the French Republic.

RASSELIN.

These articles, proposed by Mons. Rasselín, agent for the republic of France at Foul Point, island of Madagascar, are agreed to by

J. W. SPRANGER,

Captain of his Majesty's Ship Crescent, and senior Officer of his Majesty's Forces at Foul Point.

Witness *D. Walker*.

List of the Enemy's Ships and Vessels captured by the Squadron under the Orders of Captain Spranger, of his Majesty's Ship Crescent, viz.

Ship *La Réunion*, 320 tons, in ballast, bound from the Isle de Bourbon to Foul Point.

Ship *Le Navigateur*, 300 tons, in ballast, bound from the Isle de France to Foul Point.

Brig *La Diane*, 80 tons, cargo of slaves, pepper, salt, &c. bound from Mosambique to the Isle de France.

Cutter *L'Euphrasie*, 46 tons, in ballast, bound from Foul Point to the Isle de France.

Lug boat, *Le Tigre*, 18 tons, cargo of slaves, bound from Quiloa to Foul Point.

Came on the election of a governor and deputy governor of the bank of England for the year ensuing, when Thomas Raikes, Esq. was chosen governor, and Samuel Thornton, Esq. deputy governor.

5. Came on the election of twenty-four directors, when the following gentlemen were chosen:

Thomas Boddington, Esq.

Samuel Bosanquet, Esq.

Alexander Champion, Esq.

Edward Darell, Esq.

Thomas Dea, Esq.

George Dorrien, Esq.

N. Bogle French, Esq.

Daniel Giles, Esq.

Jeremiah Harman, Esq.

Thomas Lewis, Esq.

Beeston Long, Esq.

William Manning, Esq.

Job Mathew, Esq.

Sir R. Neave, Bart.

Joseph Nutt, Esq.

John Pearse, Esq.

George Peters, Esq.

Charles Pole, Esq.

John Puget, Esq.

James Reed, Esq.

Peter Isaac Thellusson, Esq.

Godfrey Thornton, Esq.

Rt. H. Brook Watson, *Ld. Mayor*.

John Whitmore, Esq.

A general court was held at the India house, for the purpose of electing by ballot a director in the room of John Townson, Esq. deceased. At six o'clock the glasses were finally closed and delivered to the scrutineers, who, on summing up the votes, declared the numbers to be

For Edward Parry, Esq. - - 933

Richard Chichely Plowden,

Esq. - - - 379

Whereupon Mr. Parry was declared duly elected for the term of two years.

8. The London Gazette announces the capture of *L'Amitié* French privateer, of 14 guns and 55 men, by lieutenant Elliott of the Plymouth armed lugger; of the *Bons Amis* French privateer cutter, of 6 guns and 32 men, by the *Spitfire*, captain Seymour; of *Le Prends Garde à Loup*, of 2 guns and 28 men, by lieutenant Sharp of the *Dover* cutter; and of 5 French vessels

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fels, one of 6 guns and 40 men; by the Canada, three by the Magicienne, one of 24 guns, and two others of 10 guns each.

Downing-street, April 8. A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received by the right honourable lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, from colonel Graham, dated head-quarters of his royal highness's Archduke Charles, at Vippach, March 20, 1797.

In my last dispatch from Udine of the 14th inst, I had the honour of informing your lordship that the archduke's head-quarters were just going to be moved forward to Paperiano, near Codroipo, in consequence of a report of the French army being in motion towards the Piave. This intelligence was soon after confirmed, with the additional account of general Massena's having penetrated by Feltri into the upper valley of the Piave, and defeated general Lusignan near Bellerno; but it was still doubtful whether their principal corps was advancing towards the Tagliamento merely to cover general Massena's column, or to undertake offensive operations. On the 15th general Hohenzollern, who had been left with a detachment on the Piave, retired behind the Tagliamento, where the imperial army was cantoned. On the 16th, about ten A. M. the enemy advanced by the high road of Valvasone, and pushed some small parties of cavalry and infantry across the river, which, from the extraordinary drought of the season, was every where fordable, but these were driven back with some loss. A distant cannonade was then kept up during the rest of the day till four P. M. when the enemy having formed a very strong column of demi-brigade

in front, intermixed with cavalry and artillery, advanced rapidly, and crossed the river near the upper end of the extensive and open plain, occupied by twelve weak squadrons. His royal highness's personal exertions could not prevent these from yielding to such superior force. After this successful attack by the enemy's left, their right wing crossed the river without opposition; but the progress of their numerous cavalry was checked by the steady behaviour of the regiment of Pais, posted at the end of the plain next to Codroipo.

The rest of the infantry were under arms further back, near their cantonments, and was not engaged. On seeing the enemy's force, which both in cavalry and infantry was greatly superior to that of the imperial army, the archduke ordered a retreat after sunset. The head-quarters were that night at Ontagnaul, and were removed on the 17th to Visco, behind Palma, which, not being in a state of defence, was evacuated on the 18th; the head-quarters being removed to Gorice.

On the 19th the enemy advanced towards the Isonzo, in two columns, above and below Gradiška, which served as a tête du pont over that river. Their left was repulsed in an attempt to storm Gradiška, but their right found little difficulty in crossing the river near Cassegliano, though in ordinary seasons it is scarcely any where fordable; and as they there might turn the left of the position of Gorice, it became necessary to abandon it.

The head-quarters came here this morning.

11. The London Gazette announces the capture of La Molinette, of 2 swivels and 28 men, by captain Fowke of the Swallow sloop, of the

Le Refleche privateer, of 12 guns and 67 men, by captain Lawrie of the Zephyr; and of Le Hardi brig, of 18 guns and 130 men, by captain Ruddach of the Hazard.

12. A common hall was held yesterday to receive the sheriff's report of his majesty's answer, as to the time of presenting the address of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, voted in the common hall, on the 23d of last month.

The lord mayor addressed the livery. He said he had called them together, for the purpose of hearing the sheriff's report, and that it should be immediately read to them as it had been made to him.

The report was read. It stated that the sheriffs had taken an early opportunity of waiting upon his majesty, and had been admitted to the usual audience in the closet. His majesty's answer was, that "this not being the address of the city of London in its corporate capacity, he could not receive it upon the throne—that the answer given by the duke of Portland, was given by his order, and he would now repeat it, viz. — He would be ready to receive the address of the livery of London upon Wednesday next, or upon any other levee day, provided it was presented by no more than ten persons."

Mr. Hanson said, the report which had just been read was a melancholy confirmation of its being his majesty's intention not to receive the address of the livery. If any doubt had existed of the propriety of voting the address, the report which they had now heard not only proved its propriety, but its necessity. Kings were called the father's of their country, and it was certainly the duty of parents to listen to the complaints of their children;

those who did not listen to them might be justly called unnatural. The more he had reflected upon the refusal of his majesty to receive the address of the livery of London, the more was he convinced that ministers intended to provoke the livery to some intemperate act, that they might introduce into the city of London that horrid system of martial law which they had established in the sister kingdom. They should, however, be disappointed. The livery of London would conduct themselves in such a manner, that even such ministers as the present should have no pretence afforded them for such measures. He concluded by moving a resolution to the following effect:

"That the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, have for time immemorial enjoyed the right and privilege of addressing the king upon the throne, and have never before been denied that right, except under the corrupt administration which occasioned and persisted in the American war."

Mr. Waddington seconded the motion. He said the report they had heard was not an answer from a servant of the servants of majesty; it was an answer which the king himself had been graciously pleased to give, and truly a most gracious answer it was. In this manner it was attempted to deprive the city of London of one of the most valuable rights, without even a reason being assigned. There never was an address passed with more unanimity than that of the common hall of the 23d ult. and the just complaints of the citizens of London did not deserve such a return. The livery, however, would not tamely resign their rights and privileges. In the present times, to deliver their opinion

tion was a duty, and silence was a crime. In the proceedings of the common hall of the city of London at least, the future historian would recognize the British character and spirit. The question being put, the resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Hanson said, the next resolution he should move was calculated to show the very different circumstances under which an address is received when presented to the king on the throne, and when it is presented to him at the levee. It was conceived in nearly the following terms:

Resolved, "That when a petition is presented to his majesty upon the throne, the petitioners have the satisfaction of knowing that his majesty must hear their complaints, by the petition being read to him, and that they will receive some answer; but when a petition is presented at the levee, they receive no answer, and they are not certain that his majesty is ever made acquainted with its contents, as it is always delivered into the hands of the lord in waiting."

This motion was also seconded by Mr. Waddington, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Waithman proposed to move the following resolution:

Resolved, "That his majesty's ministers have wantonly plunged this nation into an unjust and unnecessary war, which has produced a series of calamities unexampled in history—an enormous increase of public debt—an alarming diminution of our trade and manufactures—an abridgment of our rights and privileges—a shameful profusion of our national wealth, by subsidizing allies abroad and supporting a system of corruption at home, to the de-

struction of public credit; thus evincing a disposition to sacrifice the blood, treasure, and liberties of this kingdom, in support of measures contrary to the principles of the constitution, derogatory to the dignity and safety of the king, and inconsistent with the happiness of the people."

The lord mayor insisted that this motion had no connection with his majesty's answer, and was therefore inconsistent with the purpose for which the common hall was called, as stated in the precept.

Mr. Waithman contended that the resolution was consistent with the object for which the common hall was called. The livery of London had come to the resolution of not presenting their petition in any other way than to the king upon his throne, and as they had been refused that right, the resolution was necessary to show the grounds upon which they had voted the address to his majesty on the 23d of last month. The livery had instructed their representatives in parliament to vote against the war; but they had instructed them to very little effect. On the present occasion there were not too many of their representatives to be seen. It was a circumstance which ought not to pass unnoticed, that none of those men, who have always supported the diabolical measures of the present administration, durst now come forward to vindicate them in public. They knew that the task of defending ministers was too arduous for them, and they shrunk from it. But the livery of London had the right, when assembled in common hall, whether on midsummer, Michaelmas, or any other day, to discuss any public grievance. If the livery gave up this right, he should say,

say, in the words of Shakspeare, "Our Fathers' mind is gone, and we are governed by our mothers' spirits."

Mr. Waithman addressed himself to the lord mayor, and asked his lordship if he persisted in his former opinion?

The lord mayor came forward to address the livery. He was saluted with an universal hiss and the strongest marks of disapprobation. Having obtained silence, he said—Is this a meeting of the livery of London, where they will not listen to their chief magistrate? He was a man, and had been accustomed to face men; he had no fear, but the fear of not doing his duty; and he would not be influenced by the noise or the hisses of non-liverymen [a loud cry of "Point them out—point him out!" was reiterated from every part of the hall]. His lordship proceeded.—He was the guardian of the rights of the liverymen who were absent as well as those who were present; and he would not suffer any business to be brought forward which was extraneous to the purpose of the meeting. He asked, if there was any relation between the motion which had been read, and his majesty's answer? He was sorry that any man, or set of men, could be found, who could take a pleasure in endeavouring to bring their chief magistrate into a disagreeable situation. For his part he was quite impartial; he took no advantage and used no influence upon any question, but he was determined to defend the rights of the livery.

Mr. Waithman re-stated, that the resolution was undoubtedly relative to the petition voted to be presented to his majesty; and therefore it had a relation to his majesty's answer.

It was also immediately connected with the resolution which was to be proposed to follow it, and which went directly to his majesty's answer. The opinion of counsel had been taken upon this point, and there was not a doubt that the livery of London in their common hall had a right to adopt any resolution they pleased.

Mr. Waithman here read the resolution that was to follow: Resolved, "That it appears the more necessary that we should at this time have the full exercise of the right of petitioning, because the unprecedented calamities of the country demand that his majesty's faithful subjects should represent to him the true state of affairs; and pray for the dismissal of those weak and wicked ministers, whose misconduct and incapacity have brought this once great and flourishing nation into its present state of unparalleled distress, and who have proved themselves utterly incompetent to conduct the war, or to negotiate a peace."

Mr. Farmer read the opinion of Mr. Wedderburn (now lord chancellor), Mr. Dunning, and some other eminent counsel, taken many years ago, upon this point. The opinion positively stated that the livery of London have an undoubted right to take into their consideration any public grievance, either on midsummer, Michaelmas, or any other day on which they may meet. "It is beyond dispute, the right is inherent in them."

The lord mayor still persisted in his own opinion. He said if the livery wanted to make their petition public they might publish it in all the newspapers. To a resolution of that kind he should not have the smallest objection.

Mr.

Mr. Waithman said he would let his lordship have his humour; the resolution he had objected to was followed by one which related precisely and directly to his majesty's answer. He should unite these two resolutions, and when he put them in that shape he was certain his lordship would not think the resolution objectionable.

The lord mayor signified his disapprobation of the resolution, even in the manner in which Mr. Waithman had proposed to put it.

Mr. Waithman said, he must now inform the livery that the lord-mayor had acted contrary to their rights, and derogatory to the character of the chief magistrate of the city of London. The resolution which it was proposed to add to the former, the lord-mayor admitted to be in point; but refused to allow the two resolutions to be united, so as to form one.

Mr. Farmer said a few words upon the extraordinary conduct of the lord-mayor.

Mr. Hanson said, the livery were brought into a disagreeable dilemma; they must either establish a detestable precedent, or dismiss the meeting; indeed, if his lordship persisted, they might allow him to dissolve the common hall, and the livery might chuse a chairman. The resolution would then pass as the resolution of the livery only. [This proposition was received with the most marked approbation. When the plaudits ceased, Mr. Hanson proceeded.]—The lord-mayor, he said, thinks he has now got us into a cleft stick; he tells us, that the meeting of the livery will then be an illegal assembly; it will come under all the penalties of the convention bill! [The strongest emotions of indignation were displayed by the livery upon this sudden

recollection of Mr. Pitt's bills. "Give notice to a magistrate."—"Give notice to alderman Combe!" resounded from every part of the hall.]

Mr. alderman Combe came forward; he stated it to be his opinion, that the lord-mayor had the right of dissolving the hall if he chose to maintain his objection to the motion; and that if the livery met in the way suggested, they came under that bill which had been mentioned, and were liable to be subjected to military execution; he thought it would be best to press the moving of the resolution, and allow the lord-mayor to dissolve the hall by his own act, and in virtue of his office.

After Mr. Hanson, the lord-mayor, and Mr. Waithman had severally replied and explained, Mr. Gurney spoke at considerable length in support of the right of the livery of London to discuss in public a grievance, when assembled in common hall.

Mr. Waddington congratulated the livery on the regard to their interests and happiness which their chief magistrate had shown; and took notice of the benignity of his lordship, who, seeing that their minds were not fully prepared for the propositions now brought forward, discovered so much anxiety, that they should take another opportunity for full deliberation.

Mr. Waithman then came forward to put the resolution: upon which the lord-mayor rose, and formally dissolved the hall.

12. A general court was held at the East-India house, for the purpose of electing by ballot six gentlemen to serve as directors, for four years, in the room of

Simon Fraser,
Charles Mills,

Thomas

Thomas Parry,
Abraham Robarts,
David Scott, and
George Tatem, Esqrs.

Who go out by rotation.

At eight o'clock the glasses were finally closed and delivered to the scrutineers, who, on summing up the votes, reported the numbers to be —

For William Devaynes, esq. 1323

Thomas Fitzhugh, esq. 1532

Charles Grant, esq. 1200

James Irwin, esq. 1545

Sir Stephen Lushington, bart. } 1520

George Smith, esq. 1520

John Shakespear, esq. 768

Whereupon the first six were declared duly elected.

13. A court of directors was held at the East-India house, when, after the new directors had taken the oaths and their seats, Hugh Inglis and Jacob Bosanquet, esq. were unanimously elected chairman and deputy for the present year. The court adjourned at an early hour till Wednesday next.

25. The London Gazette announces the capture of *Les Amis*, French privateer, mounting 2 guns and six swivels, and 31 men, by the *Racoon*, capt. Lloyd; of *La Petite Helene*, French lugger of 2 guns and 33 men, by capt. Wittman of the *Suffisante*; of the French privateer, *Neptune*, pierced for 16 guns, and ninety men, by the *Aurora*, capt. Digby; of *Le General*, French privateer, of 14 guns, and 104 men, by capt. Bligh of the sloop *King's Fisher*, and of the *L'Incrovable* of 24 guns and 220 men by the *Flora* and *Pearl* frigates.

This month has been distinguished by a mutiny among the seamen, of which the following are the particulars.

For some days previously to Sunday, April 16, anonymous letters had been sent to the superior officers of the fleet, and to the board of admiralty, stating the hardships that the seamen suffered from the insufficiency of their pay, and other grievances. What these were, will appear in the two petitions to the house of commons, and to the lords of the admiralty, inserted below. As the discontent had universally pervaded the fleet, the concurrence of the seamen in the petitions to their superior officers was likewise universal. The language was the most respectful that was possible; their conduct, in every respect, but this temporary disobedience to their officers, was strict and exemplary; and it was hinted, that an answer was expected before they went to sea again, unless — the enemy's fleet should be known to be at sea, or that a convoy were wanted. — The greatest loyalty to the king was professed, with the greatest zeal and attachment to their country.

The first symptom of disobedience, it is said, was when lord Bridport made the signal to weigh, on Sunday the 16th, when a signal was made from the *Queen Charlotte* for the crews of each ship to run up the fore-shoulders, and give three cheers. From this moment, the authority of the officers was at an end, and the seamen were in entire possession of the fleet. Two delegates, moreover, were sent from each ship of the Squadron, who regularly met every day on board the *Queen Charlotte*.

Admiral Pole arrived at the admiralty, on Sunday night, and communicated these proceedings to their lordships. A council was held the next morning; the result of which was, that earl Spencer, lord Arden,

Arden, admiral Young, and Mr. Marsden, the deputy secretary, immediately set off for Portsmouth, in order to enter into a thorough investigation of this alarming business.

The following is an authentic copy of the petition to the house of commons:

To the right honourable and the honourable knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled,

The humble petition of the seamen and marines on board his majesty's fleet, on behalf of themselves,

Humbly sheweth,

That your petitioners, relying on the candour and justice of your honourable house, make bold to lay their grievances before you, hoping that when you reflect on them, you will please to give redress, as far as your wisdom shall deem necessary.

We beg leave to remind your august assembly, that the act of parliament passed in the reign of king Charles II. wherein the wages of all seamen serving on board his majesty's fleet was settled, passed at a time when the necessities of life, and shops of every denomination, were at least 30 per cent. cheaper than at the present time; which enabled seamen and marines to provide better for their families than we can now do with one half advance.

We therefore request your honourable house will be so kind as to review the act before mentioned, and make such amendments therein, as will enable your petitioners and their families to live in the same comfortable manner as seamen and marines did at that time.

Your petitioners, with all humility, laid their grievances before the hon. earl Howe, and flattered themselves with the hopes, that this lordship would have been an advocate for us, as we have been repeatedly under his command, and made the British flag ride triumphantly over that of our enemies. But to our great surprise, we find ourselves unprotected by him, who has seen so many instances of his intrepidity, in carrying the British flag into every part of the seas with victory and success.

We profess ourselves as loyal to our sovereign, and zealous in the defence of our country, as the army or militia can be, and esteem ourselves equally entitled to his majesty's munificence; therefore with jealousy we behold their pay augmented, and the out-pensioners of Chelsea college increased to thirteen pounds per annum, while we remain neglected, and the out-pensioners of Greenwich have only seven pounds per annum.

We your petitioners therefore humbly implore that you will take these matters into consideration, and with your accustomed goodness and liberality, comply with the prayer of this petition, — and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

We, the delegates of the fleet, hereunto sign our names for the ships' companies:

Royal George — Valentine Joyce, John Morris,

Queen Charlotte — Patrick Glynn, John Udleson,

Royal Sovereign — Joseph Green, John Richardson,

London — Alexander Harding, William Ruly,

Glory — Patrick Dugan, John Bethell,

Duke

Duke — Michael Adams, William Anderson.

Mars — Thomas Allen, James Blithe.

Marlborough — John Vassia, William Senators.

Ramillies — Charles Berry, George Clear.

Robust — David Wilson, John Scrivener.

L'Impetueux — John Witna, William Porter.

Defence — George Galaway, James Barerick.

Terrible — Mark Turner, George Salked.

Le Pompée — William Potts, James Melvin.

Minotaur — Dennis Lowley, George Crossland.

Defiance — John Saunders, John Husband.

Copy of the petition to the admiralty.

To the right honourable the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

My lords,

We, the seamen of his majesty's navy, take the liberty of addressing your lordships in an humble petition, showing the many hardships and oppressions we have laboured under for many years, and which we hope your lordships will redress as soon as possible. We flatter ourselves that your lordships, together with the nation in general, will acknowledge our worth and good services, both in the American war and the present; for which service your lordships' petitioners do unanimously agree in opinion, that their worth to the nation, and laborious industry in defence of their country, deserve some better encouragement than that we meet with at present; or from any we have experienced. We, your petitioners, do not boast of our good

services for any other purpose than that of putting you and the nation in mind of the respect due to us, nor do we ever intend to deviate from our former character, so far from any thing of that kind, or that an Englishman or men should turn their coats; we likewise agree in opinion, that we should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by that of any other power in the world; we therefore beg leave to inform your lordships of the grievances which we at present labour under.

We, your humble petitioners, relying that your lordships will take into early consideration the grievances of which we complain, and do not in the least doubt but your lordships will comply with our desires, which are every way reasonable,

The first grievance which we have to complain of is, that our wages are too low, and ought to be raised, that we might be better able to support our wives and families in a manner comfortable, and whom we are in duty bound to support as far as our wages will allow; which, we trust, will be looked into by your lordships, and the honourable house of commons in parliament assembled.

We, your petitioners, beg that your lordships will take into consideration the grievances of which we complain, and now lay before you.

First, that our provisions be raised to the weight of sixteen ounces to the pound, and of a better quality; and that our measures may be the same as those used in the commercial trade of this country.

Secondly,

Secondly, that your petitioners request your honours will be pleased to observe, there should be no flour served while we are in harbour, in any port whatever, under the command of the British flag; and also that there might be granted a sufficient quantity of vegetables of such kind as may be the most plentiful in the ports to which we go; which we grievously complain and lie under the want of.

Thirdly, that your lordships will be pleased seriously to look into the state of the sick on board his majesty's ships, that they may be better attended to, and that they may have the use of such necessaries as are allowed for them in time of their sickness, and that these necessaries be not on any account embezzled.

Fourthly, that your lordships will be so kind as to look into this affair, which is nowise unreasonable, and that we may be looked upon as a number of men standing in defence of our country, and that we may in some wise have grant and opportunity to taste the sweets of liberty on shore, when in any harbour; and when we have completed the duty of our ships, after our return from sea, and that no man may inroach upon his liberty, there shall be a boundary limited, and those trespassing any further, without a written order from the commanding officer, shall be punished according to the rules of the navy; which is a natural request, and congenial to the heart of man, and certainly to us, that you make the boast of being the guardians of the land.

Fifthly, that if any man is wounded in action, his pay be continued until he is cured, and discharged; and if any ship has any real grievances to complain of, we hope

your lordships will readily redress them, as far as is in your power, to prevent any disturbances.

It is also unanimously agreed by the fleet, that from this day no grievance shall be received, in order to convince the nation at large, that we know when to cease to ask as well as when to begin; and that we ask nothing but what is moderate, and may be granted, without detriment to the nation, or injury to the service.

Given on board the Queen Charlotte, by the delegates of the fleet, this 18th day of April, 1797.

[The signatures the same as to the preceding petition.]

While the lords of the admiralty continued at Portsmouth, they sent to lord Bridport the following answer to the petition of the seamen. By the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Having taken into consideration the petitions transmitted by your lordship from the crews of his majesty's ships under your command, and having the strongest desire to attend to all complaints of the seamen of his majesty's navy, and to grant them every just and reasonable redress, and having considered the difference of the price of the necessaries of life at this and at that period when the pay of seamen was established, we do hereby require and direct your lordship to take the speediest method of communicating to the fleet — That we have resolved to recommend it to his majesty to propose to parliament to increase the wages of seamen in his majesty's navy in the following proportions, viz.

To add four shillings per month

to the wages of petty officers and able seamen; Three shillings per month to the wages of ordinary seamen; and Two shillings per month to the wages of landmen.

That we have resolved, that seamen wounded in action shall be continued in pay until their wounds are healed, or until, being declared unserviceable, they shall receive a pension, or be received into the royal hospital at Greenwich; and that, having a perfect confidence in the zeal, loyalty, and courage of all the seamen in the fleet, so generally expressed in their petition, and in their earnest desire of serving their country with that spirit which always so eminently distinguished British seamen, we have come to this resolution the more readily, that the seamen may have as early as possible an opportunity of showing their good dispositions, by returning to their duty, as it may be necessary that the fleet should speedily put to sea, to meet the enemy of the country.

Given under our hands, at Portsmouth, the 18th day of April, 1797.

SPENCER.

ARDEN.

W. YOUNG.

To the right hon. lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, commander in chief of a squadron of his majesty's ships employed in the Channel service.

THE SEAMEN'S REPLY.

We received your lordships' answer to our petition; and in order to convince your lordships, and the nation in general, of our moderation, beg leave to offer the following remarks to your consideration, viz. — That there never has existed but two orders of men in the navy,

able and ordinary; therefore the distinction between ordinary and landmen is totally new; we therefore humbly propose to your lordships, that the old regulations be adhered to, that the wages of able seamen be raised to one shilling per day, and that of petty officers, and the ordinary, in the usual proportion; and as a further proof of our moderation, and that we are actuated by a true spirit of benevolence toward our brethren the marines, who are not noticed in your lordships' answer, we humbly propose that their pay be augmented, while serving on board, in the same proportion as ordinary seamen. This we hope and trust will be a convincing proof to your lordships that we are not actuated by a spirit of contradiction, but that we earnestly wish to put a speedy end to the present affair. We beg leave to state to your lordships, that the pensions from Greenwich college we earnestly wish to be raised to ten pounds per annum; and, in order to maintain which, we humbly propose to your lordships, that every seaman employed in the merchant service, instead of six-pence per month, which he now pays, shall hereafter pay one shilling per month, which, we trust, will raise a fund fully adequate to the purpose; and as this in time of peace must be paid by your petitioners, we trust it will give a convincing proof of our disinterestedness and moderation. We would also recommend that this regulation be extended to the seamen in the service of the East India company, as we know by experience that there are few sailors employed by them but what have been in the royal navy; and we have seen them with our own eyes, after sickness or other acci-

dent has disabled them, without any hope of relief or support, but from their former services in the navy. — As to provisions, that they be augmented to sixteen ounces to the pound of bread and meat; cheese, butter, and liquor in proportion, and of a better quality, and a sufficient quantity of vegetables; and that no flour be served with fresh beef. And we further beg leave to inform your lordships, that it is unanimously agreed, that, until the grievances before stated are redressed, and an act of indemnity passed, we are determined not to lift an anchor: and the grievances of particular ships must be redressed.

Given under our hands, the delegates of the fleet, on board the Queen Charlotte at Spithead, April 19, 1797.

Signed as before.

In this situation of affairs, lord Spencer, and the other commissioners, left Portsmouth, and arrived in town on Saturday. The business was urgent, and no time was to be lost. A council was immediately held, which consisted of the lord president, the duke of Portland, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, and lord Walsingham; and the whole board of admiralty assisted upon the occasion. The deliberations continued upward of three hours, the result of which was favourable to the claims of the seamen in every particular. The whole of the cabinet ministers then set off for Windsor, where they arrived at seven o'clock. Another council was instantly held in the presence of his majesty, at the lodge, when an order was regularly made out for granting the whole of the sailors' demands; and a full pardon and indemnity for the delegates and

their accomplices was signed by his majesty. It was near ten o'clock at night before the whole of this business was settled, at which hour, Mr. Powell, the admiralty messenger, who was in waiting, was sent off with copies of the proceedings to lord Bridport at Portsmouth.

The following is a copy of the letter from the admiralty to lord Bridport, notifying their compliance with the demands of the seamen; with their final answer.

By the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Having taken into our consideration a paper containing several representations from the seamen of his majesty's ships at Spithead, respecting the advance of their wages, and being desirous of granting them every request that can with any degree of reason be complied with, we have resolved to recommend it to his majesty, that an addition of five shillings and sixpence per month be made to the wages of petty officers and seamen belonging to his majesty's navy, which will make the wages of able seamen one shilling per day, clear of all deductions; an addition of four shillings and sixpence per month to the wages of ordinary seamen; and an addition of three shillings and sixpence per month to the wages of landmen: and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on shore shall be stopped, on their being embarked on board any of his majesty's ships. We have also resolved, that all seamen, marines, and others serving in his majesty's ships, shall have the full allowance of provisions, without any deductions for leakage or waste; and that, until proper steps can be taken for carrying this into effect, short allowance

lowance money shall be paid to the men in lieu of the deduction heretofore made: and that all men wounded in action shall receive their full pay until their wounds shall be healed, or until, being declared incurable, they shall receive a pension from the chest at Chatham, or shall be admitted into the royal hospital at Greenwich. And your lordship is hereby required and directed to communicate this our determination to the captain of each of his majesty's ships under your orders, directing him to make it known to the ship's company under his command, and to inform them that should they be insensible to the very liberal offers now made to them, and persist in their present disobedience, they must no longer expect to enjoy those benefits to which, by their former good conduct, they were entitled: and that in such case, all the men now on board the fleet at Spithead shall be incapable of receiving any smart money or pensions from the chest of Chatham, or of being admitted at any time into the royal hospital at Greenwich; and that they must be answerable for the dreadful consequences which will necessarily attend their continuing to transgress the rules of the service, in open violation of the laws of their country.

On the other hand, he is to inform them, that we promise the most perfect forgiveness of all that has passed on this occasion to every ship's company, who, within one hour after the communication to them of the above-mentioned resolutions, shall return to their duty in every particular, and shall cease to hold further intercourse with any men who continue in a state of disobedience and mutiny.

Given under our hands, at Portsmouth, the 20th of April, 1797.

SPENCER.

ARMY.

W. YOUNG.

To the right hon. lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, commander in chief of a squadron of his majesty's ships to be employed in the Channel Soundings, &c.

By the command of their Lordships, (Signed)

WM. MARSDEN.

To the right hon. the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

We, the seamen and marines in and belonging to his majesty's fleet now lying at Spithead, having received with the utmost satisfaction, and with hearts full of gratitude, the bountiful augmentation of pay and provisions which your lordships have been pleased to signify shall take place in future in his majesty's royal navy by your order, which has been read to us this morning by the command of admiral lord Bridport—

Your lordships having thus generously taken the prayer of our several petitions into your serious consideration, you have given satisfaction to every loyal and well-disposed seamen and marine belonging to his majesty's fleets; and from the assurance which your lordships have given us respecting such other grievances as we thought right to lay before you, we are thoroughly convinced, should any real grievance or other cause of complaint arise in future, and the same be laid before your lordships in a regular manner, we are perfectly satisfied that your lordships will pay every attention to a num-

ber of brave men, who ever have and ever will be true and faithful to their king and country.

But we beg leave to remind your lordships, that it is a firm resolution, that, until the flour in port be removed, the vegetables and pensions augmented, the grievances of private ships be redressed, an act passed, and his majesty's most gracious pardon for the fleet now lying at Spithead be granted, that the fleet will not lift an anchor; and this is the total and final answer.

The following is a copy of the royal proclamation.

By the KING.

A Proclamation

For pardoning such seamen and marines of the Squadron of his majesty's fleet stationed at Spithead, as have been guilty of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, and who shall, upon notification of such proclamation on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty.

GEORGE R.

Upon report of the lords commissioners of the admiralty of the proceedings of the seamen and marines of the Squadron of our fleet stationed at Spithead, and of the measures taken by the said lords commissioners in consequence thereof; and in order to manifest our desire to give due encouragement to all those who shall return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, according to the rules and practice of the navy; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby promise our most gracious pardon to all seamen and marines

serving on board the said Squadron, who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty: and we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines, so returning to their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties, incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, previously committed by them, or any of them.

Given at our court at Windsor, the 22d day of April, 1797, and in the 37th year of our reign.

God save the KING.

Thus happily ended this disagreeable affair. A letter from Portsmouth, dated Sunday evening, eight o'clock, April 23, says, 'The dispatches which were brought down by Mr. Powell in the extraordinary short period of seven hours, were instantly carried to the port admiral, who sent for lord Bridport, admirals Gardner, Pole, and Colpoys; and after consulting a long time together, about 11 o'clock they proceeded on board the Royal George, where lord Bridport's flag had been again hoisted. A signal was immediately made for all captains to go on board the admiral's ship, when the nature of the dispatches was divulged. Every captain then returned to his own ship, and communicated to the crews the contents of the dispatches from Windsor. The seamen unanimously declared they could give no answer till the proposals were submitted to the court of delegates. On assembling the court, it was found that Joyce and Glynn, two of the delegates, were on shore.

The

The court would not proceed without them.

A boat was sent on shore, and they were brought on board in as much form as if they had been two officers. The court of delegates being completed, proceeded to business. The proposals were discussed, and finally agreed upon at half past six. The signal of approbation, being three cheers, was first given by the Queen Charlotte, and then went through the whole fleet, every ship giving in this manner its consent.

Captain Holloway, of the Duke, first came on shore about seven o'clock, to announce the happy tidings to the thousands of anxious spectators waiting the result on the platform. All the boats from the other ships followed, and the seamen in each, on landing, declared the business happily settled. The seamen are satisfied. They have unanimously agreed to resume their duty, and it is understood the fleet will sail on Tuesday.

'The intelligence was received with the most excessive joy by the people on shore.'

From the London Gazette, April 29.

Downing-street, April 29, 1797.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, has been received from colonel Craufurd, by the right hon. lord Grenville, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the foreign department.

My lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that general Hoche has given notice to general Werneck, that the armistice which had been arranged for the Lower Rhine, will expire this day.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. CRAUFURD.

Right hon. lord Grenville, &c.

Downing-street, April 29, 1797.

By dispatches from col. Graham, dated at the head quarters of his royal highness the archduke Charles, at Vorderenberg, the 8th instant, it appears that no general action had taken place since the date of his last dispatches, and that general Buonaparte's head-quarters were then at Bruck.

Vienna, April 11. An armistice for six days has been agreed upon between the archduke Charles and general Buonaparte, which will expire on the 13th instant.

Vienna, April 12. Accounts from the Tyrol state that the baron de Laudohn had gained several considerable advantages over the enemy. On the 4th he had made himself master of Lotzen, and on the 5th he had advanced as far as Deutchen and Braurol.

The enemy abandoned Millerwald, Oberau, and Unterau, and set fire to the bridges between Oberau and Ampozzo, in the night of the 4th, and retired precipitately to Pusterthal. General Laudohn had in the mean time taken the enemy in the rear, and had forced them to abandon the posts of Clauser and Steben: they were also driven from Brixen, and baron Kerpen had advanced the whole of his line, and had effected a junction, and fixed his head-quarters at Brixen.

The enemy left behind them a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition.

The people of the Tyrol are rising in a mass, and the commotions in the Venetian states threaten the French in the rear.

Prince Esterhazy is advancing through Croatia with a considerable body of Hungarians.

Admiralty Office, April 29, 1797.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral

(F 3)

miral Sir Hyde Parker, knt. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 9th March, 1797.

Enclosed I have the honour to transmit a list of such armed vessels as have been captured or destroyed since my last.

A list of prizes captured by his majesty's ship *La Magicienne*, during her last cruise.

La Fortune, of 8 guns, 74 men

Le Poisson Volant, 12 guns, 80 men

Le Poisson Volant, 5 guns, 50 men

Spanish cutter, 6 guns

formerly called the *Bawvaes*, laden with olives and dry goods.

By the *Diligence*.

La Pouguese, of 6 guns, 57 men.

One private schooner destroyed by the boats of the Squadron,

under the command of lieutenant Spread, of his majesty's ship

Queen, who retook an American brig she had captured in our sight,

to recover which the boats were sent in chase.

H. PARKER.

The same gazette announces the capture of the *Daphne*, of Cherbourg, French privateer, of 2 guns

and 25 men, by the *Nancy* cutter, capt. Wallis.

M. A. Y.

From the *London Gazette* of May 2.

Downing-street, May 2, 1797.

A letter, of which the following is an extract, has been received

from colonel Craufurd, by the

right honourable lord Grenville,

his majesty's principal secretary

of state for foreign affairs, dated

Frankfort, April 19, 1797.

I have the honour to inform

your lordship, that general Hoche

yesterday attacked, with very su-

perior numbers, and defeated an

Austrian corps, commanded by ge-

neral Kray, which formed a part

of the army of the Lower Rhine,

under the orders of general Wer-

neck, and was stationed at Thur-

dorf, on the road leading from

Neuwied to Hackenburg. In con-

sequence of that circumstance, ge-

neral Werneck, who was with the

principal part of his army near Cro-

bach, between Hackenburg and

Altenkirchen, has determined to

retreat.

Vienna, April 15. Accounts have been received this day of the enemy having been obliged to abandon the town and port of Fiume, with considerable loss, on the 10th instant.

Vienna, April 16. Accounts were received here this day, from major general baron Laudohn, dated at Trent the 12th instant, stating, that he had driven the enemy from Roveredo, Torbole and Riva, and had occupied those places. On this occasion he took from the enemy several magazines (amongst which was one of powder), 12 pieces of cannon, and 400 prisoners.

Vienna, April 17. The preparations for defence are continuing here with uncommon vigour. An entrenched camp is forming on the Wienerberg, on the Italian road, at a little distance from the lines; and the works are continuing quite round the town. The first division of the troops from the Rhine, accompanied by the prince of Orange, is already arrived, as is a part of Mons. de Seckendorf's corps. This morning the numerous corps of volunteers of the town were assembled on the glacis, and afterwards marched to the circumjacent villages, where they will be stationed. Their regularity and good conduct do them infinite honour; and

the happiest spirit of loyalty is manifested by all classes here.

This gazette contains an account from rear-admiral Harvey, at Fort-Royal Bay, Martinique, of the capture of 4 Spanish merchant-ships, and the re-capture of 2 British—also of the capture, by his majesty's ship *Lapwing*, of a Spanish privateer brig, called the *St. Christopher*, 19 days from the Havanna, on a cruise, mounting 18 guns, and having 120 men on board, commanded by Antonio La Porte, which capt. Barton sent to the island of St. Christopher.—Likewise, by his majesty's sloop *Bittern*, on a cruise off Barbadoes, of the capture of *La Casca*, French privateer, belonging to Guadaloupe, mounting 6 carriage guns, and having on board 50 men. And of the capture, by sir Richard Strachan, of his majesty's ship *Diamond*, of the French cutter privateer, called the *Espérance*, belonging to St. Malo.

6. This gazette contains an account of the re-capture of the *Belle Isle*, of Maryport, which vessel had been captured a few days ago, off Waterford, by the Bouillon French privateer, of 14 guns;—also, the capture of *L'Aimable Manette*, French brig privateer, of 14 guns and 69 men. The evening before she was taken she had fought an outward-bound English yellow-sided ship, carrying 16 nine-pounders, which had killed and wounded 15 of her crew, and obliged her to sheer off.

This night between eight and nine o'clock three fellows went in to the Three Compasses public-house, at Waltham Abbey, kept by Mrs. Gray, a widow, where they continued drinking till past eleven o'clock; every person being then gone except a young man, a carpenter, he was desired by the landlady to sit up while they stayed;

this young man, seeming to be asleep, the fellows went up to the bar, and demanded the landlady's money. Mrs. Gray making some resistance, one of the villains drew forth a pistol and shot her through the left breast, the ball coming out at her neck: the carpenter struggling with one of the men, a second pistol was discharged at him, the ball from which entered the sleeve of his coat, and came out near the elbow, without doing him any injury. A man and his wife, who lodged in the house, jumped out of a one-pair of stairs window, and Mrs. Gray ran into the street. But, notwithstanding an alarm made, they made off without effecting their intension of robbing the house, and have not yet been taken.

Mrs. Gray died a short time afterwards. 7. This evening, between eight and nine o'clock, Mr. Fryer, of Southampton-buildings, Holborn, clerk to an attorney, accompanied by a young lady, his cousin, and of his own name, to whom he was soon to be married, was attacked in the fields near White-Conduit House by three footpads, who shot him through the head, and robbed him of his watch and money. The Bow-street patrol, who were within a short distance at the time, on hearing the report of the pistol, made to the spot, where they found Mr. Fryer, weltering in his blood, who in a few minutes after expired. A stick with a sword in it, and with which it is thought he made some resistance, was lying by him.

A very short time before this shocking affair took place, a Mrs. Parks, an elderly woman, servant to a clergyman in Islington, was stopped near Islington workhouse by three footpads, who robbed her

of her cloak and 2s. 6d. almost in sight of Mr. Fryer, who, being alarmed, put himself in a posture of defence, which cost him his life. A reward of 50l. appeared in the gazette for the apprehension of these villains. On Thursday the 11th, twelve men were apprehended on suspicion of some of them being concerned in this murder, and, after an examination before the magistrates at Bow-street, nine were discharged, and three committed for farther examination.

7. The mutiny among the seamen, which was supposed to be happily terminated, in consequence of the liberal concessions of administration, broke out on this day with greater violence than ever; owing, it is said, to a misrepresentation of certain parliamentary discussion on the subject, and to an idea that the concessions granted to the seamen would not be adhered to. In the morning of that day, the signal for sailing being made by lord Bridport, the seamen again refused to weigh anchor. Some of the delegates from the ships at St. Helen's coming along-side the London of 98 guns, admiral Colpoys, that officer declared that not a man should come on board; and, on their persisting to enter, an affray happened between the officers of the London and the ship's crew, which ended in bloodshed, several on both sides being killed and wounded. The sailors having overcome the officers, the former immediately confined admiral Colpoys and captain Griffiths, their commanders, for whose lives, for some time, great fears were entertained. In the sequel, they were released; and this alarming mutiny has since happily subsided. Much had been done toward conciliating the late unhappy diffe-

rences by lord Bridport and other officers of the fleet, previous to lord Howe's arrival at Portsmouth; but the presence of this noble veteran has tended to accelerate the termination of them; having carried with him full powers from his majesty to promise a pardon to those who were heartily contrite, as well as to settle any other little points in dispute.

After conferring with the port admiral at Portsmouth, earl Howe embarked on board a barge for St. Helen's about nine o'clock on Thursday morning, and immediately went on board the Royal George, lord Bridport's flag ship. A very interesting conversation took place between the officers of the fleet, and the principal delegates, who seemed perfectly sensible of the impropriety of their past conduct, and promised the most perfect obedience for the future.

Earl Howe went on board most of the ships, and, after promising, in the name of the king, a general pardon for their past conduct, provided they submitted without delay to the orders of their officers, earnestly exhorted them not to sully that fair fame which their attention to the necessary rules of discipline and subordination had acquired for them, by resisting any longer the authority of their commanders, who had so often led them on to victory and to glory. His lordship was received in the most respectful manner; and the sailors, confiding in his lordship's promise of a full and perfect amnesty, declared their unconditional submission to their officers, requested that such of them as had been sent on shore might forthwith resume their commands, and agreed to put to sea without any farther remonstrance. The Mars, however, continued to display

play the blue flag, the signal of mutiny, for some time after it had been pulled down by the other ships; and it was not until the crew were threatened with force by the remainder of the fleet that they consented to return to their duty.

11. Another common hall was held at Guildhall, when several strong resolutions were entered into, declaratory of the rights of the livery; asserting, 'that his majesty's ministers have wantonly plunged this nation into an unjust and unnecessary war, which has produced a series of calamities unexampled in history; an enormous increase of public debt; an alarming diminution of our trade and manufactures; an abridgment of our rights and privileges; a shameful profusion of our national wealth, by subsidising allies abroad, and supporting a system of corruption at home, to the destruction of public credit—thus evincing a disposition to sacrifice the blood, treasure, and liberties of the kingdom, in support of measures repugnant to the principles of the constitution, derogatory to the dignity and safety of the king, and inconsistent with the happiness of the people;' directing their representatives in parliament to move for an address to the king, 'to dismiss his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace;' and concluding with a censure on the lord mayor, who, 'by dissolving the last common hall on a frivolous and unfounded pretence of the irrelevance of the resolution which was moved to the occasion on which the hall was assembled, by refusing to convene another common hall for all the purposes specified, on a like frivolous and unfounded pretence of the livery of London, not being a deli-

berative body; and, by convening the present common hall for purposes short of those which are specified in the requisition, has violated the rights of the livery; has suffered his political attachments to warp his official conduct, and proved himself to be utterly undeserving of the confidence of his constituents.'

These resolutions, having been carried by a large majority of the persons present, were ordered to be published once in all the newspapers in Great Britain.

The following is the counter-declaration of the livery of London; to that agreed to at the common hall.

'We, the undersigned livery of London, think it necessary to make this public declaration of our dissent, and full disapprobation of the several violent proceedings at the three last common halls, held in this city.

'In common with our fellow-citizens, we deplore the evils of war, and earnestly pray for the return of peace: we have beheld, with satisfaction, the repeated efforts of government to put an end to hostilities; and we trust those efforts will be continued, until such a peace may be obtained as Englishmen ought to desire—such a peace as may preserve the independence, the honour, and the commercial interests of this great nation.

'And we think it expedient further to declare our aversion and abhorrence of all proceedings tending to excite discord, at a time when unanimity is so essentially necessary; or to sanction measures of turbulence, when the good order of the country is the imperious duty of every Briton to maintain. Every deviation from that line of conduct must stimulate our enemies

tries to rise in their demands, and must place the prospect of reconciliation at a greater distance.

In the name of peace, then, we subscribe; and we invite our brethren of the livery to join us in giving our sovereign that faithful support which we owe to him; and to our fellow-subjects throughout the united kingdoms, that example which will best tend to secure our national happiness, and to preserve to ourselves, and to our posterity, the advantages of our free constitution.

[The above declaration was signed by about 2000 of the livery.]

St. James's, May 13. On Tuesday last his most serene highness the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg came to the apartments prepared for the reception of his most serene highness at St. James's. His highness having been invited by the right hon. sir Joseph Banks, K. B. to stop, in his way to London, at Spring Grove, and to partake of a collation, was met at Spring Grove by right hon. lord Malmesbury, K. B. and sir Stephen Cottrell, knt. his majesty's master of the ceremonies, and was by them conducted to London in one of his majesty's coaches, drawn by six horses, and lodged in the said apartments at St. James's. Immediately after his arrival at St. James's, his highness received a visit from the marquis of Salisbury, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household. Their majesties and the royal family sent their compliments of welcome to his most serene highness upon his arrival at St. James's; and the right hon. Charles Greville, vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, who carried the compliment from his majesty, acquainted his most serene highness, that his majesty had appointed the ensuing day to receive his highness after the

levee; when his most serene highness waited on his majesty, and afterwards on the queen and on the royal family, at the times respectively appointed. Before the hour came for his most serene highness to have access to the king on Wednesday, his highness received visits from their graces the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the lord chancellor, and other lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and from many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, and from the foreign ministers; all of whom were presented to his most serene highness. On Thursday his highness again received visits from divers of the nobility, and went to the drawing-room to pay his compliments to the queen; and yesterday his serene highness paid his compliments to his majesty at the levee.

17. This gazette contains an account of the capture of La Trompense French schooner, of 6 guns and 40 men, by his majesty's sloop Spitfire, captain Seymour.

St. James's, May 18. This day, the solemnity of the marriage of his serene highness Frederick William, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg-Stuttgart, with Charlotte-Augusta-Matilda, princess royal of Great Britain, lady of the imperial order of Russia of St. Catherine, and eldest daughter of king George III. was performed in the chapel royal, by the archbishop of Canterbury. After the ceremony, their majesties, with the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber, where the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction, paid their compliments on the occasion; which were received by the bride and bridegroom in her majesty's apartment.

20. (This gazette contains an account of the chase and capture of two

two Spanish frigates, by captain Martin, in a letter to sir John Jarvis, as under.

Irresistible, off Cadiz, April 29.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that on the morning of the 26th, at six A. M. I gave chase, in his majesty's ship under my command, to two ships in the S. E. in company with the Emerald, and that at half past two P. M. we attacked them in Conil Bay, near Trafalgar, where they had anchored; that at 4 they struck to his majesty's ships, and proved to be the Spanish frigates Elona and Ninfa, mounting 26 guns and 320 men each, from the Havannah, bound to Cadiz. The former cut her cable after she had struck, and ran on shore; and, notwithstanding we got her off, from the damage she received we were not able to keep her afloat. Part of the crews left the ships, and got on shore. From every account I have been able to collect, the two frigates had 18 men killed and 30 wounded. The Irresistible had one man killed and one wounded.

GEO. MARTIN.

Also of the capture of the French privateer L'Enfant de la Patrie, of 16 guns and 130 men, off Cape Finisterre, by his majesty's ship Boston, captain Morris; also, of the capture of the Flibustier French privateer, of 14 guns, (4 of which were thrown over-board,) and 70 men, by the Spider schooner, lieutenant Dent commander; also, of the Jalouse national corvette, pierced for 20 guns, 16 of which were mounted, by his majesty's ship Vestal, captain White; also of a French armed lugger, called L'Espiegle, with 30 men, by sir Charles Hamilton; also, of the French ship La Nouvelle Eugenie, a razé privateer, of 16 guns and 120 men, by his ma-

jesty's ship the Indefatigable, sir Edward Pellew.

Moscow, April 20. On Wednesday the 12th, his imperial majesty removed to Kremlin, preparatory to his coronation, which took place, with an extraordinary degree of splendour, on Sunday last, the 16th instant. On the 18th the foreign ministers were admitted to a public audience of his imperial majesty, in the name of their sovereigns; and yesterday a ball was given at court, at which the foreign ministers were present.

23. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the French privateer La Basque, of 8 guns and 50 men, by his majesty's ship Phoenix, captain Halsted; also, of the capture of La Dunkerquoise French privateer, pierced for 18 nine-pounders, and 100 men, but which had thrown most of her guns overboard, by his majesty's ship Cerberus, captain Drew.

25. This day the lord mayor and corporation attended at St. James's with addresses to their majesties and to the prince and princess of Wirtemberg, for which, with the answers, see Public Papers.

The mutiny among the seamen, which it was hoped had been finally quelled, broke out with more alarming circumstances towards the close of this month, as will appear by the following detail; the spirit of insubordination appeared chiefly at Sheerness and the Nore.

Delegates were appointed from all the ships, and sat on board the Sandwich of 28 guns; these not only superseded all the captains in their command, but the president of this convention (named Richard Parker) acted as admiral of the squadron, and was implicitly obeyed as such.

On the 20th of May, they sent the following statement of their demands

mands to admiral Buckner (the now merely nominal commander at the Nore) to be transmitted to the admiralty:

Art. 1. That every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth be granted to his majesty's subjects serving in the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

2. That every man, upon a ship's coming into harbour, shall have liberty (a certain number at a time, so as not to injure the ship's duty) to go and see their friends and families; a convenient time to be allowed to each man.

3. That all ships, before they go to sea, shall be paid all arrears of wages down to six months, according to the old rules.

4. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his majesty's ships shall be employed in the same ship again, without consent of the ship's company.

5. That when any of his majesty's ships shall be paid, that may have been some time in commission, if there are any pressed men on board, that may not be in the regular course of payment, they shall receive two months advance to furnish them with necessaries.

6. That an indemnification be made any men who run, and may now be in his majesty's naval service, and that they shall not be liable to be taken up as deserters.

7. That a more equal distribution be made of prize-money to the crews of his majesty's ships and vessels of war.

8. That the articles of war, as now enforced, require various alterations, several of which ought to be expunged therefrom; and if more moderate ones were held forth to seamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice against his majesty's ser-

vice, on that account too frequently imbibed by seamen, from entering voluntarily into the service.

The committee of delegates of the whole fleet, assembled in council on board his majesty's ship Sandwich, have unanimously agreed, that they will not deliver up their charge until the appearance of some of the lords commissioners of the admiralty to ratify the same.

Given on board his Majesty's Ship Sandwich, by the Delegates of the Fleet, 20th May 1797.

To these demands, on the 22d of May, the commissioners of the admiralty replied, refusing the principal part of them, and holding out forgiveness to them, if they should yet return to their duty.

After the admiral had delivered this reply to the delegates of the fleet, they were allowed only ten minutes to consider and return an answer; in place of doing which, they took to their boats, went into the harbour, and brought out all the gun-boats there, to the great Nore; after they had passed the garrison of Sheerness, the gun-boats all fired at the fort, not, as they say, with an intention of doing any damage, but merely to shew they were independent, and not in dread of the fort. The determination of the delegates, in consequence of the above answer from their lordships, was, 'that nothing could be settled till three of the board of admiralty came down to Sheerness.'

On the 24th, the seamen received another letter, repeating the offer of pardon, to which a peremptory refusal was sent, signed by Richard Parker, their president; and the sailors resolved to place the different ships in a posture of defence; and in order to prevent any surprise,

prise, they, on the 25th inst. unmoored with the whole fleet, and moored again, formed into two lines of battle, with a determination of opposing any force that might be employed against them.

The lords of the admiralty, notwithstanding their first refusal, thought proper to go down to Sheerness, and try every conciliatory measure to induce the seamen to return to their duty. A declaration was read on board the mutinous ships: but this and all the expostulations of the lords of the admiralty proving ineffectual, they returned to town; and a cabinet council was immediately held, when it was determined to employ the most vigorous measures to reduce the rebels, and a proclamation was issued, for the suppression of the mutinous and treasonable proceedings of the crews of certain of the ships at the Nore.

On Thursday, June 1, a message was sent to both houses of parliament; in consequence of which two bills were brought into the house of commons, passed through both houses, and received the royal assent on Tuesday the 6th of June. The first, entitled, 'A bill for better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces, by sea or land, from their duty and allegiance, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience.' The other was entitled, 'A bill for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his majesty's ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion.'

In consequence of these bills, the London Gazette extraordinary of Wednesday, June 7, contained two declarations respecting the declar-

ing of certain ships to be in a state of mutiny, and the mode of proceeding with such as should return to their duty.

Previously to the issuing of these proclamations, the mutinous ships at the Nore had been joined by several line of battle ships from admiral Duncan's Squadron off Yarmouth; the whole forming a formidable force of about twenty ships of war, and had each hoisted the red flag of defiance. In the mean time, however, the greatest preparations were making to compel them to submit; both shores were lined with batteries, the forts at Tilbury and Gravesend were furnished with furnaces for red-hot shot, the buoys at the Nore were removed, and some men of war and gun-boats were manned with volunteers raised by a subscription of the merchants of London, in order to attack them.

The mutineers, however, desperate as they seemed to be, thought proper to adopt a pacific measure, before they proceeded to more violent extremities. The delegates on board the Sandwich sent two of their body on board the Monmouth, of which the earl of Northesk is captain, and told his lordship, that it was the pleasure of the committee that he should immediately accompany them on board the flag ship, as they had proposals to make, leading to accommodation. His lordship immediately complied, attended only by one officer. He found the convention in the state cabin, consisting of sixty delegates, with Parker sitting at their head. Before they entered upon business, the president demanded of the person accompanying lord Northesk, who he was?—The answer was, 'An officer of the Monmouth, who

accompanied his captain in the capacity of secretary, from a supposition that he might want one on the present occasion.' 'Who knows him? Say, delegates of the Monmouth, what kind of man is he?'

—The two delegates stated, that he was a worthy, good man: on which it was unanimously voted, that he might attend the conference.

—Lord Northesk was now told by Parker, 'That the committee, with one voice, had come to a declaration of the terms on which alone, without the smallest alteration, they would give up the ships: and that they had sent for him as a known seaman's friend, to be charged with them to the king; from whom he must pledge his honour to return on board with a clear and positive answer in fifty-four hours.' Parker here read the letter, which is said to contain some rough compliments on his majesty's virtues, and as many coarse strictures on the supposed demerits of his ministers:—

His lordship said, 'he would certainly bear the letter as they desired, but he could not, from the unreasonableness of the demands, flatter them with any expectation of success.' They persisted that the whole must be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea! Lord Northesk was now rowed on board the Duke of York, Margate packet, under a flag of truce, with three cheers from the Sandwich, and with the following state paper to ratify his credentials:

Sandwich, June 6, 3 P.M.

To Capt. Lord Northesk.

'You are hereby authorized and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return

back with an answer to the same within fifty-four hours from the date hereof.

R. PARKER, President.

Lord Northesk arrived at Gravesend, took a little repose, and proceeded by land to town; when, after stopping for a short time at the admiralty, he attended earl Spencer to the king. — The demands, as lord Northesk had supposed, were such as could not be acceded to; and the mutinous crews were given to understand, that nothing would be accepted but unconditional submission.

These proclamations, and the dread of the vigorous measures about to be taken by government, produced the desired effect. The moderate or well-affected part of the crews were encouraged to make exertions to emancipate themselves from the tyranny of their mutinous brethren, and the violent and rebellious were confounded and dismayed.

In the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of June, the Repulse and Ardent, of 64 guns each, and the Leopard of 50 guns, made their escape, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the ships they passed. On Saturday, the Monarch and Director slipped their cables, and ran under the batteries of Sheerness. At the same time, a violent commotion broke out among the crew of the Sandwich, and the rebels were expelled the middle deck. About ten o'clock, the defection became general, and it was resolved to send to admiral Buckner, proffering their unqualified submission, but praying that his majesty's pardon might be extended to them. They then struck the red flag, and hoisted the union jack in its place. Some of the ships, however, re-hoisted the red

red flag; and continued it, while they were endeavouring to make terms for their delegates; but unconditional submission was insisted upon by government; and this disgraceful mutiny was at length quite subdued, the *Sandwich*, the head ship in the mutiny having surrendered, and given up Richard Parker, the chief, who was soon after committed to Maidstone jail; and on the 22d of June was tried on board the *Neptune*, and condemned and executed.

Several others of the mutineers were afterwards tried and executed for the same mutiny, the nature of which is more particularly explained in our historical part.

30. The commander of the first battalion of guards read to them the proceedings of parliament, respecting their additional pay, in the following general orders, for the infantry of the line, the militia, and fencible infantry.

Adjutant-General's Office.

Whereas, over and above the provision made for clothing, for Chelsea hospital, for lodgings, and for medical assistance; and likewise, over and above the allowance of beer, and other articles, provided in barracks and quarters, and of bread provided at a reduced rate in camp, the private soldier of infantry of the line, serving at home, heretofore received the pay of sixpence per day, which, together with the sum of twopence farthing per day granted to him by his majesty's warrant for establishing and consolidating certain other allowances lately given him, amounts to the sum of eightpence farthing; his majesty, having been graciously pleased to take the same into consideration, is pleased to direct, that, under the following regulations, there shall, from the 25th of this

present month of May, be paid to each private soldier of infantry, in addition to the said sum of eightpence farthing, the further sum of threepence three farthings, making in the whole, the sum of one shilling daily. — Out of this advance of pay, the soldier is to pay the extra price of bread and meat, now paid by the public, which at present amounts, upon an average, to the daily sum of one penny three farthings; so that the net increase in future, to each soldier, will be twopence per diem.

With respect to the disbursement of this shilling per day, his majesty has been pleased to order, that a sum, not exceeding four shillings per week, shall be applied toward the expense of the soldier's mess, (including vegetables, &c.) unless he himself shall choose to appropriate a further part of his pay to that purpose:

That a sum, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence a week, shall be retained for necessaries, to be accounted for as usual, monthly:

That the remainder of his pay, amounting to one shilling and sixpence per week, shall be paid to the soldier, subject to the accustomed deduction for washing, and articles for cleaning his clothes and appointments.

And his majesty, out of his royal bounty, is further pleased to order and direct, for the benefit of the soldier, —

That, in camp, he shall receive the sum of fivepence farthing per week, being the difference between the allowance and value of bread and beer in quarters or barracks, and the ordinary (increased) supply of bread in camp.

That if meat, of the quality proper to be provided for him, should exceed the price of sixpence per pound,

pound, or bread, of the household quality, the price of one penny halfpenny per pound, such extra price shall be allowed by the public, upon a quantity not exceeding three quarters of a pound of meat, and one pound of bread, per day, for each man:—

That when any soldier shall, with the approbation of his commanding officer, provide himself with lodgings, and the several articles of small beer, &c. to which his billet would entitle him, he shall receive the same allowance as the publican would have been entitled to, under such billet.

His majesty is further pleased to order,

That the pay and allowances to a drummer shall be, daily, thirteen-pence farthing:

That the pay and allowances to a corporal shall be, daily, fourteen-pence farthing:

That the pay and allowances to a serjeant shall be, daily, eighteen-pence three farthings.

His majesty is further pleased to order, that the pay and allowances of the invalids, shall be, daily—

To a private, eleven-pence farthing;

To a drummer, thirteen-pence farthing;

To a corporal, thirteen-pence three farthings;

To a serjeant, eighteen-pence farthing; and that the serjeants, drummers, and private men of the militia and fencible infantry, shall be placed on the same footing, respectively, as those of the line. His majesty is further pleased to order, that the like net addition of two-pence per diem shall be made to all his soldiers, serving out of Great Britain.

Field-marshal the duke of York, is happy to announce the king's

gracious intentions towards the whole of his army.

His royal highness rests assured, that these new instances of the liberality of parliament, and of his majesty's paternal care, will rivet that affection for their king and country, which has ever been the pride of British soldiers; and that a continuance in steady discipline, and honourable conduct, will merit these gracious favours, that have been repeatedly shown them.

On this occasion, his royal highness cannot but add, that, however incredible it may appear, that there should exist a wretch, so lost to honour and humanity, as to league with the enemy, and to aim at the utter ruin of his country, yet there are certainly many desperate persons, who have persevered in methodising treachery and sedition; and who, under specious and delusive pretences, taking the advantage of unguarded moments, have endeavoured to seduce soldiers from their duty, and render them accomplices in their treasons; the direct object of which is universal confusion and rapine, and the overthrow of that happy system of religion and government secured to us by the blood of our ancestors; and which, for so many ages, has rendered Britain the admiration and envy of the world!

His royal highness is convinced, that the love and attachment of the soldier to his king and country, are firm and unshaken; and that, holding in abhorrence all base and scandalous attempts to shake his loyalty and true affection, every good soldier will repel, with indignation, the instigators of such wickedness, and glory in the opportunity of exposing them to the exemplary justice of their insulted country.

By

By command of field-marshal his royal highness the duke of York,
WILLIAM FAWCETT,
 Adjutant-general.

JUNE.

2. This morning, at eight o'clock, their serene highnesses the prince and princess of Wirtemberg left England for Germany: the prince and princess in the king's travelling chaise; general Garth, the countess of Aylesbury, and lady Charlotte Bruce, in one of the queen's coaches; and in another carriage the attendants, escorted by a party of light dragoons; the company breakfasted at the apartments in St. James's palace, and set off from the garden gate.

3. This gazette contains an account of the capture of La Terrible French lugger privateer, of 4 guns, and 25 men, by lieut. Pulling, of his majesty's sloop Penguin; also, off St. Christopher's, of the capture of L'Heureuse Catharine French schooner privateer, carrying 6 guns and 51 men; also, in the West Indies, of the capture of Le Poisson Volant French privateer, of 4 guns and 40 men, by capt. Martin of his majesty's ship Tamer; also, off Guadaloupe, of the capture of Le Chasseur French privateer of 6 guns and 80 men, by capt. Lobb, of his majesty's ship L'Aimable.

5. At the Old Bailey, 12 capital convicts severally received judgment of death; 12 were ordered to be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years, six to be imprisoned in Newgate, seven in the house of correction at Clerkenwell, and one to be publicly whipped round Leadenhall-market.

The sessions being ended, the same were adjourned until Wednesday, July 12.

1797.

This morning were executed at the front of Newgate, Clinch and Mackley, for the robbery and murder of Mr. Fryer, in Islington-fields. [See Occurrences, May 7.] An extremely disagreeable circumstance that occurred shortened the period which is usually allowed to men in their unhappy situation. The floor of the scaffold, from some previous misarrangement, gave way, and precipitated into the area of the apparatus, Messrs. Vilette and Gaffy, the latter a catholic priest who attended Clinch, and the two executioners; Mr. sheriff Staines had himself a very narrow escape. Mr. Gaffy being a lusty man was severely hurt, as were both the executioners; Mr. Vilette escaped with a slight bruise. The two malefactors swung off with their distorted features exposed to the view of the distressed spectators. By the laudable activity of Mr. Ramsden, the prison surgeon, however, the cap was drawn over their faces afterward. Their bodies were removed to a proper place for the purposes of dissection and exposure. They both denied to the last moment having had any concern in the murder.

The London Gazette, June 6.

Parliament-street, June 6, 1797.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the West Indies.

His majesty's ship Prince of Wales, off Porto-Rico, May 2.

SIR,

After the reduction of Trinidad, the force destined for the expedition against Porto-Rico being assembled, on the 8th of April the fleet sailed from Martinico, and ar-

(G)

rived at St. Kitt's on the 10th; where we waited the arrival of captain Woolley, of his majesty's ship *Arethusa*, who had been sent to Tortola and St. Thomas, to procure pilots and guides. This occasioned the delay of a few days.

On Monday the 17th, we made the island of Porto-Rico, and came to an anchor off Congrejos-point. The whole of the north side of this island is bounded by a reef, and it was with much difficulty that a channel was discovered, about three leagues to eastward of the town, through which his majesty's sloops the *Beaver* and *Fury*, with the lighter vessels, passed into a small bay, in which the troops, on the next morning, were disembarked with little opposition from about 100 of the enemy, who were concealed in the bushes at the landing-place. In the afternoon of the same day the troops advanced, and took a position very favourable for our numbers, with our right to the sea, and our left to a lagoon, which extends far into the country. The artillery was brought up without loss of time, and every preparation made to force a passage into the island on which the town of Porto-Rico is situated.

It is necessary here to observe, that as the *Moro* castle completely commands the passage into the harbour, the enemy kept open their communication with the southern and western part of the island, and even teased and harassed our left flank with their numerous gun-boats. The only point, therefore, on which we could attack the town, was on the eastern side, where it is defended by the castle and lines of St. Christopher, to approach which it was necessary to force our way over the lagoon, which forms this side of the island. This passage

was strongly defended by two redoubts and gun-boats, and the enemy had destroyed the bridge which connects, in the narrowest channel, the island with the main land. After every effort on our part, we never could sufficiently silence the fire of the enemy, (who had likewise entrenched themselves in the rear of these redoubts) to hazard forcing the passage into the island with so small a force; and this indeed would have been in vain, as the enemy could support a fire ten times more powerful than we could have brought against them. The only thing left was to endeavour to bombard the town from a point to the southward of it, near to a large magazine abandoned by the enemy. This was tried for several days, without any great effect, on account of the distance.

It appearing, therefore, that no act of vigour on our part, nor that any combined operation between the sea and land service, could in any manner avail, I determined to withdraw, and to re-embark the troops; which was done on the night of the 30th of April, with the greatest order and regularity.

All our artillery and stores were brought off, except seven iron guns, four iron mortars, and two brass howitzers, which were rendered unserviceable, it being impossible to remove them. Not a sick or wounded soldier was left behind, and nothing of any value fell into the hands of the enemy.

During the whole of our operations, I have experienced from admiral Harvey the most cordial co-operation, and every act of personal kindness. At my request he landed 300 seamen, under captains Toddy and Browne, of the royal navy; to whose exertions while on shore we are under the greatest obligations.

From

From the arrangements of the admiral, the landing and re-embarking of the troops were conducted in the best order. To capt. Renou, of the royal navy, principal agent of the transports, I desire to express the sense I have of his good conduct upon all occasions.

I beg leave to assure you, that the behaviour of the troops has been meritorious: they were patient under labour, regular and orderly in their conduct, and spirited when an opportunity to show it occurred. All the departments of the army exerted themselves to my satisfaction. A return of our killed and wounded accompanies this dispatch.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RALPH ABERCROMBY.

P. S. I have omitted to say, that four Spanish brass field-pieces fell into our hands, which were brought off.

Total return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, at Porto Rico, May 2.

One lieutenant-colonel, wounded; one captain, killed; one ditto, wounded; one ditto, missing; two lieutenants, missing; thirty rank and file, killed; sixty-eight ditto, wounded; 121 missing.

Names of the Officers killed, wounded, or missing.

53d regiment.—Capt. Rynd, wounded; capt. Dover, missing, supposed taken prisoner.

Lowestein's chasseurs.—Lieutenant-colonel Stammendorf, wounded; lieutenant De Gand, missing, supposed taken prisoner.

Ditto fusileers.—Capt. Grasse, killed; lieutenant Montagnac, missing.

JOHN HOPE, adjutant-general.

The same gazette contains a letter from admiral sir Hyde Parker, commander in chief at Jamaica, inclosing a copy of a letter from capt. Ogilvy, of the Thunderer, con-

taining an account of his destroying the Hermione French frigate of 44 guns; and another, of capt. Pigot's bringing out of Jean Rabel one ship, three brigs, three schooners, and two sloops; and also the two following letters:

La Magicienne, Calabash Bay, April 8.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that the boats belonging to the Magicienne and Regulus, officered and manned by volunteers from the two ships, in the night of the 6th instant, entered the harbour of Cape Roxo in this island, the great receptacle for French privateers and their prizes, when they captured, sunk, and burnt thirteen sail of square-rigged vessels and schooners, the whole in the port; (except a Danish ship) and destroyed two batteries of two guns each, six and four pounders, at the entrance and head of the harbour, without the loss of a man.

This service was so admirably well executed, that I think it a duty incumbent upon me to make known to you the name of every officer employed on it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. H. RICKETTS.

Hermione, at Cape Nichola, April 15.

I have the honour to inform you, that, on the 22d of March, standing in between the island of Zacheo and the west end of Porto Rico, I discovered a brig and several smaller vessels at anchor close in shore, and had the good fortune to succeed in bringing the Hermione to an anchor within half a mile of them, and abreast of a small battery, which immediately opened a fire upon the ship, but was very shortly silenced.

I sent the boats, under the direction of lieutenants Reid and Douglas, to take possession of the vessels; and though they were aground, and

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a small fire of musquetry kept up by the enemy, they brought them all out but two, which were sunk, and I am happy to say without a man being hurt. The following day I sent the boats, under the direction of lieutenant Reid, to land and endeavour to spike and dismount the guns, which they effected without loss; and the enemy had, on our first appearance, taken the sails of the vessels away, and otherwise dismantled them. I set fire to them all but the brig, three of which were French privateers, and the others their prizes, making in all fifteen, besides the brig.

In executing the service, I feel it but justice to the officers and ship's company under my command, to express my approbation of their conduct and exertions, particularly those employed in the boats, which service was attended with much risk and fatigue, and executed with the greatest cheerfulness, spirit, and good judgment.

The brig belongs to Bremen, and was captured by one of the privateers a month before; she is loaded very deep, and is a very valuable vessel. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) HUGH PIGOT.

The same gazette also contains an account of the capture of the Port au Paix, a French privateer schooner, 2 swivels and 17 men, by capt. Eowke of the Swallow, and of the Le Pichegrue, French privateer, 1 gun and 39 men, by lieut. Huggett of the Resolution brig.

Downing-street, June 9, 1797. A messenger arrived yesterday at lord Grenville's office from sir Charles Whitworth, K. B. his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Peterburgh, with his imperial majesty's ratification of the treaty of com-

merce concluded between his majesty and the emperor of Russia.

The ratifications were exchanged at Moscow on the 17th ult.

10. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the Adolphe French lugger privateer, pierced for 12 guns, part of which she threw overboard, and 8 swivels, with 35 men, after being chased 4 hours, by his majesty's sloops Nautilus and Sea-gull;—also, of a French lugger privateer from Brest, mounting 2 carriage-guns, and 8 swivels, with muskets, pikes, pole-axes, &c. and 36 men, by the Dolphin revenue cruiser;—and, also, of a French lug-sail privateer, called the Flying Fish, with 2 swivel-guns, a number of muskets, and 24 men, out three days from Morlaix, by the Lively, a cutter of the customs.

17. In the court of King's Bench, an action was brought by Dunnage against sir Thomas Turton for *crim. con.* with Mrs. Dunnage. The damages were laid at 10,000l. After a long trial, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 5,000l.

This gazette contains an account of the capture of the Stulver Dutch privateer, of 10 guns, and 48 men, from Amsterdam, by his majesty's ship the Astrea, capt. Davies.

Portsmouth, June 20. Yesterday morning at nine o'clock a court-martial was assembled on board his majesty's ship Royal William, at Spithead, consisting of the hon. Thomas Pakenham, president, capt. Aplin, capt. Legge, capt. Montague, capt. Barker, capt. Faulkner, capt. Middleton, capt. Pickmore, capt. Wilkinson, capt. Peyton, capt. Fraser, capt. Yorke, capt. Herbert, for the trial of Guthrie, Calloway, Ashley, Johnson, and Davies, for making and endeavouring to make mutinous assemblies on board his majesty's ship Le Pompée; and

James Braham, for being present at such assemblies, all of them belonging to that ship.

Ten witnesses were examined yesterday on the part of the prosecution, which all tended to criminate Calloway, Ashley, Guthrie, and Johnson. Hitherto nothing has appeared against Braham; and nothing farther against Davies, than that the other four held their meetings in his birth, and that it was the place they swore all such people as they could, through ignorance or otherwise, prevail on to take an oath to assist their views in petitioning for peace, which could not be brought about, they said, without the dismissal of his majesty's ministers, and which, they added, they had determined to effect. Calloway, who seems to be the most hardened fellow among them, observed to one of the people to whom he administered the oath of being true to each other, to obtain by all possible means peace and liberty, that he was an old man, and that his life could not be of much consequence; however, he would freely sacrifice it, see his heart's blood flow, and drink it afterwards, sooner than relinquish the object of forcing the minister out of place, and having an immediate peace. All the evidences in this day's proceedings were respectably looking men, and gave their testimony in a manner perfectly clear.

Portsmouth, June 21. At nine this morning the court-martial re-assembled, and proceeded on the trial of the six mutineers belonging to the *Pompée*. All the evidences, to the number of 17, on the part of the prosecution, went strongly this day to condemn the prisoners Guthrie, Calloway, Ashley, and Johnson; and some circumstances tended to make Davies and Braham more con-

nected with this business than what appeared yesterday. In the course of the evidences called and questioned, it appeared that these disaffected men were not able to get a real seaman to sign their paper, or to take the oath tendered to them. Such men as took the oath did it through impressions of fear, and were the illiterate part of the crew, most of whom could not write their names, or understand what they had sworn to. It is but justice to the well-affected part of the ship's company, to say, that no praise can equal the propriety of their conduct, in exposing the proceedings of the six prisoners, and some others, who, from what has come out in evidence this day, will be brought to trial. The conduct of serjeant Sweet, of the marines, was particularly commendable. The evidence on the part of the crown closed at four o'clock. Several papers, very essential to clear up this black and mysterious business, have been destroyed; the only thing found was among Johnson's clothes, which was a form of an oath, as follows: "I — do swear to stand true till death, in promoting the cause of liberty with equity, while a prospect of obtaining it remains." Here the paper was torn, which shows there was something more to follow. The trial was both days so numerously attended from the ships and the shore, that props were obliged to be put under the beams of the *Royal William*, to support the immense number of people who flocked on board.

Portsmouth, June 23. The court-martial ended this evening at half-past six. By the sentence of the court, Calloway, Guthrie, Johnson, and Ashley, are to suffer death; but the two former are recommended for mercy. A fifth muti-

neer is to be imprisoned twelve months; and the sixth acquitted. This sentence has since been confirmed; and Johnson and Afsley were executed on the 23th.

24. Came on, in the court of King's Bench, Westminster, before lord Kenyon and a special jury, the trial of Mr. Williams, for publishing the first and second parts of Paine's Age of Reason.

Mr. Erskine, as counsel for the prosecution, began a long and comprehensive speech by stating that, not having the honour to be sworn as counsel for the king, it had much oftener fallen to his lot to defend indictments for libels than to assist in the prosecution of them; that nevertheless he felt no embarrassment from the recollection of his former and frequent duties; the principles which he had always laid down in defending others, he should rigidly adhere to in the prosecution of this defendant. The liberty of the press was of the highest importance to mankind. Its liberal and unlicensed freedom had led to all the blessings both of religion and government which Great-Britain enjoyed; and indeed a free press never could exist any where without (subject to the laborious process of all human improvements) bringing the world to a higher pitch of civilization and happiness.

Mr. Erskine then defined the principles and limits of the press, both as they depended upon sound policy, and upon the particular law of England, and cited several authorities to establish, that, though controversial points of divinity might be the legal subject of discussion, and though even profound and complicated reasonings, which in their conclusions might touch many of the tenets of the Christian

church, were admissible, yet that the utter denial of the existence of Christianity, much more a grossly indecent invective upon the whole of its doctrines, and a mockery of all its evidences, had ever been held to be a high misdemeanor, and punished as a disgraceful, infamous offence.

Mr. Erskine said, that, though the law, as he had stated it, and which was settled beyond all question, was enough to bind the consciences of the jury, yet upon a subject so momentous to the public, he thought it his duty to explain its principles, that the people might feel that instead of being unjustly bridled by its restraints, and kept in ignorance by its prohibitions, the weak and simple were protected against the artifices of wickedness, whilst all that reason could collect for sincere and enlightened reflection was left open for meditation and controversy. This task Mr. Erskine went through at some length, taking at the same time the highest possible grounds in support of the rights of juries, and the liberty of the press.

[He next proceeded to comment upon each of the passages selected by the indictment, and exposed their dangerous tendency, as well as their utter repugnancy to every licence of printers which the law could possibly tolerate.]

Mr. Erskine said, that for himself he was devoted to the truths of the Christian religion, not from the prejudices of education, though he had been religiously educated by the best of parents, but from the reflection of his riper years and understanding; that it was the great consolation of his life; that without it he should consider the long course of his health and prosperity, too long and too uninterrupted to be perhaps

haps good for any man, as the dust which the wind scatters, and rather as a snare than as a blessing. He said that the religious and moral sense of the people of Great Britain was the great anchor which alone could hold the vessel of the state amidst the storms that agitated the world; and that if he could believe for a moment that the mass of the people were to be debauched from the principles of religion, which formed the true basis of that humanity, charity, and benevolence that had been so long the national characteristic; instead of mixing himself, as he sometimes had done, in political reformations, he would rather retire to the uttermost corners of the earth to avoid their agitation, and would bear not only the imperfections and abuses complained of in our own wise establishment, but even the worst government that ever existed in the world, rather than go to the work of reformation, with a multitude set free from all the restraints and duties, and disrobed of all the charities of Christianity, who had no sense of God's existence but from Mr. Paine's observation of nature, which the mass of mankind had no leisure to contemplate; nor any belief of future rewards and punishments to animate the good in the glorious pursuit of human happiness, nor to deter the wicked from destroying it even in its birth. But he knew the people of England better—they were a religious people; and with the blessing of God, as far as was in his power, he would lend his aid to keep them so. He had no objections to the freest and most extended discussions upon doctrinal points of the Christian religion; and though the law of England did not permit it, he should not dread the reasoned arguments of deists against the ex-

istence of Christianity itself, because, as was said by its divine author, if it was of God it would stand. An intellectual book, however erroneous, addressed to the intellectual world, upon so profound and complicated a subject, could never work the mischief which this indictment was calculated to repress. Such works would only employ the minds of men enlightened by study to a deeper investigation of a subject well worthy of their deepest and continued contemplation. The powers of the human mind were given for human improvement and refinement in the awful and mysterious career of human existence. The changes produced by such reciprocations of lights and intelligences were certain in their progression, and made their way imperceptibly, as conviction came upon the world by the final and irresistible power of truth. If Christianity be founded in falsehood, let us become deists in this manner, and he was contented. But this book had no such object, and no such capacity. It presented no argument to the wise and enlightened. On the contrary, it treated the faith and opinions of the wisest with the most shocking contempt, and stirred up men without the advantages of learning to a total and absolute disbelief of every thing hitherto held sacred, and consequently to a rejection of all the laws and ordinances of the state, which stood only upon the assumption of their truth. If this were to be permitted, how, in God's name, was the justice of the country to be administered? Why should he submit to the authority of the court, or address twelve of his equals, as he was then addressing the jury, to pass sentence upon their neighbour? Under what sanctions, he asked, were the wit-

nesses to give their testimony? and he might even ask the king himself by what authority he could command the execution of the sentence. The whole judicial fabric was built upon the solemn oaths of every one of its members to administer justice, as God should help them hereafter. What God? that God undoubtedly, who had commanded kings to rule, and judges to judge in justice; who had forbidden men from false testimony against their neighbours, and who had enforced these commandments by the revelations of the unutterable blessings which should attend their observance, and the awful punishments which should await their transgressions.

Mr. Erskine said, that the book appeared to him to be as cruel and mischievous in its effects, as it was illegal in its principles. The poor, whom it affected to pity, were stabbed to the heart by it; they had more need of consolations beyond the grave, than those who had greater comforts to render life delightful. He could conceive an humble, innocent, and virtuous man, surrounded with children, looking up to him for bread which he had not to give them, sinking under the last day's labour, and unequal to the next, yet still looking up with confidence to the hour when all tears should be wiped from the eyes of affliction, and bearing the burthen which he believed his creator had laid upon him for good in the mysterious dispensations of a providence which he adored. What a change in such a mind might not be wrought by this merciless publication!

But it seems this was an age of reason, and the time and the person were arrived that were to dissipate the errors which had overspread the past generation of ignorance.

The believers in Christianity were many; but it belonged to the few that were wise to correct their credulity. Belief was an act of reason; and superior reason might therefore dictate to the weak. In running the mind along the long list of sincere and devout Christians, he could not help lamenting that Newton had not lived to this day, to have had his shallowness filled up with this new flood of light. But the subject was too awful for irony; he would speak plainly and directly:—Newton was a Christian; Newton, whose mind had burst from the fetters cast by nature upon our finite conceptions; Newton, whose science was truth, and the foundation of whose knowledge of it was philosophy—not those visionary and arrogant presumptions which too often usurped its name, but philosophy resting upon the basis of mathematics, which, like figures, could not lie; Newton, who carried the line and rule to the uttermost barriers of creation, and explored the principles by which, no doubt, all created matter was held together and exists. But this extraordinary man, in the mighty reach of his mind, overlooked perhaps the errors which a minuter investigation of the created things on this earth might have taught him of the essence of his creator. What should then be said of the great Mr. Boyle, who looked into the organic structure of all matter, even to the brute, inanimate substance which the foot treads on? Such a man might be supposed to be equally qualified with Mr. Paine to look up through nature to nature's God. But the result of all his contemplation was the most confirmed and devout belief in all which the other holds in contempt, as despicable and drivelling superstition.

But this error might perhaps arise

arise from a want of due attention to the foundations of human judgment, and the structure of that understanding which God has given us for the investigation of truth. Let that question be answered by Mr. Locke, who was, to the highest pitch of devotion and adoration, a Christian.—Mr. Locke, whose office was to detect the errors of thinking by going up to the fountains of thought, and to direct into the proper track of reasoning the devious mind of man, by showing him its whole process, from the first perceptions of sense to the last conclusions of ratiocination, putting a rein besides upon false opinion by practical rules for the conduct of human judgment.

But these men were only deep thinkers, and lived in their closets, unaccustomed to the traffic of the world, and to the laws which practically regulate mankind.

Gentlemen, in the place where we now sit to administer the justice of this great country, above a century ago the never to be forgotten Sir Matthew Hale presided, whose faith in Christianity is an exalted commentary upon its truth and reason, and whose life was a glorious example of its sweets, administering human justice with a wisdom and purity, drawn from the pure fountain of the Christian dispensation, which has been, and will be in all ages, a subject of the highest reverence and admiration.

But it is said by the author, that the Christian fable is but the tale of the more ancient superstitions of the world, and may be easily detected by a proper understanding of the mythologies of the heathens. Did Milton understand those mythologies? Was he less versed than Mr. Paine in the superstitions of the world? No; they were the sub-

ject of his immortal song—and though shut out from all recurrence to them, he poured them forth from the stores of a memory rich with all that men ever knew, and laid them in their order as the illustration of that real and exalted faith, the unquestionable source of that fervid genius, which cast a sort of shade upon all the other works of man—

He passed the bounds of flaming space
Where angels tremble while they gaze:
He saw, till, blasted with excess of light,
He closed his eyes in endless night.

But it was the light of the body only that was extinguished; “The celestial light shone inward, and enabled him to vindicate the ways of God to man.” The result of his thinking was nevertheless not the same as the author’s. The mysterious incarnation of our blessed Saviour, which this work blasphemed in words so wholly unfit for the mouth of a Christian, or for the ear of a court of justice, that he durst not, and would not, give them utterance, Milton made the grand conclusion of the *Paradise Lost*, the rest from his finished labours, and the ultimate hope, expectation, and glory of the world—

A virgin is his mother,
But his sire the power of the Most High.
He shall ascend the throne hereditary,
And bound his reign with Earth’s wide
bounds,
His glory with the Heavens.

Mr. Kyd made a long and able defence for his client. He stated the embarrassment which the subject presented, but reminded the court and jury of the freedom of discussion which the indictment justified and compelled. He explained the etymologies of blasphemy, profaneness, and impiety, which the indictment charged on the

the defendant, and which the crown were bound to establish as existing in the book. He read passages to show the author's reverence for the Supreme Being, and the arguments for his unity; and showed, that, in denying the existence of revelation, he did not mean to dishonour God, as he showed that the law of nature was a revelation set up in every man's heart, and the creation a volume where he might collect his duties. He endeavoured to vindicate the charges made upon the bible by the author, by passages which he proposed to select for that purpose, by which, at the desire of the court and jury, he did not read, but referred to the pages, and named the transactions in the historians of the Old Testament, as indecent and immoral. He insisted upon the free right of controversy, and cited the opinions of many great divines, particularly Dr. Lardner, upon the subject.

Mr. Kyd then spoke with severe reprehension of the prosecution, as the publication for which the printer was indicted would never have existed but for bishop Watson's Apology, the large circulation of which had excited a curiosity to read the book to which it was an answer, and that to gratify public curiosity the book in question was published. Mr. Kyd said, that without a free press we could have had no reformation; and it appeared difficult to distinguish an attack upon that which formed the particular establishment of the national church, and that entire religion on which it was founded. If the author, *bona fide*, wrote as he believed on the subject, both appeared to be legal or illegal; upon the same principle, if either were illegal, both must be so, yet the legality of controversy had been admitted in all

the cases in the books.—Mr. Kyd made many other observations.

Mr. Erskine replied at considerable length; and taking for examples several of the passages in the Bible selected by Mr. Kyd, explained the reason of their introduction into scripture. He said the history of man was a history of man's vices and passions. His vices and passions could not be rebuked without adverting to their existence; and many of the instances selected were recorded as memorable warnings and examples to mankind for their instruction. The Jewish history was, besides, in many parts, connected with that stupendous scheme of prophecy which formed one of the most unanswerable arguments for the truths of Christianity. It was not the purpose of God to destroy free agency by overpowering the human mind with the irresistible light and conviction of revelation, but to leave men to collect its truths, as they were gradually illustrated in the accomplishment of the divine promises of the gospel. He declared, that bred as he was to the consideration of evidence, he considered the prophecy concerning the destruction of the Jewish nation to be, even if there were nothing else to support Christianity, absolutely irresistible. The Jews themselves did not deny the existence of the prophecies; and their very history was not accountable for on any human principle. Their separation into tribes to preserve the genealogy of Christ; the distinction of the tribe of Judah from which he was to come; the fall of that distinction, when that end was accomplished; the predicted departure of the sceptre from Israel; the destruction of the temple which imperial munificence in vain attempted to rebuild
to

to disgrace the prophecy; the scattering of this nation over the face of the whole earth; the spreading of the gospel throughout the world; the persecutions of its true ministers, and the foretold superstitions which had for ages defiled its worship, were facts which no man could by argument do away, and which certainly no Christian state ought to tolerate a man in the impudent mockery of, without any argument at all.

Mr. Erskine spoke with the highest respect of bishop Watson, and also of Mr. Mackintosh, and concluded with a vindication of the learned and pious authors of the prosecution, who were entitled to the public gratitude for their exertions in the cause of religion and virtue.

Lord Kenyon made a most able charge to the jury. He ratified the doctrines as laid down by the counsel for the prosecution, the propriety of which he vindicated and applauded. He expressed his own firm conviction of the truths of Christianity in a very solemn and affecting manner, and having expounded the law to the jury, left the whole to their serious and impartial consideration.—The jury instantly found the defendant Guilty.

The *Zoée*, a French privateer ship, copper-bottomed, mounting 20 guns, four of which she had thrown overboard in chase, and 120 men, was taken on the 11th instant by the *Phaëton*, part of the detachment of the western squadron, under captain Payne of the *Impetueux*.

25. On Saturday last came on the election of sheriffs, chamberlain, and other officers for the city of London. Alderman sir William Herne, knight, and — Williams, were put in nomination on the one

side, and the earl of Lauderdale and Mr. Waddington on the other. Many of the best friends of liberty thought a peer of the realm ineligible to the popular office of sheriff, or at least that the duties of the two stations were incompatible. The sense of the hall was therefore clearly in favour of the two former, and they were declared duly elected. The chamberlain was of course re-elected.

27. This gazette contains an account of the capture of *L'Espérance*, a large French row-boat, belonging to Calais, 58 feet long, armed with 10 swivels, muskets, &c. manned with 32 men, and rowing 30 oars, two days from Dieppe, and had not taken any thing, by his majesty's sloop *Harpy*;—and, also, after a chase of ten hours, of the *Brutal*, a Dutch lugger privateer, of 6 guns, and 27 men, who were cruising in company for the homeward-bound Baltic convoy, by the *Nautilus*;—also of *L'Audacieux*, French lugger privateer, M. Jacques de Bon commander, mounting one 18 pounder, and two swivels, and 46 men, by the *Diligent*, custom-house cutter;—also, of *L'Espoir* French privateer, commanded by Pierre François Codderin, mounting 2 swivels, 15 men, and well supplied with small arms, by the *Viper* excise cutter.

30. Lord Malmesbury this day again set off on the important office of negotiator of the expected peace with France.

JULY.

From the London Gazette, July 1.

Downing-street, July 1.

The king having been pleased to appoint the right honourable lord Malmesbury, knight of the bath, to be his majesty's plenipotentiary for negotiating

negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with the plenipotentiaries of the French republic duly authorised for that purpose, his lordship set out yesterday for Lisle, where the negotiations are to forthwith opened.

His majesty has also been pleased to appoint the honourable Henry Wesley to be secretary to the above mission.

Admiralty Office, July 1.

Extract of a Letter from Earl St.

Vincent to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on Board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, May 17.

I inclose a report from lieutenant Pengelley, commanding his majesty's cutter the Viper, relating his capture of a Spanish privateer.

Viper, Gibraltar Bay, April 30.

SIR,

Having received orders from captain Bowen (of his majesty's ship *Terpsichore*) to proceed with his majesty's cutter under my command to Algiers; upon my return to Gibraltar, on the 13th ult. being about seven leagues N. W. of Alboran, I fell in with and gave chase to a brig in the N. W. quarter; at one P. M. I fired a gun, when she hoisted Spanish colours, and fired a gun shot, hove to, and gave us a broadside. At half-past one we came alongside of her, and brought her to action, which continued till ten minutes past three, when she hauled down her colours. During the action she attempted several times to set us on fire, by endeavouring to throw on board us flasks filled with powder and sulphur. She is called the Piteous Virgin Maria, mounting 10 carriage-guns, 4 six-pounders, and 6 four-pounders, with 8 swivels; had on board, at the commencement of the action, 42 men, and had been from Malaga 6 days. I am happy to inform you that I

lost no men during the action; the enemy had one killed, and seven wounded dangerously, one of which is since dead. The cutter received 40 shot in the main-sail, and her rigging was very much damaged and cut to pieces; a four-pound shot is lodged in her lower-mast. In justice to the officers and men, I beg leave to observe, that they respectively did their duty to my entire satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. PENGELLEY.

This gazette contains an account of the capture of a fine Spanish privateer brig, named *San Francisco*, alias *Los Amigos*, pierced for 14 guns, and 53 men, by the *Santa Margarita*;—also, of a French lugger privateer, called the *Succès*, of 6 guns, and 42 men, by the *Tele-machus* cutter;—also, of a Spanish brig corvette, called the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, of 20 guns, and 100 men, by the *Romulus* and *Mathonefa*;—and, also, a French lugger privateer, named the *Poisson Volant*, mounting 14 guns, and 50 men, by the *Trent*.

3. A most melancholy circumstance happened about twelve o'clock at the admiralty. Captain John Eaton, who had been appointed by lord Bridport, acting captain of the *Marlborough*, of 74 guns, having arrived in town on the preceding day with an account of that ship having returned to port rather in a mutinous state, attended at the admiralty, about ten o'clock, and sent up his name to earl Spencer. The messenger brought down word that his lordship could not be spoken with until twelve o'clock. Capt. Eaton waited in the lieutenants' room till near that hour, and several persons passed in and out without observing any thing particular in his conduct. Captain Oughton was the

the only person in the room, and was looking out of the window when, hearing some noise, he turned round, and saw captain Eaton had stabbed himself in the belly with a kind of dirk, and was making further attempts to destroy himself. He immediately called for assistance, but before any could reach him, captain Eaton had stabbed himself in the side and in the neck, but the first wound was mortal, as part of the entrails had burst out.—During the agonies of death, several loose expressions escaped the suicide. He cried out, 'Justice, lord Spencer, justice!'—'I have done my duty!'—'D—n to all traitors!' and then mentioned the names of two officers. A medical gentleman was called in, but the unfortunate officer died in about 20 minutes.—Next day, an inquest was taken at the admiralty on the body of captain Eaton, when a verdict was returned of lunacy; and the body was ordered to be interred.

4. The lottery for the service of the current year was contracted for. The following gentlemen were the bidders, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Ayton, and Co.	-	-	12 18 6
Eleazor Philip Salomons	12	15	6
Hazard, and Co. for lottery office-keepers		12	13 11

Loufada - - - - 12 12 8

Angerstein - - - - 12 12 4

Messrs. Ayton, and Co. being the highest bidders, were the purchasers.

Admiralty Office, July 8. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the L'Argonaute French lugger privateer, mounting 2 brass six-pounders, 10 swivels, and 36 men, by the Galatea;—also, of a French lugger privateer, called the Tiger, mounting two two-pounders,

four swivels, small arms, and 28 men, by the Repulse revenue cutter;—and also, after a chase of two hours, captured on the shore, near Clackton, in the Waller, Les Graces, French lugger privateer, mounting one two-pounder, and two swivels in carriages, and small arms, by the Viper cutter.

From the London Gazette, July 11.

Admiralty office, July 11, 1797.

Extract of a letter from admiral the earl of St. Vincent, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels employed on the coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, June 16, 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that lieutenant Hardy, in the French republican corvette La Mutine, cut out of the bay of Santa Cruz, by the boats of his majesty's ships Lively and La Minerve, has this moment joined.

The gallantry of this action, recited in the public and private letters of captains Hallowel and Cockburn, has prompted me to take the Mutine into his majesty's service, and to appoint lieutenant Hardy to the command of her. A measure so necessary to encourage a continuance of daring enterprise, I am confident will merit the approbation of their lordships.

Lively, off S. W. end of Teneriffe,

May 31, 1797.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you that on standing into the bay of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, in the afternoon of the 28th in company with La Minerve, I discovered an armed brig lying in the road, which, on our nearer approach, hoisted French colours. Captain Cockburn agreeing with myself

myself in opinion that she might be taken from her anchors, I ordered all the boats of the two ships, with a lieutenant in each, the next night, to bring her out. Lieutenant Hardy, of La Minerve, being the senior officer, the command fell on him. At about half past two in the afternoon he made a most resolute attack, in which he was gallantly supported by lieutenants Bland, Hopkins, and Bushby, and lieutenant Bulkley of the marines in the Lively's boat, and lieutenants Gage and Masing in La Minerve's boats, and under a smart fire of musquetry from the brig, boarded and carried her almost immediately. This gave an alarm to the town, and a heavy fire of artillery and musquetry was opened from every part of the garrison, and from a large ship lying in the road immediately, which continued without intermission for near an hour, during which time they were very much exposed in getting the brig under weigh, and towing her out, there being very little wind; and a little before four o'clock, they had got out of reach of the batteries with La Mutine French national corvette, of 12 six-pounders and 2 thirty-six-pounder carronades, and one hundred and thirty-five men, one hundred and thirteen of whom were on board at the time, commanded by citizen Xavier Paumer, capitaine de frégate. She sailed from Brest on the 8th, for L'Île de France, and had put into the bay of Santa Cruz three days before she was captured, to take in water. The captain was on shore at the time she was cut out.

Lieutenant Hardy having commanded the boats on this expedition, I have sent him in with the prize, and cannot recommend him, or the officers or seamen employed

on that service with him, in too strong terms. Inclosed is a list of the wounded belonging to both ships.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BENJ. HALLOWEL.

List of the petty officers and seamen belonging to his majesty's ship Lively, who were wounded on the 29th of May, in taking La Mutine French national corvette, so as to render them incapable of doing their duty for the present:

Mr. Ralph Standish, master's-mate; William Allen, quarter-master; Peter Laurence, and Grenville Newberry, seamen.

Return of officers and men belonging to his majesty's Minerve, wounded on the 29th of May, 1797, taking the national brig La Mutine.

Lieutenant Hardy.

Warrant officer.—Mr. J. Coulson, gunner.

Petty officers.—Mr. Bagar, midshipman. Mr. Carpenter, ditto, dangerously. Matthew Velley, gunner's mate. Davis Lewis, second master's mate. Robert Sloper, coxswain.

Seamen.—Anthony Hull, dangerously.

Soldiers of the 11th regiment.—James Dunlap, corporal. John Muton, private. Samuel Clark, ditto.

Total 11.

GEORGE COCKBURN.

This gazette also contains an account of the captures of the El Principe de Paz, Spanish brig privateer, of 20 guns and 100 men, and his catholic majesty's packet El Enfanté, by the Boston;—and also, of the Castor, French lugger privateer, pierced for 14 guns, which she threw over during the chase, and 57 men, by the St. Fiorenzo.

From

From the London Gazette, July 15.

Parliament-street, July 13, 1797.

A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant colonel Simcoe, commanding his majesty's troops in the island of St. Domingo, dated Port au Prince, May 8, 1797.

In my letter of the 13th April I have done myself the honour of informing you, that the army of the enemy under Toussaint, after the unexpected évacuation of Mirebalais, had possessed itself of Grand Bois, while the division of their forces on the side of Leogane continued to fire with cannon against Grenier.

The preservation of these posts was an object of considerable moment. Every method was taken, in case of their loss, to guard the mountain, and to dispute the ground on which the enemy could place their howitzers for the destruction of Port au Prince, the object which was supposed to be in their contemplation; but, as it was evident that the army of Toussaint could not be prevented from crossing the plain, and, under this impression, the baron Montalembert had obtained my permission to évacuate the post of Thomazeau, at the foot of the mountains of Grand Bois, I determined to take the guns in the battery against Grenier, that, in case the armies of Toussaint and Leogane should join, they might be totally without cannon, which could not be well brought across the plain of the Cul de Sac, and without cannon the junction or separation of their armies was equally indifferent. Colonel Dessources was therefore placed at the head of 2000 troops, and such preparatory ar-

rangements were made as provided for the protection of L'Arcahaye, and were well calculated to mislead the enemy; and such feints were directed as might distract their attention.

The attack was intended to have taken place on the 15th of April: but the wind did not permit the arrival of colonel Dessources with his regiment until the 26th, when he marched early in the morning from Port au Prince to Tourmier. The enemy, as was their custom, placed some troops in ambuscade, who were soon dispersed, and the king's forces arrived at Tourmier, with little loss. The enemy had occupied two posts on the crest of the mountain of L'Hospitre, on each side of Tourmier, and nearly at two miles distance from it, at the habitations of Boutillier and St. Laurent. It was necessary to dislodge them from these positions. Colonel de Peyster was therefore detached to Boutillier, from which, with his usual gallantry and good conduct, he drove the enemy. The post of St. Laurent was more obstinately defended; and, by the unfortunate loss of major Pouchet, who was killed in leading on the Jeremie troops, they were thrown into confusion; nor was the post taken till a greater force, with cannon, appeared against it.

The delay occasioned by the defence of St. Laurent induced colonel Dessources to postpone the attack of the battery till the next day; and that intelligent officer employed the remainder of the night in making such preparations as were necessary to assure the success of this enterprise.

The defence of the Cul de Sac was entrusted to the baron Montalembert, who made a considerable detachment to the pass where the road

road from Leogane by Grenier enters the plain. This detachment was skilfully conducted by major O'Gorman. It attracted the notice of considerable bodies of the enemy, and, on its return to the Croix des Bouquets in the evening, was attacked on all sides by small parties, who were repulsed.

Toussaint entered the plain in the course of the day, and marched to the side of the Croix des Bouquets, actuated, as it is said, by some vague report of that important post being to be abandoned on his first appearance. His cavalry fell in with the advanced posts of the baron Montalembert's cavalry, under the command of captain comte Manoux. That officer, collecting his troops, immediately charged the enemy with great vivacity, when they fled, and withdrew, with the utmost expedition, to the mountain.

In the mean time captain Couchet, of his majesty's ship Abergavenny, with some armed vessels, proceeded off Leogane, which place has been effectually blockaded since my arrival at Port au Prince, and made various demonstrations to draw the enemy's attention to that side. I am happy in this opportunity to express how much I am beholden to the zeal and promptitude with which captain Couchet has assisted me in promoting his majesty's service.

On the morning of the 17th colonel Dessources, having made his dispositions, marched in two columns, the left to Grenier, under the direction of colonel Depeyster, in which was the British detachment commanded by major Clay. The right column, under the direction of colonel vicomte D'Alzune, descended from St. Laurent.

Upon the division of the left ar-

riving in the bottom, which separated the post of Grenier from the enemy's battery, it turned to the right, and joined the column that had marched from St. Laurent. The fog and haze in the bottom prevented the enemy from seeing this movement. It was also concealed by the judicious manner in which captain Spicer of the royal artillery threw shells from the heights of Fournier from an howitzer and carronade, directing them against the various ambuscades and defences which the enemy had thrown up to protect their battery from any attack in its front or on its right.

On the junction of his division in to one column, colonel Dessources proceeded through a most difficult and inaccessible country to turn the left of the enemy's battery, and the works which supported it, having left troops on the heights of St. Laurent to secure his retreat, and major Clay to protect him from any attack made by the road from Leogane.

As the colonel approached the flank of the battery, and that of the breast-work which defended it, he successively broke his troops into divisions, which kept the enemy's forces in check and suspense, until another division, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Dessources, had, to their great surprise, possessed themselves of the heights considerably beyond them, when, after an ineffectual resistance, they fled on all sides, and left colonel Dessources in possession of their battery, the work of several months, and of the gun which they had in the preceding night withdrawn from it for the defence of their breast-work. This critical enterprise, I am happy to say, was effected with but little loss; and by its success, I

was

was freed from any apprehensions from the junction of the enemy's army.

I am persuaded this additional proof of colonel Dessources' military ability and spirit will meet with his majesty's approbation. That officer speaks in the highest terms of the behaviour of the troops under his command, of the officers who commanded the columns, and in a particular manner of the captains Rodanes, Conegrat, and Mouchet, of the colonial forces, who formed his advanced guard, and to their intrepidity and conduct he attributes much of the success of his operation.

As the troops were assembling to proceed to other objects, which I thought of importance for the king's service, I was informed by brigadier-general Churchill of an attack that had been made at Irois, where, though the enemy had been fortunately repulsed in the assault upon that post, they still continued to invest it, and to threaten its siege.

No time was lost in detaching the honourable colonel Maitland with a sufficient force to the assistance of that officer. On his arrival, brigadier-general Churchill informed him of the repulse of the enemy.

I have the honour to enclose to you a return of the killed and wounded upon the attack and destruction of the enemy's battery and breast-works, and of the ordnance and ordnance stores taken and destroyed.

Return of killed and wounded in his majesty's British and colonial troops, under the command of colonel Dessources, on the 16th and 17th of April, 1797, at the attack of the enemy's positions of St. Laurent and Boutillier, from whence they were driven;

1797.

and also the attack of the enemy's battery, breast-works and places of arms near post Grenier.

Head-quarters, St. Domingo, Port-au-Prince, May 8, 1797.

In driving the enemy from their ambuscade above post Guerlin, (Jean Kina's entrenched camp) under the command of major Clay, of the 40th regiment.

56th regiment.—1 rank and file killed; 1 serjeant wounded.

69th ditto.—1 rank and file wounded.

3d battalion of Irish brigade.—1 officer wounded.

Total, 1 rank and file killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file wounded.

On the attack of posts St. Laurent and Boutillier.

Dessources' regiment.—1 officer, 3 rank and file, killed; 3 rank and file killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

De Pestris' ditto.—1 rank and file killed.

Detachment of troops from Jeremie.—1 officer killed; 2 rank and file wounded.

Jean Kina's corps.—1 serjeant killed; 4 officers, 4 rank and file wounded.

Total, 2 officers, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file killed; 4 officers, 9 rank and file wounded.

At the attack of the enemy's battery, breast-works, and places of arms, near post Grenier.

Chasseurs Royaux.—2 rank and file wounded.

De Pestris' regiment.—2 rank and file wounded.

Chasseurs de York.—4 rank and file wounded.

Chasseurs de Prince of Wales.—1 officer, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file wounded.

Dessources' regiment.—1 rank and file killed.

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Total,

Total, 1 rank and file killed; 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 12 rank and file wounded.

Names of Officers killed and wounded.

Captain Haly, of the 3d Irish brigade, wounded. Major Pocket, of the Jeremie, killed. Lieutenant de la Rue, of Dessources, killed. Ensign Eviere, of Prince of Wales's chasseurs, wounded. Lieutenants Babin and Campanne, of Jean King's corps, wounded. Ensigns Le Pine and L'Artigonave, of ditto, wounded.

E. B. LITTLEHALES,
Dep. Adj. Gen.

Return of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores taken and destroyed at the Attack of the Battery and Heights of Post Fezard, on the Morning of the 17th of April, 1797.

Brass Ordnance.

Two pounder; 1 taken and carried to Post Grenier.

Iron Ordnance.

Nine pounder, 1 destroyed. Eight pounder, 1 destroyed.

Stores.

Fixed ammunition for six-pounders, equal proportion of case and round, taken and carried to Post Grenier, rounds 110 destroyed.

Case shot unfixed for six-pounders, taken and carried to Post Grenier, fifty destroyed.

Cole-shot unfixed for nine-pounders, rounds 110 destroyed.

Langridge in bags for nine-pounders, rounds 150 destroyed.

Langridge in bags for eight-pounders, rounds 150 destroyed.

Ammunition for two-pounder, * * destroyed.

Carriage with limber for eight-pounder, 1 destroyed.

Carriage for two-pounder, 1 destroyed.

Devie cart for moving guns, 1 destroyed.

Limbers for six-pounders, 2 destroyed.

Side boxes for six-pounders, 8 destroyed.

Two-inch rope coils, 2 destroyed.

A proportion of drag washers and lynch pins for nine-pounder and eight-pounder and two-pounder carriages, taken and carried to Port Fourmier.

Carriage with limber for nine-pounder, 1 destroyed.

Cartridges filled for nine-pounders, taken and carried to Port Grenier, 52.

(Signed)

W. SPICA,
Captain-Lieutenant, commanding a Detachment of Royal Artillery.

E. B. LITTLEHALES,
Dep. Adj. Gen.

This gazette also contains an account of the following captures by the ships under the command of rear-admiral Harvey: the schooner Ranger, from Wilmington, bound to Trinidad, laden with lumber and slaves, belonging to Massachuset, retaken from the French to the windward of Mariegalante by the Vanguard, and sent into St. Pierre's, Martinique; the schooner Nobby, from Weseaset, bound to the West Indies, laden with lumber and slaves, belonging to Massachuset, retaken from the French off Mariegalante by the Vanguard, and sent into St. Pierre's, Martinique; the schooner Little Mary, from Surinam, bound to Philadelphia, laden with coffee, cotton, and sugar, belonging to Philadelphia, retaken from the French off Mariegalante by the Vanguard, and sent into St. Pierre's, Martinique, went on shore; the ship Hero, from London, laden with provisions, retaken from a French privateer off St. Kitt's by the Lapwing, and sent into St. Kitt's; the brig Paramaubon, Geo. Curd,

Curd, master, from Surinam, bound to St. Thomas, laden with molasses, sugar, and coffee, belonging to Baltimore, retaken from a French privateer between Tortola and St. Croix by the Fury, and sent into Tortola; the snow Rebecca, from Demerara, bound to St. Thomas, laden with sugar and coffee, retaken from a French privateer to windward of the Virgin Islands by the Fury, and sent into Tortola, papers not found; the sloop General, H. Bloomsbury, master, from Barbadoes, bound to Martinique, laden with dry goods and provisions, recaptured from the enemy off Guadaloupe by the Perdrix, and sent to Fort Royal, Martinique; the schooner Phoenix, Jacob Perkins, master, from Tobago, bound to St. Thomas, laden with fifty puncheons of rum, belonging to New York, retaken from a French privateer to the north east of St. Croix by the Fury, and sent into Tortola; the ship Lealand, U. Beaumain, master, from Guadaloupe, bound to Santa Cruz, laden with coffee and sugar, belonging to Barbadoes, taken to windward of St. Croix by the Favourite, and sent into Tortola; detained, having French property; the ship Atlanti, Thomas Stockel, master, from Teneriffe, laden with wine and dry goods, recaptured from the enemy thirty-seven leagues south-west by south of Barbuda by the Lapwing, and sent into Basseterre, St. Kitt's; the schooner Adela-garde, Bartolame Table, master, from Cuba, bound to Porto Rico, laden with wax and tortoise-shell, taken off Porto Rico by the Are-thusa, and sent into Martinique; detained, being Spanish property; the ship Scipio, from Guadaloupe, bound to St. Thomas, in ballast, belonging to Liverpool, re-captured from the French off Guadaloupe by

the Scipio, and sent into Roseau, Dominica; the schooner Jean Kirby, bound to Guadaloupe, in ballast, belonging to Antigua, re-captured from the French off Guadaloupe, by the Scipio, and sent into Roseau, Dominica; the French schooner privateer La Bayonnaise, belonging to Guadaloupe, carrying 2 guns, some swivels, and 36 men, by the Cyane.

16. A most melancholy accident happened this night, about eleven o'clock. As the three Mr. Taylors, two of whom are clerks in the office for foreign affairs, the other aide-de-camp to the duke of York, were coming to town from Richmond, in a small wherry with a sail, which they had built for their amusement, the boat overfet near Kew, by striking against a barge, and all three tumbled overboard. Mr. B. Taylor got on shore unhurt; Mr. Herbert Taylor was brought on shore with little signs of life, but has since recovered by the means recommended by the humane society; and Mr. William Taylor was drowned. The latter had lately returned with Mr. Hammond from Vienna, to whom he acted as secretary, and was much esteemed by all who had the pleasure of knowing him. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous.

17. This morning at one o'clock a fire broke out at lord St. Helen's house, in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, which consumed the same, and the upper part of sir George Yonge's house adjoining; the accident is not any other way accounted for than, that his lordship, who had been writing, the candle is supposed to have caught the furniture of the bed, which providentially waking him, he instantly alarmed his servants, who had scarce time to make their escape at the top.

of the house; the flames were so rapid, that his lordship had only time to save his jewels and cash; every article, except his plate, which was at the banker's, perished in the flames.

18. On Sunday night, and the early part of yesterday morning, occurred one of the most tremendous storms of thunder, lightning, and rain, ever remembered in the metropolis. The lightning commenced about nine o'clock in the evening, and continued without one instant's intermission till twelve, illuminating with its coruscations every quarter of the heavens with vivid gleams of scarlet and blue light. The thunder came on about twelve, and continued till half after three, with incessant peals of the loudest and most awful effect, so near as seemingly to be bursting directly over head, and accompanied the whole time with the heaviest and most uninterrupted deluges of rain.

This very heavy storm appears to have taken a very wide and extended circuit. In Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Hants, &c. its commencement was about nine or ten o'clock in the evening, and its duration till after day-light. In the metropolis, by the minutest observation, its fury began a little before midnight, and had ceased at four o'clock. At Windsor it was extremely and awfully heavy; at Harrow on the Hill, Highgate, Hampstead, Shooter's Hill in Kent, and other elevated situations, it was felt in a manner particularly severe.

The storm felt here on Sunday night and Monday morning passed over the continent previous to visiting this country. It was felt at Lisle on Saturday afternoon, and continued till three o'clock on Sunday morning without intermis-

sion. It has done considerable damage.

20. This day the parliament was prorogued to the 5th day of September. See the Public Papers.

Worcester, July 20. In beginning the repairs of our cathedral on Monday last, the tomb which stood in the nave, near the chancel, to commemorate the interment of king John, was proposed to be removed to a more convenient place; but, to the astonishment of the workmen, a stone coffin was discovered at the bottom, level with the floor, which, on carefully examining it, was found to contain the remains of the king. From the great length of time the body had been deposited (so long since as the year 1216) nothing but conjectural ideas could be formed as to the vestments, &c. Part of the robe was firm in its texture, but of what colour could not be ascertained. What was discovered of the body appeared to be nearly in the same position as the figure on the top of the tomb-stone, and, from the length of the coffin, measured five feet six inches and a half; part of a sword was lying by his left side, which time had much mouldered; and the leather sheath was nearly in the same state: the most perfect part was towards the bottom of the legs and feet, on which appeared a kind of half-boot. A quantity of a sort of white paste lay in two or three lumps on and below the belly, which it may be supposed had been poured into the body on the heart and bowels being taken out; on breaking a piece of this paste, it was mixed with the skeletons of maggots and flies, of which vast quantities lay on and about the body; and on the right cheek of the skull there was a sharp point about half an inch long, and some grey hairs appeared under part

part of the cap, which had fitted the head very tight, and seemed to have been buckled under the chin, part of the straps remaining; the robe had the appearance, in some parts, of having been embroidered, particularly on the right knee; no bones of the fingers were to be found. One point ascertained is, that the body certainly was deposited here, and not in the more eastern part of the church, as was supposed; and the extraordinary circumstance of there being no memorandum or record of the place of interment in the archives of the cathedral is now obviated. The tomb is to remain sacred to the ashes of the king, and will no doubt be preserved with additional care and attention. The dean and chapter gave orders that the curiosity of the people should be gratified as far as could be done consistently with safety; but, the concourse from all parts becoming so great, it was deemed proper to close the tomb again on Tuesday afternoon. It was observed by the masons that the coffin was cut out of Higley stone; but there was no other top to it than two elm-boards, which were perfectly sound. From the London Gazette, July 22.

Admiralty-Office, July 22, 1797.
Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Knight, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Jamaica, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated June 11, 1797.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you for their lordships' information, that the Grande Anse is acknowledged to be saved by a spirited and well-timed attack made by captain Ricketts, of his majesty's ship *La Magicienne*, upon the enemy's transports of provisions and ammunition in Carcasse Bay, for the particulars of which I beg leave to refer

you to a copy of captain Ricketts's letter.

La Magicienne, in Carcasse Bay, St. Domingo, April 24, 1797.

SIR,

I beg leave to inform you, that on Sunday the 23d instant, when doubling Cape Tiberoon, in company with the *Regulus* and *Fortune* schooner, we discovered a six gun privateer sloop and four schooners at anchor in this bay, which convinced me that the posts of Irois was attacked. Soon after the alarm gun was fired at the fort. As no time was to be lost in endeavouring to counteract the views of the enemy, we stood in and anchored, when we commenced a heavy cannonade, and had the good fortune, in a short time, to drive them into the mountains; their field-pieces, ammunition, provisions, and vessels laden with necessaries for carrying on the siege, fell into our hands.

The good conduct of every officer and sailor belonging to our little squadron manifested itself upon this occasion, as well as upon many others, since I have had the honour to command it. I have to regret the loss of four men killed, and Mr. Morgan, master's mate, and ten men wounded (though not mortally), who were in the *Magicienne's* boat when endeavouring to tow out the privateer.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. H. RICKETTS.

Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c.

Diligence, Nassau, New-Providence, March 13, 1797.

SIR,

I beg leave to inform you, that having cleared the Bahama Straits the 3d of this month, the following day, ten leagues S. W. of the Pan of Motonozas, we fell in with and took, after an action of three quar-

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ters of an hour, *La Nativetas*, of sixteen guns and fifty men, about five hundred tons, laden with log-wood, which had left the Havannah that morning for Cadiz. I have the pleasure of testifying the best conduct of my officers and people in this little affair, and have no doubt but they will distinguish themselves when any occasion offers, and am happy to add we had only one man slightly wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

A. MENDES.

Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red, &c.

A List of Armed Vessels taken and destroyed by his Majesty's Squadron under my Command since the 27th of April, 1797.

Port au Paix French privateer schooner, of 2 guns and 17 men; taken by his majesty's brig *Swallow*.

La Liberté French privateer schooner, mounting 6 guns; had on board only 13 men, the remainder put into different prizes which she had taken. Taken by his majesty's ship *Proselyte*.

La Buonaparte French privateer schooner, mounting 3 guns and 39 men; taken by his majesty's ship *Ambuscade*.

General *Toussaint* French privateer schooner, mounting 8 guns and five men; taken by his majesty's brig *Swallow*; with several small row-boats.

P. PARKER.

This gazette also contains accounts of the capture of *L'Adour*, a fine new French ship out of Bayonne, carrying 16 guns and 147 men, by his majesty's ship *Santa Margarita*; also, a French brig, of 6 guns, and 24 men, by his majesty's ship *L'Aigle*; also, the *St. Bernardo*, alias *El Conquistador*, privateer, of 12 guns and 75 men, be-

longing to Ribadeo, by his majesty's ship *Boston*; and, also, the *St. Jose y Nostra Signora de Bagoyna*, mounting 16 6-pounders, with 52 men, laden with brandy, wine, and flour, from Bilboa, bound to the Caraccas, by his majesty's ship *Pallas*.

25. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of *La Prospère*, French privateer brig, mounting 14 4-pounders, and manned with 73 men, by his majesty's brig *Rambler*, captain Honeyman, after receiving the fire of several guns, but without making any resistance; also, a French lugger, mounting 2 guns, and 25 men, chased off the land, by the *Duke of York* lugger, into the hands of the *Hind* cutter, *lieut. Bray*, who also retook a sloop which the privateer had before captured; also, *Le Triton*, a French privateer, pierced for eighteen guns, though only mounting 12 8-pounders, and 180 men, by his majesty's ship *Magnanime*, the hon. captain *De Courcy*; also, *La Papillon*, mounting 4 fwivels, and plenty of small arms, with 30 men, by the *Dolphin Revenue* cutter, *Mr. Richard Johns*, jun. commander.

From the London Gazette, July 29.

Admiralty-Office, July 29, 1797.

Extract of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. Admiral of the White, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on Board his Majesty's Ship *Royal George*, at Sea, July 24, 1797.

I acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that I this day joined the ships under the orders of sir John B. Warren, who has transmitted me the inclosed letters and papers, which are copies of originals he sent by express to me at Torbay, which did not arrive there till after I had quitted that anchorage.

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La Pomone, at Sea, July 18, 1797.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that in obedience to your command, I continued off Ushant with his majesty's Squadron under my orders, consisting of the *La Pomone*, *Artois*, *Anson*, *Sylph*, *Dolly* cutter, until the 16th instant, when hearing the report of many guns to the southward, I stood round the west end of the Saints, and at day-break in the morning of the 17th I discovered a frigate, with a ship, corvette, and brig, having 14 sail of vessels under convoy, in Hodiern Bay, eight of which were captured.

I am sorry to add, that the ship, corvette, and brig escaped round the Penmarks, and the frigate, by cutting away her masts, and being otherways lighted, ran on shore: a brig, laden with ordnance and naval stores, came to an anchor near her, where it was impossible for the *Anson* and *Sylph* to follow. The brig, however, was sunk, and the frigate (*La Calliope*) much damaged in her hull by the shot of the above-mentioned ship, whose officers and men behaved with the greatest zeal and activity, which induces me to hope that the enemy will not be enabled to get her off, as the wind soon after changed to the south-west, with a great swell upon the beach.

I was obliged to burn *La Freedom*, a large ship armed en flute, laden with squared timber, as the enemy had run her on shore at high water, and the crew, with the wounded, got away in their boats.

I have enclosed to your lordship a list of the vessels captured and destroyed on the 17th instant, with a return of the wounded on board his majesty's brig *Sylph*.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WARREN.

La Pomone, at Sea, July 18, 1797.

An Account of Vessels belonging to the French Republic, captured and destroyed on the 17th of July, 1797, in Hodiern Bay, by a Squadron of Frigates, under the Orders of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. K. B.

Vessels captured.—*La Thalia*, transport ship, laden with a large anchor 6000lb. weight, one purchase crane, flour, bread, beef, pork, brandy, soldiers' cloathing, &c.; brig, name unknown, laden with brandy and wine; brig, name unknown, laden with brandy and salt; brig, name unknown, laden with flour, biscuit, and one mooring chain; *chasse-marée*, name unknown, laden with brandy, wine and provisions; *chasse-marée*, name unknown, laden with brandy, wine and provisions; *La St. René*, *chasse-marée*, laden with coffee, sugar, &c.

Vessels destroyed.—*La Freedom*, an English built ship, armed en flute, burnt, being on shore, laden with square timber; brig, name unknown, sunk, laden with cannon and naval stores.

Run on shore.—*La Calliope* frigate, of 36 guns, totally dismasted, and supposed to be scuttled.

(Signed) JOHN WARREN.
Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

La Pomone, at Sea, July 18, 1797.

A Return of Men wounded on Board his Majesty's Brig *Sylph*, John Chambers White, Esq. Commander, in engaging *La Calliope* French Frigate, of 36 Guns, in Hodiern Bay, on the 17th of July, 1797.

John Green, seaman, in the hand; Wilton Wescot, seaman, in the head; Toby Burke, seaman, in the back; Richard Batt, seaman, in the neck; Thomas Izzard, seaman, in the head; Thomas Egan, marine, in the knee. J. WARREN.
Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

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La Pomone, at Sea, July 24, 1797.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that I had an opportunity of seeing that *La Calliope*, republican frigate, of 36 guns and 250 men, that was left on shore, on the 17th, by the *Anson* and *Sylph*, is totally destroyed, having separated in the midship body, and part of her sunk. The crew are encamped near her to save such stores as may be driven on shore. I am particularly indebted to captain White, of the *Sylph* brig, who having anchored with springs on his cable within pistol shot of the said frigate on the above day, and for some hours, kept up an incessant and well-directed fire, which was at every convenient opportunity returned by her. I perceived likewise the wrecks of *La Freedom*, armed en flute, laden with timber, and the brig with ordnance stores, which were driven on shore the same day, and destroyed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WARREN.

Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

La Pomone, at Sea, July 24, 1797.

An Account of two Vessels belonging to the French Republic, which were burnt in Hodiern Bay on the 23d of July 1797, by the Boats of the Squadron under the Orders of Sir J. B. Warren, K. B.

La Fidelle brig, laden with wine and wads; *La Henri* sloop, in ballast.

JOHN WARREN,

Right Hon. Lord Bridport,

&c. &c. &c.

This gazette also contains accounts of the capture of *Le Hardi* French privateer lugger, of 4 guns, and 30 men, and the re-capture of two brigs, by the *Telemachus* armed cutter, lieut. Newton; also, of *Le Courier de la Mer*, *André Mouil-*

leron, captain, mounting 12 small carriage-guns, and having, when she sailed, 51 men, but when taken only 20, by the *Trial Cutter*, lieut. Garret; and, also, the *L'Incroyable* French privateer, mounting 2 carriage-guns, and 21 men, by the *Hind* revenue cutter, Mr. Murray acting commander.

This gazette also contains a proclamation, dated the 26th inst. describing the copper coinage about to be immediately issued of penny pieces, to weigh one ounce avoirdupois, and of two-penny pieces, to weigh two ounces, each of which are to bear the royal effigy on one side, and a figure of Britannia sitting on a rock in the sea, on the other; and ordering their currency, to the amount of one shilling, in any payment.

31. This day, notwithstanding the notices issued by the magistrates of the various police offices, and in despite of the appearance of large military detachments, a very numerous meeting of the London Corresponding Society took place in the field adjoining to the veterinary college, in Pancras. To accommodate the vast assemblage of people who had collected, three tribunes were erected in different quarters of the field, round the principal of which the police magistrates, with a large body of constables, took their stand. Sir William Addington informed the persons in the tribune that the meeting had been illegally convoked, and declared his intention of reading the riot act, to which he was assured no opposition should be given.

Mr. Galloway, having read the advertisement of the London Corresponding Society, and the notice from Bow-street, called upon the magistrates to point out in what circumstances the meeting was illegal, and what provisions of the late acts

acts had not been duly complied with, promising that, if the illegality should be substantiated, the society would immediately and peaceably retire. No answer having been returned to this request, he proposed Mr. Tuckey as chairman for the day, who, after returning thanks for the distinction conferred upon him, proceeded to read the petition and remonstrance to the king. Scarcely, however, had he entered upon its contents when he was interrupted; sir William Addington insisting that the riot act had been read. A gentleman on the tribune declared he had not heard it, and in this declaration he was joined by the whole of the surrounding multitude. Sir W. Addington persisted to aver the fact. "Then, my fellow citizens," said the gentleman, "we are bound to disperse in peace within one hour. I conjure you to depart, and believe that it will be shortly seen, whether Bow-street magistrates are to be the interpreters of the laws of England." Upon this many persons retired from the ground, and sir William Addington commanded the constables to take into custody the abovementioned gentleman, and Mr. Tuckey, the chairman. The military were ordered to enter the field, and after galloping about it for an hour, and taking up two or three persons more, the meeting was dissolved.

The persons taken into custody were Robert Ferguson, Thomas Tuckey, Richard Barrow, Richard Hodgson, Alexander Galloway, Benjamin Pemberton, Binns, and John Wibbie.

They were brought to Bow-street office in the evening before sir W. Addington and Richard Ford, Esq. and were admitted to bail, themselves in 100l. each, and two

sureties in 50l. each. When they left the office they were drawn to their homes by the populace. Mr. Ferguson received a hurt in the eye by the constable who took him into custody having struck him with his staff. All the divisions of the police officers were ordered out, and assembled early in the morning at the Crown and Anchor, in Sommers' Town, and Adam and Eve, in Pancras.

The London and Westminster associations assembled in the Foundling field, and the West London militia, after exercising in White Conduit-fields, were planted in the veterinary college.

AUGUST.

From the London Gazette, Aug. 1.
Admiralty-Office, Aug. 1, 1797.

The following dispatches have been received at this office by Evan Nepean, Esq.

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, July 5.
SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty that the *Terpsichore*, with the Thunder bomb, having a detachment of artillery on board, and the Urchin gun-boat, from Gibraltar, joined on the 2d inst. and the night following, rear-admiral Nelson having made his dispositions, the bomb, covered by the gun-boat, launches and barges of the fleet, was placed near the tower of San Sebastian, and fired some shells into the town, when an attempt was made by the gun-boats and launches of the enemy to carry her. The rear-admiral, who is always present in the most arduous enterprises, with the assistance of some other barges, boarded and carried two of the enemy's gun-boats, and a barge launch of one of their ships of war, with the commandant of the flotilla. In this

this short conflict 18 or 20 Spaniards were killed, the commandant and several wounded, he and 25 men made prisoners: the rest swam on shore.

This spirited action was performed with inconsiderable loss on our part, as per enclosed. The launch of the *Ville de Paris* was sunk by a raking shot from the enemy's gun-boats; but, by the active, intelligent mind of captain Troubridge, got up yesterday morning, and repaired on board the *Culloden*.

Rear-admiral Nelson's actions speak for themselves; any praise of mine would fall very short of his merit.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient
Humble Servant,

J. JERVIS.

P.S. The enclosed report from rear-admiral Nelson has just reached me.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Return of the Killed and Wounded on the Attack of the Spanish Gun-Boats, the Night of the 3d of July, 1797.

Theseus, 5 wounded.

Irresistible, 1 wounded.

Seahorse, 1 wounded.

Ville de Paris, 5 wounded.

Prince George, 1 killed; 5 wounded.

Diadem, 1 wounded.

Barfleur, 1 wounded.

Egmont, 1 wounded.

Total. 1 killed; 20 wounded.

Officers Wounded.

Seahorse, captain Freemantle. Slightly.

Ville de Paris, lieut. William Selby. Ditto.

Diadem, lieutenant W. J. Rowe.

Ditto.

Prince George, lieutenant Gregory Grant. Ditto.

Ditto, M. R. Tooley, Midshipman. Ditto.

Barfleur, Mr. Hugh Pearson, master's mate.

Theseus, John Sykes, admiral's coxswain.

J. JERVIS.

Theseus, July 4, 1797.

SIR,

In obedience to your orders, the Thunder bomb was placed, by the good management of lieutenant Gourly, her present commander, assisted by Mr. Jackson, master of the *Ville de Paris*, who volunteered his able services, within 2500 yards of the walls of Cadiz, and the shells were thrown from her with much precision, under the direction of lieutenant Baynes of the royal artillery; but unfortunately it was soon found that the large mortar was materially injured from its former services; I therefore judged it proper to order her to return under the protection of the *Goliath*, *Terpsichore*, and *Fox*, who were kept under sail for that purpose, and for whose active services I feel much obliged.

The Spaniards having sent out a great number of mortar-gun-boats and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them, which was done with such gallantry that they were drove and pursued close to the walls of Cadiz, and must have suffered considerable loss; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that two mortar-boats and an armed launch remained in our possession.

I feel myself particularly indebted for the successful termination of this contest to the gallantry of captains Freemantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge, and to my coxswain, John Sykes, who, in defending my person, is most severely wounded, as was captain Freemantle, slightly, in the attack; and my praises

praises are generally due to every officer and man, some of whom I saw behave in the most noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularise them. I must also beg to be permitted to express my admiration of Don Miguel Tyrafon, the commander of the gun-boats, in his barge; he laid my boat alongside, and his resistance was such as to honour a brave officer, 18 of the 26 men being killed, and himself and all the rest wounded. Not having a correct list of the killed and wounded, I can only state, that I believe 6 are killed, and 220 wounded.

I have the honour to be, sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant,

(Signed) HORATIO NELSON.

Sir John Jervis, K. B.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed on the Coast of Portugal, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board his Majesty's ship *Ville de Paris*, off Cadiz, the 9th of July, 1797.

SIR,

I enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, letters I have lately received from captain Elphinstone, of his majesty's ship the *Hamadryad*, and the honourable Courtney Boyle, commander of his majesty's ship the *Kangaroo*, relating the capture of some of the enemy's vessels.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that on my passage from Plymouth, (with the *Boyne* transport under my convoy) in his majesty's sloop *Kangaroo*, on the 22d instant, latitude 46 deg. 25 min. N. longitude 7 deg. 12 min. W. I fell in with and captured La

Surprise French lugger privateer, of 47 tons, 8 guns, and 48 men; had been six days out of Croscic (entrance of the Loire), and made no capture.

I have further to inform your lordship, that on the 3d instant, Cadiz bearing E. by S. distance 17 leagues, I fell in with and captured *La Purissima Concepcion*, a lugger, sent out from Cadiz with a king's officer and 9 men, under orders to cruise for a brig from the *Havannah*, having dispatches for her.

I am, sir,

BOYLE.

Right Hon. the Earl
of St. Vincent.

Hamadryad, in Gibraltar Bay,
July, 3, 1797.

SIR,

In obedience to your orders, I proceeded to sea on the 29th of June; light airs and a strong current set us a little to the eastward. On the 30th I fell in with two xebecs, one of which we took, and the other, which was a Spanish privateer, we drove on shore; the crew of the former made their escape. After seeing her safe into Gibraltar yesterday morning, I stretched across to Ceuta, and at two A. M. I fell in with and captured *L'Asteon* French cutter privateer, of 6 guns, coppered, and 30 men: I have anchored for the sole purpose of putting the prisoners on board the prison ship, and getting my people out of the prize, and shall weigh again in a few hours.

I have the honour, &c.

THO. ELPHINSTONE.

Admiral sir John Jervis, K. B.

Copy of another Letter from the Earl of St. Vincent to Mr. Nepean, dated *Ville de Paris*, off Cadiz, the 10th of July, 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the
lords

Lords commissioners of the admiralty, that rear-admiral Nelson ordered a second bombardment of Cadiz on the night of the 5th, under the direction of captain Bowen, of the *Terpsichore*; captain Miller, of the *Theseus*; and captain Waller, of the *Emerald*; and appointed Mr. Jackson, master of the *Ville de Paris*, to place the *Thunderer*, *Terror*, and *Stromboio*, and that the bombardment produced considerable effect in the town and among the shipping; ten sail of the line, among them the ships carrying the flags of admirals Mezzaredo and Gravina, having warped out of the range of shell with much precipitation the following morning; and it is with great satisfaction I inform you, that this important service was effected with very little loss on our side, as per enclosed return of killed and wounded. The rear-admiral meditated another operation on the night of Saturday the 8th, under his own direction, but the wind blew so strong down the Bay he could not get his bomb vessels up to the point of attack in time.

Mr. Hornsey, master's-mate of the *Seahorse*, distinguished himself in a very remarkable manner.

A return of the officers and men belonging to the Squadron, who were killed or wounded on the night of the 5th instant, attending the bomb vessels, and attacking the Spanish gun-boats.

Victory, Wm. Cuming, commander, 1 officer wounded.

Blenheim, W. Bowen, commander, 1 seaman killed.

Theseus, R. W. Miller, commander, 1 seaman killed; 2 officers, 5 marines or soldiers, wounded.

Culloden, T. Troubridge, com-

mander, 1 seaman killed; 2 seamen wounded.

Irresistible, G. Martin, commander, 1 seaman wounded.

Audacious, D. Gould, commander, 1 officer, 3 seamen, wounded.

Seahorse, T. F. Fremantle, commander, 1 officer wounded.

Officers Wounded.

Victory, Lieut. Collins, much bruised.

Theseus, John Oldfield, captain of marines.

Ditto, John Collier, midshipman.

Audacious, ——— Stephenfon, ditto.

Seahorse, John Hornsey, acting lieutenant.

J. JERVIS.

. 1. A violent whirlwind arose upon part of Balsall common, taking with it a great quantity of dung out of a field, that had been laid there for manuring the ground, and in its progress darkening the air, till it fell in Kenilworth chase, which is a considerable distance from the former place. In its direction, houses and barns were stripped of their roofs, and strong lofty trees and hedges were almost bent double by this alarming tornado.

About six P. M. a prodigious storm of rain and hail fell at Dobcross, in Saddleworth, attended with thunder and lightning. At the same time, a young man and his uncle were working in a small dye-house near the above place: the uncle was standing near the door, when he received a shock from the lightning, which knocked him down. He immediately got up, and, turning to his nephew, saw him sinking down: he ran to his assistance, but, to his great surprise, found him quite dead. The young man's hat was
torn

torn to pieces, and the hair burnt off his head; the inside of his clothes was singed, and some of the buttons burnt off his breeches; and the inside of his stockings singed as if done by a hot iron.

In many places the storm has exhibited all the violence of a tornado. At Manchester it has unroofed houses, torn up trees, and carried off and dispersed hayricks; a man at plough had a great difficulty in resisting the attraction of a whirlwind, though he held by his horses.

2. Some miners from the tunnel of the Huddersfield canal, went for amusement, with a great number of people, to blow up a very large rock in Greenfield, in Saddleworth, known by the name of Raven Stone. After many fruitless attempts, they effected their purpose in the evening, when they tore that venerable relic of antiquity from its ancient basis. It fell with a most dreadful crash, and, dividing, took different directions. We are sorry to add, that one man was killed upon the spot, and others so much wounded; that they are not expected to recover. The rock had been long admired for its towering grandeur, and had near a mile to roll down a very steep eminence.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 5. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of *La Vengeur des Français*, French privateer, belonging to Guadaloupe, of 4 guns and 35 men, by his majesty's sloop *Zephyr*; — also, the Captain *Thurot* French privateer cutter, carrying 2 brass 6-pounders, 4 swivels, and 22 men, by his majesty's sloop *Seagull*, capt. Henry Wry; — also, *L'Acheron*, a *chasse-marée*, of 28 tons, out of Morlaix, carrying one carronade 8-pounder and 6 swivels, and 40 men, by lieut. Pulling,

in the *Mary* revenue-cutter; — also, *Le Duguai Trouin*, a French ship of 20 6-pounders, and 127 men, by the *Doris*, capt. lord Ranelagh; — also, by his majesty's ship *Tamer*, the following privateer schooners, *La Jalouse*, of 4 guns and 45 men; *La Galatea*, of 8 guns and 55 men; and *La Heureuse*, of 2 guns and 26 men.

5. Last night, about 11, the inhabitants of the western district of Argyleshire, to the extent of upwards of 60 miles, were alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, so violent in several houses as to overturn many weighty articles of household furniture. Its duration was about a minute.

Plymouth, Aug. 9. Sir Edward Pellew's squadron (to which the *Anson* belongs) were chased yesterday off Brest, by a French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, and eight frigates and corvettes, who were very near retaking the *Fair American*: on which sir Edward made the signal for the squadron to disperse, and make the best of their way into port. — By the above vessel, intelligence is received of the loss of the *Artois* frigate, of 38 guns, commanded by sir Edmund Nagle, near *Isle de Rhé*, on Monday, the 7th instant, by striking on a rock at high water, while looking into *Rochelle*. Happily all the officers and crew were saved by the British squadron. They are arrived in the *Anson*. From the *London Gazette*, Aug. 15.

Parliament-street, Aug. 14, 1797.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, have been this day received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieutenant-general Simcoe, commanding his majesty's troops in the island of *St. Domingo*.

Port

Port au Prince, June 20, 1797.

SIR,

I do myself the honour of inclosing brigadier-general Churchill's report of the attack made by the enemy on the Grand Anse, and the repulse they met with in that quarter.

The brigadier-general acknowledges, in the strongest manner, the important services which captain Ricketts, of the *Magicienne*, with the Squadron under his command, effected in the destruction of the vessels of the enemy in Carcasse Bay.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. G. SIMCOE.
Right Hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Jeremie, April 30, 1797.

SIR,

The republican general Rigaud thinking the moment favourable to make a second attempt on Irois, collected his very best troops, to the amount of 1200 men: on the night of the 20th of April, at twelve o'clock, they attempted to storm the fort, in which was only at the time five and twenty of the 17th infantry, with their officers, commanded by lieutenant Talbot of the 82d regiment, and about 20 colonial artillery-men, commanded by captain Brueil. The attack was one of the most formidable and determined I ever heard of, they returning to the charge three several times with such increased vigour, that many of them were killed in the fort; but, to the immortal honour of its brave defenders, they were repulsed with equal courage and intrepidity, which gave time to colonel Dagrèfs, with 350 men of prince Edward's black chasseurs, to gain the fort from the Bourg below, from whence, indeed, they were obliged to cut their

way. This reinforcement saved the place, for it would have been impossible for the English and cannoneers to have withstood much longer the persevering and reiterated attacks of the most daring and desperate enemy, which never ceased until morning, when they retired (leaving the fort surrounded with their dead) to a higher ground, where they made a stand, in spite of a sortie that was immediately made with some advantage. Here they continued till the 22d inst. when they made an incursion into the interior of our cordon, took and burnt the Bourg dance Marie, and made an attack upon the fort of L'Islet, from whence they were driven with great loss. In the mean time they were making every disposition for a regular siege of Irois, when, fortunately, the *Magicienne* frigate attacked their small fleet in the Bay des Carcasses, sunk three of their barges, and took two schooners, all loaded with cannon and military stores for the siege. The loss in their various attacks is generally estimated at 1000 men, it cannot be less than 800; before Irois alone were found upwards of 200 bodies, among which were many whites and mulattoes. Our loss was trifling indeed, consisting only of three privates killed; but I have to lament lieutenant Talbot of the 82d regiment, an officer of the most extraordinary bravery and good conduct, and lieutenant Colville of the black chasseurs, the only person wounded, and since dead. My most pleasing task, sir, is to bear testimony of the courage, alacrity and spirit with which all the troops distinguished themselves in the various combats, particularly Monsieur de Brueil, commanding the artillery, whom I beg leave to recommend

mend to your favour and protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

GEO. CHURCHILL, Brig-Gen.

Lieut. Gen. Simcoe.

Port au Prince, June 20, 1797.

SIR,

I do myself the honour of informing you, that, on various considerations of great military importance, I determined to re-possess myself of the post of Mirebalais: in consequence, I collected the forces, and calling brigadier-general Churchill from the Grand Anse, gave him the command, with directions to execute a plan that colonel La Pointe, from whom I have experienced the most friendly and active assistance, had ably digested.

The brigadier-general's letter, which I beg permission to inclose, will inform you of the success of this expedition; but I have to regret, that, from some delay of the columns, they did not move with that exactitude and concert I had hoped, by which circumstance a considerable object of the expedition failed of success; for it was my intention to accord the protection of his majesty's arms, in the best manner possible, to the inhabitants of these districts, by directing the troops, in their different routes, to march with a secrecy and rapidity that might ensure on all sides the surprisal of the enemy, compel them to a hasty retreat, and, driving them before them, might prevent their having an opportunity of burning the plantations, as had recently happened at Jeremie, or from carrying off the negroes and property beyond the Artibonite, at this time so swollen by the rainy season, as to render any passage over it difficult and pre-

carious. But I have reason to believe, from the report of colonel Depestre, who commands in that quarter, that many of the negroes will escape and return to their plantations; many were left upon them; and I learn with pleasure that the enemy had not the time or means to remove the coffee from the plantations in the Grand Bois, which is daily coming into Port au Prince.

As the troops were on their march to their destined cantonments in the Arcabaye Mountains to protect St. Marc's from an attack preparing against it at Gonaives, I received information of that town's being besieged. The greater part of the army, assembled under the command of general Churchill, by forced marches, proceeded to its assistance; and as the retaking the Mirebalais was unexpected by the enemy, it had not only a tendency to disconcert their measures, but, as I had foreseen, gave me an opportunity of sending a considerable detachment by sea from the plain of the Cul de Sac to the immediate assistance of St. Marc's, without hazard.

At the same time colonel the count de Rouvray, with a detachment of 300 men, was detached to strike at a camp of the brigands in the mountains on the side of Leogane. The energy and activity of this officer overcame the difficulties of the situation; he effectually burned the camp and beat the enemy from their several posts, killing between 40 and 50; and he returned to Grenier with the loss of two men killed and seven wounded.

The enemy, having attacked and carried some of the out-posts of St. Marc, began the siege of that important place, but were fortunately

nately driven from before it with
very considerable loss. In the suc-
cessful defence of St. Marc, the
undaunted and active courage, and
the military conduct of the mar-
quis de Cocherell have merited
my fullest approbation.

I have the honour to be,
With the utmost respect, &c.

J. G. SIMCOE.

Mirebalais, June 2, 1797.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you,
that, after giving previous orders
to colonel Dessources to proceed
with his column, in the morning
of the 30th ult. to his destined post
of La Selle, where, according to
your excellency's instruction, he
was enabled to take post, I moved
forward with the centre column,
under colonel Depestre. We ar-
rived, after two very hot days'
march, at Port Mitchell, not quite
completed, and occupied by about
50 of the enemy, who retired on
our approach. In the evening we
discovered a column of troops de-
scending the hills on our left, where
they encamped. A detachment of
cavalry was immediately sent to re-
connoitre them; they proved to be
colonel Dessources' column. This
officer was unable, from the bad-
ness of the roads, and the heavy
rains which we have had every
evening, to proceed to the place of
his destination; he therefore, in a
very proper and soldier-like man-
ner, marched and joined us;
which, in some measure, defeated
your original plan of cutting off
the enemy's retreat by La Selle;
but I cannot help deeming this
junction rather a fortunate circum-
stance, as it enabled us to drive
the enemy from a very advanta-
geous position they had taken the
next day, to dispute our passage,
which, from their superiority of

numbers (about 1200 men, with
three pieces of cannon), must, in
all probability, have cost us a num-
ber of valuable lives to have car-
ried; but this additional strength
gave us an easy victory; for no
sooner did they perceive a detach-
ment of infantry and cavalry,
which I sent to gain the heights
and turn their flank, than they im-
mediately fled in the utmost confu-
sion, and with such precipitation,
that though lieutenant-colonel Car-
ter, with the detachments of the
14th, 18th, and 21st British light
dragoons, pursued them with that
alacrity and spirit which has ever
distinguished him, he could only
come up with a very few. He suc-
ceeded, however, in driving a great
many into the river Artibonite,
most of whom perished, and he
had the good fortune to take two
of their guns, with their ammuni-
tion, mules, &c. &c. The third
was most probably lost in the ri-
ver, the carriage being left behind.
We found the fort in the Bourg of
Mirebalais as perfect as it had ever
been, and in no manner destroyed.

We did not see colonel Bazil
and his column till near an hour
after we were in possession of
Mirebalais; he was, however, at
the place appointed, and had the
enemy made any stand, would have
fallen on their rear, and have
enabled us, no doubt, to have
given a better account of them.

Although the action, from the
rapid retreat of the enemy, was
very short, yet, sir, I have the sa-
tisfaction to inform you that time
enough was given to evince as
much alacrity and spirit to enter
it, both in the officers and men,
as I ever remember to have wit-
nessed.

I enclose a return of the artillery
and ammunition found in the fort
of

of Mirebalais; and I am happy to inform your excellency that the re-possession of this important post and district was effected without loss, one serjeant and one private of the dragoons being all our wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. CHURCHILL, brig. gen.

Lieut. gen. Simcoe, &c. &c.

Return of ordnance and ordnance stores taken in the fort of Mirebalais, on the 2d of June, 1797.

2 French eight-pounders, badly spiked, since unspiked and rendered serviceable.

2 Six-pounders, serviceable.

2 Two-pounders, ditto.

A large proportion of shot for the above ordnance, of every description; the ammunition not ascertained, but it is stated to be damaged.

G. CHURCHILL, brig. gen.

15. A daring mutiny on board the St. George man of war, of 96 guns, capt. Peard, one of lord Vincent's fleet, was lately quelled by the spirit and activity of her commander and his first lieutenant, whose conduct on the occasion, while it exhibits a glorious example to the officers of our navy, entitles them to the thanks and gratitude of their country. Three men, who had been sentenced to suffer death for mutinous behaviour in some other ship, were sent on board the St. George to be executed. The crew, on the arrival of the prisoners, drew up a remonstrance in their favour, and begged of capt. Peard to intercede in their behalf with the admiral of the fleet. The captain replied, that he should lay their prayer before lord St. Vincent; and, in pursuance of his promise, he lost no time in submitting the remonstrance to the admiral. — The noble earl's an-

1797.

swer was, that he considered the sentence of the mutineers as founded upon solid justice and imperious necessity, and consequently he could not think of retracting the sanction which he had given to the judgment of the court-martial, by whom they had been convicted. Upon this determination being made known to the people of the St. George, the strongest symptoms of dissatisfaction were manifested by them. Observing their conduct, the captain took the precaution of watching their proceedings with the utmost strictness; and very soon discovered, by means of an honest tar, that they had entered into a resolution of seizing the ship, deposing the officers, and liberating their condemned companions. The evening previous to the day appointed for carrying into effect the sentence of the court-martial was the time fixed upon to put their plan in force. Captain Peard seeing the crew assemble in the waste, immediately approached, and addressed them to the following effect: — 'I am perfectly aware of your intentions, and shall oppose them at the risk of my life. You have determined to resist the authority of your officers; I am resolved to do my duty, and to enforce a strict obedience to my orders. I am sensible that you are, for the most part, the victims of delusion; I know the ringleaders, and do not hesitate to avow my intentions of bringing them to justice. I command you to disperse, and to return to your duty.' Finding this address did not produce the desired effect, the captain instantly rushed in amid the crowd, accompanied only by his first lieutenant, bravely seized two of the people, whom he knew to be the promoters of the conspiracy, dragged

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ged them out by main force, and put them in irons, without experiencing the slightest resistance from the crew; and such was the gallant spirit and determined courage displayed by him on the occasion, that order was immediately restored, by the remainder of the men retiring to their respective stations. The three convicts were next morning hanged at the yard arm, agreeably to their sentence, in the presence of the repentant crew, whose conduct from that time was marked with a becoming submission and subordination. The two mutinous seamen remained in custody, till Friday and Saturday, July 7th and 8th, when, after a most impartial hearing, they were condemned, and executed the next morning, Sunday, the 9th. The following judicious order was given out by the admiral, on the Saturday night previous to the execution:

General order. — ‘Every ship in the fleet is to send two boats, with an officer in each, and two marines or soldiers properly armed in each boat on board his majesty’s ship the *St. George*, at half past seven to-morrow morning, to attend a punishment. The sentence is to be carried into execution by the crew of the *St. George* alone, and no part of the boats’ crews of other ships, as is usual on similar occasions, are to assist in this painful service; in order to mark the high sense the commander in chief entertains of the loyalty, fidelity, and subordination of the rest of the fleet, which he will not fail to make known to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and request their lordships to lay it before the king. This memorandum is to be read to the ships’ companies.’

The first lieutenant has since been promoted to the rank of master and commander, as a just tribute to his acknowledged merit.

16. Yesterday morning, about eight o’clock, a special jury was assembled at Warwick, and the cause of the king *versus* Binns, which had excited considerable attention, was tried before Mr. justice Ashurst. Mr. Percival, assisted by five other counsel, conducted the prosecution, under the direction of Mr. White, solicitor to the treasury; Mr. Romiley, assisted by Messrs. Reader and Fletcher, undertook the defence.

It appeared that the sentences composing the charge had been abstracted from different parts of the speech which Binns delivered, and so put together in the indictment as to convey a meaning highly seditious; for it stated, that he had said, that ‘force was justifiable to obtain a reform in parliament.’ But it was sworn by five witnesses, that his words were, ‘If attempts were made to deprive the people of the trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, that then it would be laudable to oppose it by force.’ — ‘Thus,’ said Mr. Romiley, ‘the words were applied to a mere hypothesis, and not respecting a reform in parliament. When the words are thus applied, they are far from importing any thing criminal; nay, (continued the counsel) to support by force the trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, against the attacks of government, is justifiable, according to Blackstone.’ Here the learned counsel read a quotation from Blackstone’s Commentaries. — Mr. Percival replied.

The trial lasted near eleven hours and a half, when the jury retired, and, after deliberating about two hours

hours and three quarters, followed the judge to his lodgings, and delivered a verdict of — Not guilty.

20. Yesterday, the coroner's inquest was taken on the body of the right hon. Harvey Redmond viscount Mountmorres, who, on Friday morning last, shot himself at his lodgings, in York-street, St. James's square, and brought in their verdict — Lunacy.

It appeared, on evidence, that his lordship's physician had been with him the preceding day, when a conversation took place respecting his lordship's departure for Ireland, when he appeared particularly gloomy, and lamented the miseries of his unhappy country, and the portentous cloud that overhung its politics. — So agitated was he at the recital, that his physician endeavoured to dissuade him from his intended journey, in the deranged state of mind and body he then appeared to experience. This advice had very little weight with his lordship, for, after taking the medicine prescribed, he dressed himself for the journey, and had made all things ready. It is supposed that the derangement increasing, he did not go to bed, but sat up the whole of the night, and in the morning committed the fatal act of suicide, by discharging the pistol in his mouth.

Admiralty-office, Aug. 21. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of La Victorie, French schooner privateer, pierced for 16 guns, and 82 men, by his majesty's ship Santa Margaritta, capt. Parker; — also, D'Klyne Sperwer, Dutch privateer, of 6 guns, and 28 men, twenty of whom escaped in their boats, by his majesty's sloops Nautilus and Sea-Gull, and King George and Fox cutters; — also, the Unity Dutch schooner

privateer, of 10 guns, and 50 men, with her prizes, an English ship and brig, by his majesty's ship Proserpine, capt. Lake; — also, Le Lynx, French lugger privateer, of 14 guns, and 50 men, by his majesty's sloop Stork, capt. Pearson; — and the recaptures of the Charlotte of Liverpool, and the Neptune of Greenock, by his majesty's ship Magnanime.

22. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of the Prodigy French brig privateer, pierced for 18 guns, mounting 14, and 87 men, by his majesty's sloop Espeigle, capt. Boorder; — also, a French lugger privateer, of 10 guns (only 4 of which were mounted), and 34 men, called the Revenge, by the Resolution hired lugger, Mr. George Broad commander.

26. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of the Filbustier privateer brig, of 12 guns and 104 men, by his majesty's ship Maidstone, capt. Matthews; — also, Le Batave, of 12 guns, and 54 men, by his majesty's ship Roebuck, capt. Burrows.

29. This gazette contains an account of the capture of Le Tiercelet French schooner privateer, of 8 guns, 10 swivels, and 47 men, copper bottomed, (together with the Prosperity of London, which the privateer had captured three days before,) by his majesty's ship Magnanime, capt. de Courcy.

Bath, Aug. 30. At the yearly conference of the methodist preachers and delegates from the principal societies in the kingdom, lately held at Leeds, they came to a resolution, that if any of the members of their societies should maintain and propagate opinions inimical to the civil government and established religion of the country, they should no longer be considered

ed as having fellowship or connection with them, but, that all such should be desired quietly to withdraw themselves from the societies: which, if they refused to do, and continued to act contrary to the spirit of this resolution, that then they should be forthwith expelled; it being unanimously determined that the societies should not become a nursery of sedition, or acknowledge the disturbers of the public weal.

SEPTEMBER.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 2. Copy of a letter from vice-admiral Kingmill, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board L'Engageante, at Cork, the 27th of August, 1797.

SIR,

I herewith transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter to me from capt. Pulling, of his majesty's sloop Penguin, containing particulars relative to a capital brig privateer, and a prize she had made of the brig Express, of Dartmouth, bound to Newfoundland, both of which he has brought in here.

R. KINGSMILL.

Penguin, Cork Harbour, Aug. 23.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 21st instant, in lat. 48 deg. 30 min. north long. 8 deg. west, being on the larboard tack, with the wind easterly, blowing hard, at half past eight A.M. saw two sail a-head, standing towards us, with every appearance of being cruisers. At half past nine, having weathered us about a mile, they bore down, the headmost under English colours, but very soon discovered themselves to be the enemy, when we opened our fire, which obliged them to haul up

again on the starboard tack: wore immediately, keeping under their lee, with a constant fire at both. At three quarters past nine the sternmost struck, and hove-to, but the sea running too high to take immediate possession of her, and finding the other of much more consequence, who was making every endeavour to escape, I continued the pursuit, when, after an hour and forty minutes running fire, having shot away her main-top-mast, she struck, and at nine took possession of her. Found her to be L'Oiseau French privateer, of 18 guns (pierced for 20), 10 9-pounders, and 2 long French twelves, with 119 men on board. At half past meridian, wore, and made sail after the other, who by this time was nearly out of sight, endeavouring to get off. At four brought her to, and took possession, finding her to be the Express, of Dartmouth, prize to L'Oiseau, formerly L'Appocrate French privateer, of 12 guns, taken a few months ago. L'Oiseau is quite new-built, for a corvette, launched in June last, and coppered. Her length of keel 73 feet, of gun-deck 87 feet, and breadth of beam 25 feet: her first cruize from Nantz, out 34 days, and had taken two other vessels. She has been chased five times before by his majesty's frigates, but always maintained a decided superiority of sailing; spared the Penguin at least one-third of her canvas; and we are much indebted to their disorder, and a high sea, for our success. She had one man killed, and five wounded. I beg leave to express the warmest approbation of the conduct of my first lieutenant, Mr. Geo. Neat Tremlett, with every officer and man in his majesty's sloop I have the honour to command, for their
zeal

zeal and steady exertion during the chase, working the guns knee-high in water for upwards of an hour and a half, carrying a great press of sail, with a heavy sea making fair breaches constantly over us.

J. K. PULLING.
The same gazette announces the capture of the L'Eclair, French privateer of 14 guns, and 108 men, by lord A. Beauclerk of the Dryad, and of a lugger and brig by capt. Payne of the Impetueux.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 2, 1797.

Captain Waller, of his majesty's ship Emerald, arrived here yesterday with dispatches from admiral lord St. Vincent to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are extracts:

Ville de Paris, off Cadiz, August 16, 1797.

SIR,

I desire you will acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I detached rear-admiral Nelson, and the squadron named in the margin *, with orders to make an attempt upon the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, which, from a variety of intelligence, I conceived was vulnerable. On Saturday the 15th of July, the rear-admiral parted company, and on Tuesday the 18th, the Leander having joined from Lisbon, I sent her after the rear-admiral, under instructions left by him.

The Emerald joined yesterday, with the inclosed dispatch and reports from the rear-admiral; and although the enterprise has not succeeded, his majesty's arms have acquired a very great degree of lustre: nothing from my pen can add to the eulogy the rear-admiral gives of the gallantry of the of-

* Theseus, Culloden, Zealous, Seahorse,

ficers and men employed under him. I have greatly to lament the heavy loss the country has sustained in the severe wound of rear-admiral Nelson, and the death of captain Richard Bowen, lieutenant Gibson, and the other brave officers and men who fell in this vigorous and persevering assault.

The moment the rear-admiral joins, it is my intention to send the Seahorse to England with him, the wound captain Fremantle has received in his arm also, requiring change of climate; and I hope that both of them will live to render important services to their king and country.

I am, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ST. VINCENT.

Theseus, off Santa Cruz, July 27, 1797.

SIR,

In obedience to your orders to make a vigorous attack on the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, I directed, from the ships under my command, one thousand men, including marines, to be prepared for landing, under the direction of capt. Troubridge, of his majesty's ship Culloden, and captains Hood, Thompson, Freemantle, Bowen, Miller, and Waller, who very handsomely volunteered their services; and although I am under the painful necessity of acquainting you that we have not been able to succeed in our attack, yet it is my duty to state, that I believe more daring intrepidity never was shewn than by the captains, officers, and men you did me the honour to place under my command.

Inclosed I transmit to you a list of killed and wounded; and a-

Emerald, Terpsichore, Fox (1st) cutter.

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mongst the former it is with the deepest sorrow I have to place the name of captain Richard Bowen, of his majesty's ship *Terpsichore*, than whom a more enterprising, able, and gallant officer, does not grace his majesty's naval service; and with great regret I have to mention the loss of lieutenant John Gibson, commander of the *Fox* cutter, and a great number of gallant officers and men.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

Sir John Jervis, K.B.

&c. &c. &c.

List of killed, wounded, drowned and missing, of his majesty's ships undermentioned, in storming Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, on the night of the 24th of July, 1797:

Theseus — 8 seamen, 4 marines, killed; 25 seamen wounded; 34 seamen and marines drowned.

Culloden — 1 seaman, 2 marines, killed; 12 seamen, 6 marines, wounded; 36 seamen and marines drowned.

Zealous — 3 seamen, 2 marines, killed; 19 seamen, 2 marines, wounded.

Leander — 1 seaman, 5 marines, killed; 1 seaman, 4 marines, wounded; 1 ditto missing.

Seahorse — 2 seamen killed; 13 seamen and 1 marine, wounded.

Terpsichore — 8 seamen killed; 9 seamen, 2 marines, wounded; 4 seamen and marines missing.

Emerald — 5 seamen, 3 marines, killed; 11 seamen wounded; 10 seamen and marines drowned.

Fox Cutter — 17 seamen and marines drowned.

Total — 28 seamen, 16 marines, killed; 90 seamen, 15 marines, wounded; 97 seamen and ma-

rines drowned; 5 seamen and marines missing.

Officers killed — Richard Bowen, captain of the *Terpsichore*; George Thorpe, first lieutenant of ditto; John Weatherhead, lieutenant of the *Theseus*; William Earnshaw, second lieutenant of the *Leander*; Raby Robinson, lieutenant of marines, of ditto; lieutenant Basham, marines, of the *Emerald*; lieutenant John Gibson, of the *Fox Cutter*, drowned.

Officers wounded — Rear-admiral Nelson, his right arm shot off; captain Thompson, of the *Leander*, slightly; captain Fremantle, of the *Seahorse*, in the arm; lieutenant J. Douglas, of ditto, in the hand; Mr. Waits, midshipman, of the *Zealous*.

HORATIO NELSON.

5. The gazette announces the following captures:

Poïsson Volante, of four guns, and thirty-eight men, captured the 14th of June, 1797, off *Deseada*, by the *Tamer*, capt. Martin.

La Barbarosse, of eight guns, and sixty-one men, captured the 23d of June, 1797, off *Deseada*, by the *Tamer*, capt. Martin.

Louis Bonfoi, of four guns, and sixty-six men, captured the 9th of June, 1797, off *Barbuda*, by the *Lapwing*, captain Barton.

La Legere, of six guns, and fifty men, captured the 6th of July, 1797, off *Marigalante*, by the *Zephyr*, commanded by lieut. G. Reynolds.

Le Va Tout, of two guns, and thirty-two men, captured the 8th of July, 1797, off *Martinique*, by the *Zephyr*, commanded by lieut. G. Reynolds.

La Victoire, French lugger privateer

teer of six guns, and twenty-two men, by captain Boorder of L'Espeigle.

Proceedings in the Sheriff's Court, Clerkenwell, September 8, to assess Damages, in an Action, Boddington versus Boddington.

A special jury was impannelled by the sheriff of London, to assess the damages to be awarded against the defendant, Mr. Benjamin Boddington, for criminal conversation with the wife of the plaintiff (Mr. Samuel Boddington) in which he had suffered judgment to go by default, on an action brought against him in the court of king's-bench. The damages were laid at 50,000l.

Mr. Erskine, as leading counsel for the plaintiff, opened the case, and, after expatiating, with his usual eloquence on the enormity of the crime of adultery and seduction, which, he said, struck at the very root of society, especially where there were children, as in the present case, and of which charges the defendant had admitted the truth, by suffering judgment to go by default, proceeded to state the particular circumstances attending it, which, he contended, united in themselves the most shocking instance of depravity that ever entered the human mind, the defendant not only being partner with the plaintiff in a very extensive mercantile concern, but his first cousin. They were the children of two brothers. The defendant, under the sacred mask of friendship, abused the confidence reposed in him, and by various acts contaminated the mind of Mrs. Boddington, a lady who, previous to this unhappy and fatal error, bore the most unblemished character, and who, beside possessing a most beautiful person and elegant accomplishments, was remarked for the

exemplary manner in which she discharged the duties of a wife and a mother. The unfortunate lady in question is a daughter of a Mr. Ashburnham, a gentleman of some consequence in Bombay, who sent her over here at an early age for education, and, when she had acquired all the requisites to adorn her sex, directed that she should return to Bombay, which was to have taken place in the year 1790, and she was actually on board the ship for that purpose, when his client, Mr. S. Boddington, who had been some time deeply enamoured of her, and almost reduced to a state of despair by the thoughts of losing her, followed her on board the vessel, then at Gravesend, and having obtained the consent of her guardians to await the fiat of her father for their union, persuaded her to return; which was no hard task, as her love was then reciprocal. A period of ten months elapsed before the wished-for letter came, containing her father's consent, and approbation of her choice, and on which the union took place, the lady having 5000l. settled on her by her father, and the like sum by Mr. Boddington. Two children were the fruits of this marriage, and they continued to enjoy the most uninterrupted felicity till a short time previous to Mrs. Boddington's elopement with the defendant, which took place the beginning of June last, and which was conducted in such a way as to shew that it was a premeditated thing, and a deliberate plan of seduction laid down by the defendant, who had so overpowered the lady's reason as to make her forget the duties she owed to an honourable husband and her children, and to persuade her to elope with him. The means to ef-

fect this scheme were the most abominable on the part of the defendant, Mr. S. Boddington having observed something in his wife's conduct that gave him reason to suspect his honour was in danger, resolved to remove her for a time from the scene he dreaded, but did it in such a delicate manner as not to create the least suspicion of the cause, either to his wife or friends, proposing a journey to Bath, and then to Wales. He parted with the defendant in the most cordial manner, little thinking that matters had proceeded so far as the result had proved. He was to return to town immediately, if business required his presence. A few days after he got to Bath, he received a letter from the defendant, informing him that the West-India packet had arrived, and that his presence was necessary in town, to attend a meeting respecting some exchequer warrants. This letter unfortunately had the desired effect, Mr. Boddington immediately setting off for town in the mail, leaving his wife at Bath. He must have been crossed on the road by the defendant, who went thither and carried her away. On Mr. Boddington's arriving in town, he found the following letter left for him by the defendant; 'When we parted on Wednesday last, it was for the last time. This night I go from London never to return again. I have deceived you in sending for you to town, and wish I had not in other things; if you see my father, for God's sake break the matter to him by degrees. I have taken seven hundred pounds.

(Signed)

B. BODDINGTON.'

Mr. Erskine, in very strong colours, then painted the enormity of

the defendant's conduct throughout the whole transaction, and which, he hoped, would make such an impression on the minds of the jury, when they heard the evidence which he should bring forward, as to induce them not to mitigate the damages in the smallest degree. He said, that he was well aware of the defendant's intention by pleading guilty, and had himself opposed the matter coming into that court for judgment, though he was certain their verdict would justify the decision of the court of King's Bench, in suffering it to be removed.

The first witness called was Mr. Thomas Green, an attorney, who being sworn, was examined by Mr. serjeant Runnington. Mr. Green said, that miss Ashburnham, previous to her marriage with Mr. Samuel Boddington, was principally under his care; and that, when her father sent for her to Bombay, he, the witness, provided every thing necessary for the voyage, and saw her on board the vessel; but, on application being made to him by Mr. Samuel Boddington, he consented to her coming on shore, and remaining in England till her father's will should be known respecting the intended marriage, and who sending his consent in about ten months after the witness signed the marriage articles, they were united; that he visited them frequently after, and conceived them to be extremely happy, and that the union was founded in love on both sides.—Cross examined by Mr. Law.—He said he had no knowledge of Mr. Benjamin Boddington, the defendant, though he believed he dined with him once: he said that Mrs. Boddington was married in February

February 1792, is now about twenty-two years of age, and extremely beautiful and accomplished.

A lady of the name of Emerson said, she had known miss Ashburnham (now Mrs. Boddington) when she was ten years of age, and had continued the intimacy ever since; that she considered her perfectly virtuous till this affair took place: she spoke of her as being extremely beautiful and attractive in her manners; and said, that after she returned from on board the vessel at Gravesend, she was at the witness's house for some time, and then went to Mrs. Murray's school, at Kensington. The witness was present at the marriage, and conceived it to have been the result of love on both sides, and that Mr. Boddington appeared to make an excellent husband. She knew Mr. B. Boddington very well, and had frequently seen him in company with the plaintiff and his wife.

On her cross-examination by Mr. Law, she said, she thought the defendant, at times, seemed to express too much attention and admiration to Mrs. Boddington, especially when they were not in mixed companies; which circumstance she once mentioned to Mrs. Boddington, about half a year before the separation took place; after which she thought Mrs. Boddington did not behave with her usual kindness to her husband.

Mr. Cline, surgeon, said, he had known Mr. S. Boddington for seven years: that he had frequently visited him after his marriage, and that he thought Mrs. Boddington appeared to be extremely attentive to her husband, and affectionate to her children, the eldest of whom was four, and the other two years of age. He had frequently dined with them, but never

observed any thing particular in the behaviour of the defendant toward Mrs. Boddington.

Joseph Street, a clerk in the house of Messrs. Boddington, was examined. He described them to be West India merchants, who traded to the amount of from 300,000 to 500,000l. per year. He said, that the defendant was admitted a partner about three years ago; that for the first year he had only one-third share of the profits of the business, but for the two last he had four-ninths. He spoke of the great degree of happiness that appeared to subsist between the plaintiff and his wife till their separation, and described her to have always been extremely reserved in her behaviour. On being shewn the letters before alluded to, he declared them to be the defendant's writing, as were also the drafts for 200l. and 500l.

Cross-examined by Mr. Law. — He does not know that the money the defendant had in the business was advanced by his father, or that he had any other source to resort to for money; he had frequently seen the defendant at his father's, and thought he behaved as a dutiful son; he heard of his return to town on Wednesday week following the elopement, and also that he had been seen wandering on the Enfield Chace. He saw Mrs. Boddington once at his house in Mark-lane, after she had left the defendant, and that she came to see her children. — In answer to a question from Mr. Erskine, he declared that the plaintiff was not reconciled to his wife.

The evidence being gone through, Mr. Law, as advocate for the defendant, made a very able speech in mitigation of damages, and in which he endeavoured to convince the

the jury that the matter was not a premeditated thing on the part of his client, who, he said, was very young, and inexperienced in the ways of the world. It was merely the very powerful effect of the lady's charms, to the blaze of which he was constantly exposed, from the frequent opportunities he had of being in her company, and which receiving no check, expanded till it broke out in all the fever of distracted love, and led him to the commission of an act that must for ever render him a miserable outcast of society. He had already forfeited every worldly benefit, and, if heavy damages were given, what must be the result? he must either perish in a prison, or the weight must fall on the innocent and unhappy father, with eight daughters to provide for. Mr. Law admitted that his client merited a severe punishment, but prayed that it might not be beyond his means of paying, which, he declared, did not amount to more than 3000*l.* the sum invested as his share in the business being advanced by his father. After some other observations on his client's conduct, he concluded, by intreating the jury to tincture their justice with mercy, and only award a fair retribution.

Mr. Burgall, the deputy sheriff, then summed up the evidence in a very clear and concise manner; and the jury, after retiring out of court for about twenty minutes, returned with a verdict of *ten thousand pounds* damages.

Extract of a Letter from Haverfordwest, September 10.

"The trials of the two prisoners confined in our jail for high treason, for joining with and assisting the French upon their landing at Fishguard, were brought on at our

great sessions here. The solicitor for the crown came from London; and the counsel for the prosecution were, the attorney-general of the circuit, Mr. Phillips, Mr. serjeant Williams, Mr. Touchett, and Mr. Dancey; for the prisoners, Mr. Milles and Mr. Blackstone. The two prisoners were brought up to plead to their indictments on Tuesday evening. Mr. Milles took some objections to the form of them, at the same time declaring his determination, and that of the prisoners, to bring on the trials, and not to interpose any delay. The judges over-ruled the objections, and Thursday morning, at seven, was fixed for their trials. The public expectation had been much raised, and more than 140 gentlemen were summoned upon the jury. A large additional number of persons were sworn in as constables, and every precaution was taken to preserve the peace. At seven the court assembled, and the jury were called, and after many challenges and some debate between the counsel and court upon points as they arose, a most respectable jury were sworn; Mr. Barlow, the member for Pembroke, was the foreman. The attorney-general made a very impressive and dispassionate speech, stating the evidence most distinctly which he should bring against the prisoner: and after having examined two or three witnesses relating to the apprehension of the prisoner, called one of the French prisoners to prove the facts which he had stated. He was an American, and could speak very good English. He refused to answer any question relative to the proceedings in the camp, or to the prisoner at the bar, saying, that he would stay and hear what the other Frenchmen would say, and then he would say

say as they did. Many attempts were made to get the facts from him, but in vain. The counsel for the prosecution then attempted to go into an examination of what had passed from him before the justice of peace and the grand jury. This was resisted by the counsel for the prisoner, and very ably and eloquently argued, and the counsel were heard upon a variety of questions which occurred in this part of the trial, when the judges rejected the evidence, and would not allow from the papers a question to be put to him. As they could not get any thing more from him, he was dismissed, and the examination of two or three of the Frenchmen, who did speak out, affected the prisoner so little, that the counsel for the prosecution, upon consultation with themselves, relinquished the prosecution. The other prisoner was then brought to trial. Against him the evidence was still slighter, and that prosecution was given up in less than an hour."

11. At the *ni si prius* bar at Bristol, a cause of great importance to the mercantile world came on, to be tried before Sir Nash Grose, and a special jury. — The circumstances of the case are shortly these: Mr. Taggart and co. tobacco-merchants, of London, struck a bargain with the Hunters and co. merchants at Bristol, to sell them a quantity of unmanufactured tobacco (to the amount of 1300l.) for a bill at three months, payable in London. The goods were shipped off the latter part of February; about the beginning of March of the same year, the house of the Hunters' became insolvent, which was previous to the time when M^r Taggart's bill on them became due. They, therefore, no sooner heard of the

failure, than one of the partners hastened from town, and overtook the goods at Portsmouth; which he instantly seized, and would not suffer to proceed. Now this was an action of trover brought by the assignees of the Hunters, to recover the value of the tobacco so seized by the defendants; and upon this ground; that the vessel in which it was shipped by the consigners was a chartered ship of the consignees, and that, therefore, it was an actual delivery to them. The leading counsel for the defendants made a very eloquent and ingenious speech to the jury: in which he insisted strongly on the circumstance, that his clients, while settling the mode of conveyance with the Hunters, had never once asked the question, whether the ship was chartered or general; from whence he inferred proof of no essential difference existing between them. Some other points were ably urged; and he concluded, by reminding the jury of the great importance of this cause to the commerce of this country, and of the pernicious consequences which would result to credit, the very life-blood of the state, if they should give a verdict for the plaintiffs. Before the leading counsel on the other side addressed the jury in reply, the judge said, it was his duty to declare, that he had never known a stronger or a clearer point of law: that a chartered vessel was indubitably the particular warehouse of those who chartered her, and that of consequence no person could legally stop or detain any goods shipped on board such vessel, without permission of the owners. Upon this a verdict was instantly given for the plaintiffs to the full value of the tobacco.

From this decision, it will become prudent for merchants to enquire

quire whether the ship, which is to convey their goods, be chartered or not. Because had it been a general ship, the M^r Taggart would have been justified in detaining the tobacco.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 16.
Extract of a letter from the right hon. lord Bridport, K. B. commander in chief of the channel fleet, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship, Royal George, at Torbay, the 13th September, 1797.

SIR, I am, &c.
Herewith you will receive copies of letters, with the papers therein referred to, from commodore sir J. Borlase Warren, which I transmit for their lordships' information.

I am, &c.
BRIDPORT.
La Pomone, at Sea, August 12, 1797.
My Lord,

I beg leave to inform your lordship, that on the morning of the 11th instant, a convoy of the enemy, with a ship corvette, a brig and schooner gun-boats, two armed luggers, several chasse marées and brigs, were discovered standing to sea, out of the Pertuis de Breton, from Rochfort. I attempted to cut them off or destroy them with *La Pomone* and *Jafon*, who attacked a fort; in order to cover the *Sylph*, who was anchored near the two corvettes, having left the *Triton* in chase to windward; the enemy, perceiving our intention, anchored at the entrance of the river of Sable d'Olonne, close under the fort, the ship corvette and gun-boats with springs upon their cables.

At eleven, being near enough, the firing commenced and continued for an hour, when the gun-boat slipped her cables to run on shore, but sunk before she got in the river, near the small vessels,

and the corvette remained fast on ground, but deserted by her people, and much damaged: as I did not think it possible to set her on fire with the boats of the squadron, there being little wind, and the tide of flood setting us upon the coast, we hauled our wind to the southward.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your lordship, that it has occasioned a delay for some time of the enemy's supplies arriving at Brest, as one of the vessels is destroyed, and it is doubtful if the other can be repaired so as to be of any use in future.

The ships of the squadron have sustained very trifling damages. A return of the killed and wounded in each ship is inclosed.

I have only to lament, that a more favourable moment did not present itself, to afford the officers and men an opportunity of distinguishing themselves; but the enemy must have suffered considerably on board the vessels and in the fort, from the number of shot that struck them.

Some hot shot were fired from a battery of five guns, which set fire to the *Sylph*; but any ill effects were prevented by the exertions of the officers and men of that vessel, who cut them out, and behaved otherwise with much spirit and zeal.

I have the honour to remain, &c.
(Signed) JOHN WARREN.

P. S. Since I began this letter, not having an opportunity of sending it to your lordship, I have received information from three vessels who had left Sable d'Olonne subsequent to the above affair, and the following is the result of these reports: The ship corvette is in the harbour, but so damaged as to be unfit

fit for service. The gun-boat remains sunk and destroyed. The enemy lost several killed and wounded in the two vessels. In the fort, five soldiers were killed, and two guns dismounted, and some wounded; two or three houses much shattered. We were off Sable d'Olonne on the 26th, and saw the ship in the harbour. Extract of another letter, dated on board the Pomone, at Sea, August 23.

On the 23d inst. I chased, and drove upon the coast of Isle Dieu, L'Egalité armed chasse marée, of four 6-pounders and eight swivels, and which we afterwards got off.

La Pomone, at Sea, Sept. 6.

My Lord,

I beg leave to inform your lordship, that I continued steering for the mouth of the Garonne; and on the 27th ult. being to the southward of the river, a number of vessels were seen in the south-west quarter. I made the signal for a general chase, and continued until night, when, from the Triton being far advanced a-head, and the Jason to windward, the ships kept the enemy in sight after the approach of night. Owing to the exertions of captains Gore and Stirling, five of them were captured. At two A. M. being near the shore, a cutter was seen at anchor, that had accompanied the convoy, and one of the boats of this ship was sent to her; but, being ordered to keep off, and seeing she was a vessel of force, returned. I stood in after her, and upon our firing a few shot, one of which cut away her mast, she split her cable, and ran among the breakers upon the coast of Arcasson, and into a most tremendous surf that broke on board her, and must have stove her to pieces. She at last drove

through, and I fancy several of her crew were drowned, and as the tide left her, she fell over; the remainder of her men, about 100 in number, got on shore. She was called Le Petit Diable, a very fine vessel, pierced for 18 or 20 guns, and 100 men complement. The prizes are laden with ship timber, rosin, and tar, and were intended to fit out privateers from the enemy's principal ports upon the coast.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN WARREN.

Right hon. lord Bridport,
K. B. &c. &c. &c.

A list of vessels belonging to the French republic, captured and destroyed by the squadron under the orders of commodore sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. between the 17th of July, 1797, and the 6th of September following:

Vessels of war captured.

L'Egalité, chasse-marée, 50 tons, 18 guns and 20 men.

Vessels of war destroyed.

Le Calliope, frigate, 36 guns and 250 men, sunk.—La Freedom, ship, 300 tons, 8 guns and 47 men, burnt.—A ship corvette, 22 guns and 200 men, bilged.—A brig gun-vessel, 12 guns and 70 men, sunk.

—Le Petit Diable, cutter, 18 guns and 80 men, bilged and fell over.

Merchant vessels captured.—La Thalia, ship, sent to Falmouth.—A brig, sent to Falmouth.—A brig, sent to Falmouth.—A brig, sent to Falmouth.—Three chasses marées, sent to Falmouth.—L'Arche de Flore, chasse marée, cargo of wine and soap, distributed to the squadron.—A brig, sent to Falmouth.—A chasse marée, sent to Falmouth.—Le Republicaine brig, foundered, crew saved.—Le Sarsine Fraiche, brig, foundered, crew saved.—A brig,

brig,

brig, sent to Falmouth.—Le Dauphine, brig, sent to Falmouth.—Les Trois Sœurs, chasse-marée, sent to Falmouth.

Merchant vessels destroyed.—Le * * * *, brig, sunk.—Le Henri, sloop, burnt.—Le Fidele, brig, burnt.—L'Anne, chasse-marée, sunk.—La Marie Anne, sloop, sunk.—Le Pierre, sloop, burnt.

J. B. WARREN.

Copy of a letter from captain Thomas Wolley, commander of his majesty's ship Arethusa, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Spithead, Sept. 13, 1797.

I am to acquaint you, that on the 20th of August, being in latitude 30 deg. 49 min. and long. 55 deg. 50 min. having in tow a ship under Prussian colours from Surinam, which I have detained, suspecting her to be Dutch property, we perceived at day-light three sail to windward of us, one of which, deceived by our appearance, bore down upon us, under French colours, to within half gun shot, when she began to fire, which she continued for more than half an hour before she attempted to escape. We were, however, fortunate enough to have so disabled her in that time as to render her endeavours fruitless. On striking, she proved to be La Gaieté, French corvette, of 20 French eight pounders, and 186 men, commanded by M. Guiene, enseigne de vaisseau. She is a very handsome ship, and quite new, this being her first voyage. She left France in April last for Cayenne, which last place she sailed from about four weeks before we fell in with her, in company with the l'Espoir, a brig of 14 guns, who kept to windward during the action, and stood away as soon as she saw the fate of the Gaieté. They had

not taken any thing. I am sorry to add a list of the killed and wounded. Return of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ship Arethusa, in the action with La Gaieté, French corvette, on the 20th of August, 1797.

1 seaman killed.

Mr. W. D. Morton, captain's clerk, lost his leg.

2 seamen wounded.

Return of killed and wounded on board La Gaieté, French corvette, M. Guiene, commander.

2 seamen killed.

8 ditto wounded.

(Signed)

T. WOLLEY.

This gazette also contains accounts of the captures of the Derrepente, a Spanish privateer lugger, and the Fabius, a famous privateer ship, of Nantes, of 16 six-pounders, 4 twelve-pounders, and 140 men, by the Doris, captain lord Ranelagh;—also, Le Veteran, French privateer sloop, of eight guns and 24 men, and La Dorade, French privateer sloop, of four guns and 74 men, by his majesty's ship Lapwing;—and also, La Batave, Dutch privateer sloop, of ten guns and 54 men, by his majesty's ship Roebuck.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 18. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of El Domini Lucas, a Spanish lugger privateer, of 2 four-pounders, 12 swivels, and 28 men, by his majesty's sloop Speedy, capt. Dowman;—also, the French privateer schooner L'Incroyable, of 3 six-pounders and 31 men, by his majesty's sloop Spitfire, captain Seymour;—and the sinking of La Cornelié, French privateer brig, of 12 guns and 90 men, only 17 of whom were saved, by his majesty's ship Dryad, capt. Beauclerk, owing to the imprudent conduct of the Frenchman.

19. Their

19. Their majesties and the five princesses arrived safely from Weymouth at the queen's lodge yesterday evening, soon after six, in perfect health and spirits, and shortly after sat down to dinner.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 22. This gazette contains accounts of the capture of *La Brave*, Dutch privateer, of six guns, eight swivels, and 40 men, but had only 25 on-board, by his majesty's ship *Albatross*, capt. G. Scott; — also, *Le Cerf Volant*, French privateer lugger, of 14 three-pounders, eight of which were thrown overboard in the chase, six swivels, and 63 men, by his majesty's ship *Tisiphone*, capt. Honeyman; — also, *Le Neptune*, of 12 guns, and 55 men, by his majesty's ship *Diana*, capt. Faulknor.

Shrewsbury, Sept. 23. The following very extraordinary circumstance happened on Thursday night, the 14th instant, at Lawley coalwork, belonging to the Coal-Brook-Dale company: as one man and two boys were employed in a coal pit about forty yards deep, to drive a head or way, being nearer some old works than they expected, the water suddenly and unfortunately broke in upon them, which in a few minutes filled all the work, and rose nine yards up the pit shaft; one of the boys being near the bottom of the pit at the time, fortunately laid hold of the rope and alarmed the people at the top, who immediately drew him up; the other two remaining behind were of course supposed to be drowned. During the space of twenty-four hours a number of horses were employed in drawing water out of the pit, in order to restore the supposed dead bodies to their disconsolate friends. In the mean time the

agent of the work ordered a gin to be erected over an old pit, about sixty yards from that in which the accident happened; and going down this pit, the workmen came to a head or way, along which they proceeded, until they came to another pit, which they likewise descended, and after working some time, they made way into the place where this unfortunate man and boy were at work when the water came first upon them, and to their great amazement found them both alive; they had crept from the water up into a chasm sufficiently high above the water to keep them from being drowned, where they remained for the above space of time, expecting nothing but death to relieve them from their miserable situation. They were extricated on Saturday evening following, about four o'clock, as may be supposed, very weak from their want of food, but they are now in a fair way of recovery.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 25.

Extract of a letter from capt. Sir Richard Strachan, bart. to Mr. Nepean, dated Spithead, Sept. 23.

Since writing my letter of yesterday's date, we chased on shore, near Cape La Heve, a lugger privateer. The crew had left her, and assembled on the top of the cliffs; and, being joined by numbers, prepared to repel any attempt we might make to get her off. I sent the boats, under the orders of lieut. Rogers, to destroy her. This service he effected with great judgment; and, notwithstanding a constant fire from the enemy, we had the good fortune to have only one man wounded; we suppose the enemy have lost several.

This gazette also contains accounts

counts of the capture of *Le Chasseur*, French schooner privateer, of six guns and 47 men, by his majesty's ship *Phaëton*, capt. Stopford; — also, *La Marie Anne*, French privateer, of 14 guns and 90 men, by his majesty's ship *Aurora*, capt. Digby.

26. The following particulars, respecting the earthquakes which have happened in South America, are from a late Paris paper.

Quito, Feb. 20. History does not furnish so complete a destruction as what happened in the provinces of Tacunga, Ambato, Biabamba, a part of Chimbo, and a part of Quito. Not a building now remains; all has been levelled with the ground.

The volcano of Macas, opening in the middle, displayed a grand eruption, producing an agitation which shook the mountains with such force as actually to overturn them, some emitting rocks and whirlwinds of dust, some torrents of lava, and others rivers of water. Ygualaga (a mountain to the left of the river Bamba), in bursting, sent forth an immense flood of lava, furcharged with flakes of fire, which, in its course, swept off Capalpi, St. Andre's, Guaono, Embyses, Guanardo, and several other places. The mountain of Moya, was, as it were, sunk in the water, and swallowed up with it Pelile, and the famous land of Ildefonso, on which upward of 1000 persons perished. The mountain Cuero tumbled on the village of the same name, not leaving a single witness of the frightful disaster. That of Yataguy was thrown upon Masdro, and in the midst of it opened a gulf, which absorbed all the houses, temples, and inhabitants, with the exception of two individuals.

This place seems transformed into a lake of bituminous matter exhaling a sulphureous smell, and covered with flakes of fire. Immense ruins appear on all sides, which all the gold and silver of America would be insufficient to repair. The number of people killed cannot be ascertained, but it must have been very considerable. The provinces of Biabamba, Ambato, and Tacunga, are those which suffered most. In the latter province many have perished with hunger, and others from thirst, owing to the foulness of the water.

The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when seven persons received sentence of death, 23 were ordered to be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years, one for the term of 14 years; 12 were ordered to be imprisoned in Newgate, 16 to be imprisoned in the house of correction at Clerkenwell, and five were ordered to be privately whipped and discharged.

The persons who were convicted for selling bad money received the following sentences, viz. John Welchman, to be imprisoned in Newgate one year, and to pay a fine of 200*l.* Thomas Holden to be imprisoned in Newgate for the same term, and pay a fine of 50*l.* and Robert Skay to be imprisoned in Newgate for the same term, and pay a fine of 20*l.*

The sessions were adjourned till Wednesday the 25th of October next.

27. The parliament was further prorogued to Tuesday, November 2.

29. This day, at a numerous and respectable meeting of the livery of London, at Guildhall, sir Benjamin Hammet (the senior alderman

man in rotation) was elected lord mayor for the year ensuing.

A court martial was holden on board his majesty's ship Cambridge, in Hamoaze, to enquire into the cause and circumstances of the loss of his majesty's ship Amazon, and to try capt. Robert Carthew Reynolds, the officers, and company of the said ship, for their conduct upon that occasion. It appeared, 'That his majesty's ship Amazon was lost after a well-disputed action with a French ship, of 74 guns, Les Droits de l'Homme, in Audierne Bay, the Amazon having suffered materially in her masts and rigging, and being far in shore at the close of the engagement. And the court is of opinion, that too much praise cannot be awarded to the captain, officers, and crew, of the Amazon; by which, in conjunction with the Indefatigable, a ship of the enemy's line was destroyed; and the court do consider the loss of the Amazon to be the result of a noble pursuit of an enemy on her own coast; and, with respect to it, do consequently acquit captain Reynolds, his officers, and crew, with every sentiment of its highest approbation. And capt. Reynolds, his officers, and crew, are hereby most honourably and fully acquitted accordingly.

The following admirable letter, written by capt. Reynolds, was sent to the admiralty, but never appeared in the gazette. The letter was produced in court.

Quimper, June 20, 1797.

"SIR,

"It is with inexpressible concern that I have to acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, of the fate of his majesty's ship Amazon, wrecked on the French coast in Audierne Bay, on the 14th inst. Their lordships are already

1797.

acquainted, by sir E. Pellew, of our shattered condition towards the end of our united action with Les Droits de l'Homme (a French man-of-war, of 74 guns, and 1600 men, sailors and troops), commanded by captain, ci-devant baron, le Cros. The various situations and changes incident to so long an action, I forbear to mention; sir E. Pellew having unquestionably done it in a better manner than I am able. The Amazon began to engage about seven o'clock in the evening on the 13th, an hour after sir Edward had gallantly commenced the action, and continued a running fight until five the next morning, which brought us 40 leagues from where we began the chase, near the French coast; and the wind blowing strong directly upon the shore, in the eagerness of pursuit, and during the heat of battle, we were unable accurately to calculate the distance we had run; and our masts, yards, and rigging, being miserably shattered, it was not possible for us to work off shore. Our mizen-top-mast, gaff, spanker-boom, and main-top-sail yard, were entirely shot away; the main and fore masts, the fore and main yards, wounded in several places by large shot, some of which we judged to be 36-pounders; our shrouds, stays, and back-stays, many of them shot away, besides what we had knotted and stoppered in the action; and our cordage all expended in reeving running-rigging. In this condition, sir, and with three feet water in our hold, we struck the ground a little after five in the morning, and not more than ten minutes after we had ceased firing. Les Droits de l'Homme met with a similar fate a little distance from us, and almost at the same moment. From half past five to nine o'clock,

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we were employed in making rafts to save the men; and it gives me unspeakable comfort, that not a man was lost after the ship struck the shore, except six that stole away the cutter from the stern, and were drowned. Myself and officers quit- ted not the ship till with great care and pains we got the wounded and every man out of her. We were received on shore by a party of soldiers, who conducted us to the little town of Audierne, about a league from the ship. Thence they marched us to Dournancy to Quimper, where we now remain, and are well treated. I am not able to express my satisfaction for the noble support I received from the officers in general, and petty officers, during the action: to particularise either, I hope, will not be considered as taking from the merits of the whole; but Mr. Little- hales, the first lieutenant, being constantly on the quarter-deck with me throughout the whole of the action, it would be unjust and un- grateful in me not to acknowledge the ample assistance he afforded in every situation throughout the course of so long and trying a con- flict; and if a man, who has un- fortunately lost his ship, (though I hope not dishonourably,) may be permitted, I humbly beg leave to recommend Mr. Littlehales to their lordships' notice and patronage. I hope this will not be deemed to de- rogate from the merits of lieute- nants Nicols and Thomas, who were quartered on the main-deck, and who, during a great part of the action, fought half way up their legs in water, cheering and inspiring courage to all around them by their own animated and gallant example. Mangled as we were in our hull as well as in our masts, yards, and rigging, thanks

to Almighty God, we had but three men killed, and 15 badly wounded. I rest firmly assured that sir E. Pellew has done ample justice to my conduct in his representation of the engagement to their lord- ships; and I humbly hope no blemish will attach to my character, for a misfortune occasioned by an impatient ardour to signalise British valour opposed to superior force.

I have the honour, &c.

R. C. REYNOLDS.

From the London Gazette, Sept. 30.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 30, 1797.

Copy of a letter from captain Boorder, commander of his ma- jesty's sloop l'Espiegle, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated Yarmouth Roads, the 27th of September, 1797.

I have the pleasure to inform you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admir- alty, that on Saturday the 23d in- stant, at one P. M. being then off the coast of Holland, the Vlic island bearing south, distance eight leagues, we discovered a schooner about four or five miles ahead of us, which we gave chase to. The wind being at S. E. prevented her from gaining the Vlic passage. Finding we were coming fast up with her, and judging we were un- acquainted with the coast, she ran close in, and let go her anchor in eight feet water. Mr. Stevenson, my master, knowing the coast very well, we followed until we came into less than three fathoms, let go our anchor, and immediately com- menced a heavy fire on her. They, however, engaged us forty minutes, then cut their cable and ran on shore: thirteen of her crew took this opportunity of leaving her be- fore our boats could take possession. No time was to be lost; the signal for an enemy on their coast had been

been made from our first firing on the schooner; and we could plainly perceive they were bringing down two field-pieces against us; but, by our constant fire of round and grape shot, we in a great measure stopped their progress: the tide of flood having made, she was soon got off, without any other damage than having received a shot between wind and water, and which we soon got stopped.

The second lieutenant of the schooner was killed: we had a few shot through our sails, and two through our ensign. She proves to be the D'Ondeilbaarlaid, or the Invincible, Dutch schooner, from Amsterdam, mounting 10 guns, carrying 46 men; left the Vlic Island only that morning; had made no captures; quite a new vessel, and a remarkable fast sailer.

OCTOBER.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 2.

This gazette contains accounts of the capture of the L'Entrepreneur, French cutter privateer, by his majesty's sloop Weazle, capt. Lewis;—also, the Jean Bart, French lugger privateer, of eight swivels and 24 men, coppered, by his majesty's armed cutter, Telemachus, capt. Newton.

3. About four weeks ago, the hon. miss King, who lived with her mother, lady Kingsborough, eloped from Windsor. There were many circumstances attending the elopement, which led to a suspicion of the person who had seduced her from her duty. Col. Fitzgerald, who is married to a very beautiful lady, and is second cousin to miss King, had been very attentive to her for some time, and, it appears, had previously found means to lead her astray. She was

very young, being now only 16 years of age, and her habits of life had been such as to leave her more uninformed of the vicious habits of the world than happens to most young people, even of that early age. Col. Fitzgerald was at length taxed by her friends as being necessary to her elopement; but he was at first extremely indignant, and threatened to fight any person who should accuse him. The afflicted parent, by the advice of friends, had at length recourse to the newspapers, and after having repeatedly advertised in vain, for her daughter, was induced to offer a reward of 100 guineas for her discovery. It was in consequence of the reward offered, that a young woman, daughter of the mistress of the house where the young lady was concealed, in Clayton-street, Kennington, discovered miss King, and her seducer.

As soon as lord Kingsborough, who was in Ireland, heard of the flight of his daughter, he came to England with his son, colonel King; and the first step was to find out col. Fitzgerald, which was not done without some difficulty; as they were determined to call him to a personal and severe account. Lord Kingsborough wrote to his friend major Wood, at Ashford, requesting his immediate attendance in town. As soon as he arrived, a meeting was appointed, and the duel took place on Sunday morning, which was accompanied by the discharge of several shots, without any hurt to either party.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 7.

This gazette contains accounts of the capture of the Indian, a French ship privateer of 16 guns, and the Egmont, one of the Leeward Island convoy, by his majesty's ships Phaëton and Unité.

10. Copy of a letter from admiral Peyton, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board the *Overyffel*, the 9th inst.

SIR,

I herewith inclose a copy of a letter I have received from capt. Horton, of his majesty's sloop *Fairy*, giving an account of his having sunk a French lugger, which you will please to lay before their lordships.

I am, &c.

J. PEYTON.

Fairy Sloop, Oct. 8.

SIR,

I have to inform you, that on the 5th, at day-break, being off *Blancnez*, I discovered three luggers to the S. W. and one brig to the westward, which proved to be a prize to them; and, after every effort to cut them off from the land proving unsuccessful, about eleven A. M. a little to the westward of *Estaples*, I anchored a-breast of the brig, one of the luggers having regained her, and, after heaving as close in as I could, and attempting to drive the lugger's crew, soldiers, and people assembled about the brig from her, as well as having sent my boats in twice to see if it was practicable to board the brig, in vain, I was under the necessity of leaving the brig, though not before I had the satisfaction to sink the lugger, which, from the manner they dismantled her at low water, I conceive to have rendered totally unserviceable. As the tide flowed, the enemy moved the brig close in shore under the batteries, and got her into *Boulogne*. The lugger appeared to have from 30 to 40 men on-board; mounted swivels only.

J. SIDNEY HORTON.

This gazette contains accounts of the capture of *Le Rayon*, a

French lugger privateer, mounting six carriage-guns, and eight co-horns, and 54 men, by his majesty's ship *Melampus*, capt. Moore; —also, *La Brunette*, pierced for 16 guns, and carrying ten, eight of which were thrown overboard in the chace, by his majesty's ship *Unité*.

London Gazette extraordinary of

Friday, Oct. 13, 1797.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 13.

Lieutenant Brodie, of the *Rose* cutter, arrived early this morning with a letter from admiral Duncan, commander in chief of his majesty's ships, &c. employed in the North sea, to Evan Nepean, esq. of which the following is a copy.

Venerable, off the coast of Holland, the 12th of October, by log (11th), three P. M. *Camperdown*, E. S. E. eight miles, wind N. by E.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that at nine o'clock this morning I got sight of the Dutch fleet; at half past twelve I passed through their line, and the action commenced, which has been very severe. The admiral's ship is dismasted, and has struck, as have several others, and one is on fire.

I shall send captain Fairfax with particulars the moment I can spare him.

I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

ADAM DUNCAN.

Upon lieutenant Brodie's arrival, earl Spencer instantly set off to *Kew*, to communicate the gratifying intelligence to the king. His lordship returned between seven and eight o'clock, and immediately sent

sent the following letter to the lord mayor.

Admiralty-office, 13th October.

My Lord,

I have the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that an officer has arrived from admiral Duncan, with an account of his having fallen in with the Dutch fleet, off the coast of Holland, on Wednesday last, and that, after a severe action, the ship having the Dutch admiral on board had been dismasted and had struck, as had also several others of the enemy's ships.

When the officer left the admiral, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he was then preparing to take possession of the ships which had struck, and to pursue the remainder.

I most heartily congratulate your lordship on this important event, and have the honour to be, with great regard, my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient,
and most humble servant,

SPENCER.

To the Right Hon. the
Lord Mayor.

14. The ordinary gazette of this day announces the capture of *Les Amis*, a French cutter, four guns and 18 men, by lieut. Tomlinson, of the *Speedwell* lugger; of the *Le Flibustier*, of nine guns and 29 men, by capt. Faulkner, of the *Diana*; of the *San Noberta*, Spanish privateer, of four guns and 42 men, by the *Cerberus*; and of the brigantine, *Le Poisson Volant*, letter of marque, four guns, by capt. Roberts, of the *La Concorde*.
London Gazette extraordinary of

Monday, Oct. 16, 1797.

Admiralty-office, Oct. 16.—Capt. Fairfax of the *Venerable* arrived early this morning with dispatches from Adam Duncan, esq. admiral of the blue, commander in chief of

his majesty's ships, &c. employed in the north sea, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies.

*Venerable, at sea, 13th October,
1797, off the Coast of Holland.*

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, judging it of consequence their lordships should have as early information as possible of the defeat of the Dutch fleet under the command of admiral De Winter, I dispatched the *Rose* cutter at three P. M. on the 12th (11th) instant, with a short letter to you immediately after the action was ended. I have now further to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that in the night of the 10th instant, after I had sent away my letter to you, of that date, I placed my squadron in such situation as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel without my falling in with them. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th I got sight of capt. Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; I immediately bore up, and made the signal for a general chase, and soon got sight of them, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive us, the wind at N. W. As we approached near I made the signal for the squadron to shorten sail, in order to connect them; soon after I saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy, and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, I made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which I got between them and the land, whither they were fast approaching. My signals were obeyed with great promptitude, and

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vice-admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and I began a close action, with my division on their van, which lasted near two hours and a half, when I observed all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship to go by the board; she was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner; but being overpressed by numbers, her colours were struck, and admiral de Winter was soon brought on board the Venerable. On looking around me I observed the ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and had surrendered to vice-admiral Onslow; and that many others had likewise struck. Finding we were in nine fathoms water, and not farther than five miles from the land, my attention was so much taken up in getting the heads of the disabled ships off shore, that I was not able to distinguish the number of ships captured; and the wind having been constantly on the land since, we have unavoidably been much dispersed, so that I have not been able to gain an exact account of them; but we have taken possession of eight or nine; more of them had struck, but taking advantage of the night, and being so near their own coast, they succeeded in getting off, and some of them were seen going into the Texel the next morning.

It is with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction I make known to their lordships the very gallant behaviour of vice-admiral Onslow, the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron, who all

appeared actuated with the truly British spirit, at least those that I had an opportunity of seeing.

One of the enemy's ships caught fire in the action, and drove very near the Venerable; but I have the pleasure to say it was extinguished, and she is one of the ships in our possession. The squadron has suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of them have lost a number of men; however in no proportion to that of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the admirals' flags has been beyond all description; they have had no less than 250 men killed and wounded on board of each ship; and here I have to lament the loss of captain Burgefs, of his majesty's ship the Ardent, who brought that ship into action in the most gallant and masterly manner, but was unfortunately killed soon after. However, the ship continued the action close, until quite disabled. The public have lost a good and gallant officer in captain Burgefs, and I, with others, a sincere friend.

Captain Trollope's exertions and active good conduct in keeping sight of the enemy's fleet until I came up, have been truly meritorious, and, I trust, will meet a just reward.

I send this by capt. Fairfax, by whose able advice I profited much during the action, and who will give their lordships any further particulars they may wish to know.

As most of the ships of the squadron are much disabled, and several of the prizes dismasted, I shall make the best of my way with them to the Nore.

I herewith transmit you a list of killed and wounded on board such of the squadron as I have been able to collect; a list of the enemy's

my's fleet opposed to my squadron, and my line of battle on the day of action.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient,
humble servant,

ADAM DUNCAN.

A list of the killed and wounded on board the ships of admiral Duncan's squadron in an action with the Dutch on 11th of October, 1797.

Venerable. 13 seamen, 2 marines, killed; 6 officers, 52 seamen, 4 marines, wounded.—Total 77.

Monarch. 2 officers, 34 seamen, killed; 9 officers, 79 seamen, 12 marines, wounded.—Total 136.

Bedford. 2 midshipmen, 26 seamen, 2 marines, killed; 1 lieutenant, 37 seamen, 3 marines, wounded.—Total 71.

Powerful. 8 seamen, 2 marines, killed; 4 officers, 74 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 88.

Ifis. 1 seaman, 1 marine, killed; 3 officers, 18 seamen, wounded.—Total 23.

Ardent. 2 officers, 33 seamen, 6 marines, killed; 8 officers, 85 seamen, 11 marines, 3 boys, wounded.—Total 148.

Agincourt. None killed or wounded.

Belliqueux. 2 officers, 20 seamen, 3 marines, killed; 3 officers, 63 seamen, 12 marines, wounded.—Total 103.

Lancaster. 3 seamen killed; 2 officers, 13 seamen; 3 marines, wounded.—Total 21.

Triumph. 25 seamen, 3 marines, 1 boy, killed; 5 officers, 50 seamen and marines, wounded.—Total 84.

Officers killed.

Monarch. Mr. J. P. Tindall and Mr. Moyle Finlay, midshipmen.

Ardent. Captain Burgefs, Mr. Michael Dunn, master.

Belliqueux. Lieutenant Robert Webster, Mr. James Milne, master's mate.

Officers wounded.

Venerable. Lieutenants Clay and Douglas, lieutenant Chambers of the marines, Mr. Stewart, midshipman, Mr. Brown, pilot.

Monarch. Lieutenant Retalick, lieutenant Smith of the marines, Mr. George Maffie, Mr. Benjamin Clement, Mr. Daniel Sherwin, Mr. Charles Slade, midshipmen, Mr. John Chimley, master's mate.

Bedford. Lieutenant Keenor.

Powerful. Lieutenant Jennings, Mr. Mel. Jones, boatswain, Mr. Daniel Rogers, midshipman, lieutenant Walker of the marines.

Ifis. Lieutenant Charles Rea of the marines, Mr. Simon Frafer and Mr. John Walker, midshipmen.

Ardent. Lieutenant James Rose, lieutenant John Sobriell, captain Cuthbert of marines, Mr. John Tracy, master's mate, Mr. John Airey, master's mate, Mr. T. Leopard, midshipman, Mr. John Taylor, captain's clerk, slightly, Mr. George Killiar, midshipman, slightly.

Belliqueux. Lieutenant Robert England, slightly, captain James Cassel of marines, slightly, Mr. James Scott, midshipman.

Lancaster. Lieutenant Morgan, lieutenant Sandys of the marines.

Triumph. Captain Effington, slightly in the arm; Mr. Chapman, first lieutenant, slightly in the head; Mr. Trollope, third lieutenant, slightly in the foot; Mr. Read, master, slightly bruised; Mr. Jones, midshipman, slightly in the face.

ADAM DUNCAN.

(K 4)

List

List and disposition of the Dutch fleet on the 11th of October, 1797.

Van.

Vice-admiral Reyntjes, commander.
Cerberus, captain Jacobson, 68 guns, 450 men.

Deift, captain Verdoon, 56 guns, 375 men. Taken.

Jupiter, vice-admiral Reyntjes and rear-admiral Meuses, 74 guns, 550 men. Taken.

Alkmaar, capt. Kraft, 56 guns, 350 men. Taken.

Haarlem, capt. Wiggerts, 68 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Munnikkendam, capt. Lancaster, 44 guns, 270 men. Taken.

Heldin, capt. Dumisnilde L'Eeftrille, 32 guns, 230 men.

Daphne brig, lieutenant Fredericks, 18 guns, 98 men.

Centre.

Admiral De Winter, commander in chief.

Wassenaar, capt. Holland, 64 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Batavier, captain Souters, 56 guns, 350 men.

Vryheid (the Liberty), admiral de Winter Van Rossem, 74 guns, 550 men. Taken.

States General, rear-admiral Story, 74 guns, 550 men.

Leyden, capt. Musquetier, 68 guns, 450 men.

Mars, capt. Kolff, 44 guns, 400 men.

Waakzaamheid, captain-lieutenant Nicrop, 24 guns, 150 men.

Minerva, capt. Eilbracht, 24 guns, 150 men.

Galatea brig, lieutenant Rivery, 18 guns, 98 men.

Atalanta brig, lieutenant Plets, 18 guns, 98 men.

Rear.

Rear-admiral Bloys, commander.

Admiral Devries, capt. Zegers, 68 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Hereules, capt. Van Ryfoort, 64 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Brutus, rear-admiral Bloys, 74 guns, 550 men.

Beschermer, capt. Hinxtt, 56 guns, 350 men.

Gelykheid (the Equality), capt. Ruyfen, 68 guns, 450 men. Taken.

Ambuscade, captain-lieut. Huys, 32 guns, 270 men. Taken.

Ajax brig, lieut. Arkenbout, 18 guns, 98 men.

Haasje (Aviso), lieut. Hartensfeld, 6 guns, 35 men.

ADAM DUNCAN.

N. B. Another line of battle ship, reported to be taken, name unknown.

Disposition of the squadron, in the order of battle, on the 11th of October, 1797.

Larboard, or lee division.

Richard Onslow, esq. vice-admiral of the red, commander.

1. Russel, Henry Trollope, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.

2. Director, William Bligh, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

3. Montague, John Knight, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.

4. Veteran, George Gregory, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

5. Monarch, vice-admiral Onslow, Edward O'Bryen, capt. 74 guns, 599 men.

6. Powerful, William O'Bryen Drury, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.

7. Monmouth, James Walker, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

8. Agincourt, John Williams, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.

Repeaters.

Beaulieu frigate — cutters, Rose, King George, Active, Diligent —

Speculator lugger.

Starboard, or weather division.

Adam Duncan, esq. admiral of the blue, and commander in chief,

&c. &c. &c.

9. Triumph,

9. Triumph, William Henry Effington, capt. 74 guns, 640 men.
10. Venerable, admiral Duncan, William George Fairfax, capt. 74 guns, 593 men.
11. Ardent, Richard R. Burges, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.
12. Bedford, sir Thomas Byard, capt. 74 guns, 590 men.
13. Lancaster, John Wells, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.
14. Belliqueux, John Inglis, capt. 64 guns, 491 men.
15. Adamant, William Hotham, capt. 50 guns, 343 men.
16. Isis, William Mitchel, capt. 50 guns, 343 men.

Repeaters.

Circe frigate.—Martin sloop.

ADAM DUNCAN.

Venerable, off Orfordness,
Oct. 15, 1797.

SIR,

In addition to my letter of the 13th instant, containing the particulars of the action of the 11th, and which I have not been able to send away until this day, I have to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, from the wind continuing to blow on the Dutch coast, the ships have had great difficulty in keeping off the shore, and that we have unavoidably been separated. On Friday last the wind blew strong from the W. S. W. to the W. N. W. and continued so to do until Saturday morning: it then shifted to the north, when I made the signal to wear, stood to the westward, and fortunately anchored here last evening, the Venerable being so leaky, that, with all her pumps going, we could but just keep her free. This morning I observed the ships named in the mar-

gin * at anchor near us, three near the Kentish knock, and three in Hovey bay. The wind is at N. W. and much against the disabled ships: I have therefore sent the Lancaster and Beaulieu out to render them assistance.

Sir Thomas Williams, in the Endymion, who joined me the day after the action, I also sent in shore, to keep by and assist the disabled ships; and I am informed that, in the course of the night, he fell in with a Dutch ship of the line off the Texel, and had engaged her, but I have not heard the particulars.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

ADAM DUNCAN.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

The following is the account of this important victory, as given to the Dutch government by admirals de Winter and Story.

“ With the deepest impression of grief I inform you, that yesterday morning, October 11, we discovered the English fleet. I immediately formed into a line of battle on the starboard tack, and did every thing in my power to keep the ships as close together as possible, but my orders for this purpose could not be completely obeyed, on account of the unsteadiness of the wind, the high sea, and the bad sailing of some of the vessels. At eleven o'clock the enemy attacked the rear of the line, which they broke through with great resolution. This I saw with some pleasure, because I always entertained hopes that the rest of the fleet would close up, and therefore I made a signal to the headmost ships to slacken sail. This,

* Monarch, Powerful, Lancaster, Beaulieu.

however,

however, was of no avail. We came into action successively in an irregular manner. My ship was engaged at one time with two, and afterwards with three. The Hercules, which was the second in the line from me, took fire, and drove towards me, by which means I was obliged to shift my station, and approach a fourth English ship, being that of the admiral. All my running rigging was now tore to pieces, and while I was endeavouring to make a signal for some of the ships to come to my assistance, the flag-line was shot from my hand. In the mean while the Wassenaar, by the captain being wounded early, and the loss of a great many people, was obliged to strike, as did also the Haarlem, the De Vries, the Delft, and the Jupiter, whose main-mast went by the board. This I was, in some measure, prevented from seeing, by the thickness of the smoke, and the closeness with which I was engaged. Every thing being at length shot away, and having lost a considerable number of men, I nevertheless endeavoured to force my way through the five English ships, with a view of making for port, or of giving an opportunity to some of the fleet not yet disabled, to afford me assistance, but my attempt was not successful. At two o'clock all my three masts went overboard, but I still continued to defend the wreck for half an hour, when, having no further hope, seeing the rest of the ships at a distance, and finding that my flag was shot away, I ordered the people, one half of whom I had already lost, to stop firing, and at three o'clock an English frigate approached me, the captain of which came on board, and carried me to admiral Duncan. The Gelykheid

lay to the windward of me. I saw also that she made no longer resistance, and had ceased firing; her running rigging was all in pieces, but why she struck, I know as little as I do of the Admiral de Vries, the Delft, and the Haarlem. The Hercules lost her mizen-mast, and took fire, which brought her as well as me into the midst of the English fleet, and she has also been captured. With the behaviour of my officers and crew, I am perfectly satisfied. I recommend them to you as men who defended themselves to the last, and continued faithful to their admiral. Both sides fought with fury, and many men have fallen. The English also have sustained great loss. They had retired to Yarmouth, with nine sail of the line, in order to refit. On Saturday evening they received intelligence that we were at sea; on Monday they again sailed, having re-victualled in twenty-four hours, and having received eight other ships from Portsmouth and the Downs, in the room of the eight which were under repair. They had altogether sixteen sail of the line, among which there was only one 50, the greater part of the rest being ships of 74 guns. Behold then the most unfortunate day of my life. Every exertion that depended on manœuvres or personal courage, was made by myself and many others on board, but in vain. Our enemies respect us on account of the obstinacy of our defence. No action can have been so bloody, for it was fatal to us. I shall have the honour of sending you a more accurate and minute account, as soon as I find an opportunity. I at present take advantage of a permission from the English admiral, to give you this short notice, and to call your care
and

and attention to a number of prisoners, whose bravery and courage deserved a better fate, and particularly to the crew of the *Vryheid*. I recommend to you the poor widows and orphans, and the wife and children of my worthy captain, Van Rossum, whose thigh was shot off at half past two. He is still alive, but there are little hopes of his recovery. Two cadets, one of which is my nephew, have each lost the left leg; the rest of my officers are well. Cranenburg, the lieutenant of marines, only is dead. Of the state of the other ships I can give no account, nor do I know what loss they have sustained; the English do not know themselves. I am informed, however, that vice-admiral Reintjes has been wounded also, and that he is on board admiral Onslow. Meurer is well, but captain Holland, of the *Wassenaar*, was mortally wounded in the beginning of the action, and lost a great many men.

"I trust and hope that I shall be permitted to return to Holland, in order to justify myself further.

"I am your unfortunate admiral,

"DE WINTER."

Official letter of rear-admiral S. Story, to the Committee for Maritime Affairs at the Hague.

"On Board the *States General*,
Oct. 14, 1797.

"After having happily gained the offing with the squadron of the republic on the 7th of Oct. we continued to cruise along the coast, by making tacks towards the Bree Veertien. — We fell in with no vessels until the 11th, when, at eight in the morning, we were informed by the men upon the outlook at the topgallant-mast-head, that the English fleet, amounting to thirty sail, was then to the wind-

ward of us. The signal for preparing to engage was immediately made, and afterwards that for forming a line of battle in three divisions on the larboard tack. The wind was then N. N. E. and the village of Egmont bore east north east, distant two leagues and a half. The English fleet, which bore down upon us with the wind abaft, formed in a line towards the south; then, ranged *en échiquier* (chequerwise), it came right upon us. At half-past twelve began one of the most obstinate engagements, perhaps, that ever took place on the ocean. At the commencement of the action, the greater part of the English fleet broke through our line. Two of their largest vessels then engaged one of ours. Their line consisted of twenty ships, six of which carried 84 guns; the others were 74's and 64's. The ships engaged on both sides throughout the whole line. Thus we were attacked both to windward and leeward.

"All vessels, as far as I could observe, fought with equal courage. The behaviour of the officers and crews is above all praise. I engaged admiral Duncan's ship, and another of 84 guns. The *States General* was between these two vessels, each of which was not more than the length of the ship from us. The same thing took place throughout all the line. Every part of my rigging was soon shot away; but we got astern of them in such a manner, that the English admiral was obliged to wear, and to drop astern also. All his rigging appeared ready to give way, and most of it came down some time after. The ship of 84 guns, with which I still remained engaged, was immediately seconded by a 74, in the room of admiral Duncan's

can's ship. We maintained a most obstinate action with these two ships, and continued fighting until three o'clock. — While we were constantly repeating broadside after broadside, a fire broke out in our stern and between decks; but it was soon extinguished. All the ships were now so much disabled, that they could no longer be managed, and drove about in the greatest confusion. It was no longer possible to fire a single gun. The standing-rigging of each mast was carried away: the masts, top-masts, and yards were all wounded: the running-rigging was entirely shot away, and the sails all torn to pieces. I had twenty killed, and forty severely wounded. Every brace was shot away; as were also the wheel, the tiller-ropes, &c. In a word, every thing was carried away; we had shot in every part of the hull; and in this wretched state we floated about at the mercy of the waves.

"New braces were got up as soon as possible; and at four o'clock we stood towards the English fleet. But my officers then made a report to me, that the ship was filling fast with water; and I was under the necessity of shortening sail. The evening set in with thick rain, which prevented us from seeing any of our ships, but a few which had formed the rear of the line. I then collected all the vessels belonging to my division that I could discover. At midnight I found I had got together eleven sail. I endeavoured, with them, to collect the remainder of the Squadron, and stood again towards the English fleet.

"At day-break we saw them to windward of us, at a short distance astern. There was then none of our ships of the line a-head of us,

but we observed two ships making for the Texel: upon coming near them, we found they were English; they made sail, and we were not in a condition to chase them. I then continued to steer towards the Texel, and I observed the hulls of three vessels floating near the spot where the battle was fought. On the 12th, in the evening, I got safely into the Texel with the ships I had collected.

"Health and fraternity.

"S. STORY."

The following is a translation of the detailed official account sent by admiral de Winter to the Batavian government.

On the 7th of October, in the year 1797, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the wind E. by N. blowing a light breeze, the Dutch fleet, consisting of four ships of 74, seven of 64, four of 50, two of 44, two of 32, two of 24, four brigs of 16 guns, and two advice-boats, under the command of vice-admiral de Winter, cleared the Texel, and got safely out to sea. On the night of the same day, and at the dawn of the succeeding morning, six sail of the English were discovered, a few miles to windward, the wind being then S. W. upon which the signal for a general chase was made; but these ships being much smaller in number, and better sailers than the Dutch, gained so much upon their fleet, as well with regard to distance as to the wind, that it would have been highly injudicious to spread our ships too much. We therefore desisted from chasing, and continued our course, standing out more into the offing, towards the flat of the Meuse, with a view to meet a 64 gun ship, which was expected from thence to join the fleet, and also to encounter and give battle to the English.

lish fleet, in case we should fall in with them in our course, while steering to the westward.

On the 8th, 9th, and 10th, the wind continuing westerly, and very variable, the Dutch fleet worked up a great way, till within eight German miles E. by S. of Lowestoffe, whilst five of the English ships, consisting of the *Russel*, of 74, the *Iris*, of 50 guns, the *Beaulieu* and *Circe* frigates, and *Martin* sloop, constantly kept to windward of our fleet; whence we concluded, that their object was to observe our motions, and that they had probably sent advice to the English ports, in order to collect their ships, with a view of attacking the Dutch fleet with a superior force. Supposing that the English fleet was not yet out, and this small fleet of observation becoming very troublesome to us, we resolved to avail ourselves of the darkness of the night, in order to detach the best sailing ships of the fleet, under a press of sail, in hope of getting to windward of them by break of day, and thus enabling ourselves to attack, or at least chace away, those unwelcome observers: but on the 10th in the evening, we received information by some merchant ships, that the English fleet, consisting of 15 sail of the line, frigates, sloops, &c. making 25 in the whole, was at-sea, at the distance of about ten German miles from us, to the N. N. E. In consequence of this intelligence, the order for detaching some of our ships was recalled, and in the course of the same night our fleet was collected so as to be in close and compact order at the break of day. The wind being then N. W. the Dutch fleet edged away to the N. N. E. for the purpose of reaching our place of rendezvous, off

Camperduys, the next day; proposing to sail thence in quest of the English fleet, which we were also informed was steering E. by S. directing its course towards the Texel.

At break of day, the wind being N. W. with inconstant airs, squalls, and a turbulent high sea, the Batavian fleet was about eight miles off Schevenningen. Several of our ships being sent to hail some merchant ships, then passing abreast of the fleet, and standing to the S. and S. S. W. a frigate brought advice to the admiral that the English fleet was steering for the Texel. Being perfectly assured of this, the admiral made a signal for all ships to repair to their respective squadrons, and to form close together, and then put about, under easy sail, steering E. by N. and E. N. E. to afford time for those ships now to leeward the speedier to join the fleet, and then to stand in shore. He also made the signal to prepare for battle; the before-mentioned English squadron continued steering about N. N. E. under a press of sail, and making signals, whence we concluded that they had got sight of the English fleet.

At half an hour past eight, we got sight of the land, which we discovered to be the Wykerdyns, bearing east at the distance of four to five German miles from us. At this time the fleet had again hauled the wind. At nine o'clock we discovered the English fleet, consisting of about twenty sail, in the N. N. W. towards Kimmen, at the distance of four to five German miles, and coming down before the wind; a signal for which being immediately made by vice-admiral Reyntjes, admiral de Winter threw out the signal to form the line of battle,

tle, and one after the other to close to the wind, with the larboard tack down; whereby the rear, under rear-admiral Bloys, became of course the van. The Vryheid braced her top-sails a-back, to enable the other ships more conveniently and speedily to reach their respective stations; the Jupiter, vice-admiral Reyntjes, also fell back, whilst some other ships were endeavouring to get into their stations; but rear-admiral Bloys remained lying to windward with his top-sail a-back; although a signal was out for his squadron to make more sail, and to repair to its station; which signal was duly answered by all the ships of his squadron, except his own. In the mean time, the English fleet approached within three quarters of a German mile, and then brought to, in order to arrange itself, the wind being very inconstant, varying some times one or two points. The Vryheid had the misfortune of having her main-top-sail-yard carried away by a squall, which obliged her to set the fore-sail and some stay-sails, that she might keep her distance. In the mean time admiral de Winter made the signal for the ships to close as much as possible, as also for the foremost ship of the line to shorten sail.

The line of the Batavian fleet was now formed; but the Brutus, rear-admiral Bloys Van Tresslong, not being in her station, laid herself in the line a-head of the Leyde, the Delft having fallen back below the line (and not being able properly to attain her station and distance in any other manner), was ordered by vice-admiral Reyntjes to place herself the hindmost ship of the line, by which means the Batavian line became completely formed; but being irregular as to di-

stance, the signal for closing as much as possible was repeated.

Whilst so doing, the English fleet having put itself in order, bore down upon us before the wind. The division of vice-admiral Onslow, who was in the Monarch, being somewhat a-head, that division, consisting of four ships of 74, three of 64, and one of 50 guns, made for the rear of the Batavian line. At the same moment the Haarlem got too close to the Jupiter, which ship filling her main-top-sail, and the Haarlem backing all her sails, a considerable distance was thereby occasioned between these two ships; and the Haarlem, being a very indifferent sailer, could not so speedily regain her station in the line.

Vice-admiral Onslow, profiting by this circumstance, forthwith led with his ship, the Monarch, through the line; while admiral de Winter made the signal to direct the fire against the advancing ships of the enemy; expecting that by forming in close order, the English fleet would be also obliged to form a regular and parallel line a-breast of the Batavian fleet. The Monarch thus running through the line, gave her starboard broadside to the Haarlem, and the larboard to the Jupiter; and *per contra* a broadside was given her by the Munnikendam frigate, which had stationed herself somewhat behind, yet without the line, to the leeward of the Jupiter; and so well was the Monarch also received by the Jupiter, that the wheel of her helm was shot away, and the whole ship considerably shattered.

In the interim, three English ships got along-side of the Haarlem, Alkmaar, and Delft, whilst two others, together with a frigate, passed astern, and severely battered the

the Delft; in this manner these hindmost ships became engaged on both sides, and were thereby very ill-treated, and thrown into confusion in a short space of time; to such a degree indeed, that the Alkmaar ran against the stern of the Munnikkendam, which frigate being already considerably shattered, used her utmost efforts to bear away, and for a short time quit her station, that she might have the better opportunity of repairing her damage; but being almost unmanageable from the injury she had sustained, and being pursued by the Beaulieu and a ship of the line (supposed the Agincourt), she was reduced to the sad necessity of submitting to her more powerful opponents; and, after a valiant defence, the Delft, the Haarlem, and the Alkmaar, being not only much disabled, but in a sinking condition, were also obliged to strike to the superior force of their assailants, as well as the Jupiter, which was at once attacked by the Russel, and forsaken by the Cerberus.

At the same time the conflict commenced between the division of admiral Duncan, consisting of three ships of 74, four of 64, and one of 50 guns, whereof the Venerable was the foremost, which endeavoured to penetrate between rear-admiral Storr, and admiral de Winter; but was at first frustrated in her intention by the closing of these divisions: unfortunately, however, the Wassenaar, being a very heavy and bad sailing ship, could not close with sufficient speed, and being at the same time attacked by the Powerful, of 74 guns, the Venerable succeeded in getting a-stern of the States General, without sustaining much injury; whilst the Ardent attacked the Vryheid, and attempted to pass in like manner: the other English ships likewise exerted

themselves to pass the Hercules and de Vries, but were prevented by the close situation of our ships.

The battle now became general, and one half of the English fleet being to leeward, and the other half to windward of the Batavian line, the conflict was vigorous and obstinate on both sides; and, considering the separation of the English line, and that the part of their fleet which was lying to leeward suffered considerably by the tremendous fire they received from our ships opposed to them, and the repeating frigates and brigs, the Batavian admiral de Winter entertained great hopes that victory would (as has often happened) declare in favour of the Batavian flag. In these expectations he was, however, much disappointed, when, after being overwhelmed with clouds of smoke and flames, for the space of an hour and a half, and after having considerably damaged his adversary, the state of the Dutch fleet was no sooner clear to his sight, than he had the melancholy prospect before his eyes of the Hercules on fire, which obliged her to quit the line; whilst the Beschermer also got before the wind, out of the action, as well as the States-General, which set her fore-sail, and got on the lee side, a-head of the Vryheid, probably to shelter herself from the flames of the Hercules. By this movement the Vryheid became engaged with three English ships; namely, the Venerable; the ship by which the Hercules was battered; and her own opponent: this was also the case with the Gelykheid and Admiral de Vries, who were attacked by four ships of the enemy. They, nevertheless, continued all to fight with great vigour and bravery.

The Wassenaar, being very crank and not able to use her lower tier on the

the starboard side, (and the Batavier not coming up, but having, upon the first fire, run before the wind to leeward of the fleet,) the Powerful, which was lying a-stern of the former, battered her in such a manner that she was no longer governable. Being thus, from the retreat of the Batavier, exposed to the attack of two ships, she was also seen to strike to the superior force of the enemy. The Powerful then came up to the assistance of admiral Duncan's ship, which being in a very shattered condition, might still have been successfully attacked by three Batavian ships, the Brutus, Leyden, and the Mars, at that time formed in a line under single top-sails, and in good order, and having apparently discomfited and repulsed their opponents.

The battle still continued in the rear of the Batavian line. The Vryheid, though quite surrounded, had the good fortune to damage the fore-rigging of the Powerful so much, that the latter could not advance, or perform any manœuvre to facilitate the renewal of her attack. The Vryheid being also much shattered, her helm ungovernable, and having no longer an opportunity of making any signals, fell off herself, and was thereby fortunately liberated from the Hercules, then in flames, as also from the joint attack of the Powerful and Venerable. The Brutus, Leyden, and Mars, coming up, engaged in passing by some of the English ships, which were much shattered, and endeavouring to recover themselves: they also exchanged some broadsides with the Venerable; but, nevertheless, remained on the starboard tack, and sailed by the disabled ships Vryheid, Gelykheid, and Admiral de Vries, without giv-

ing them any other assistance, or putting about towards us.

At this critical juncture, the Vryheid was again driven to leeward, within the reach of the English ships; these having now somewhat recovered themselves, immediately surrounded, and battered her with incredible fury; this was also the case with the Gelykheid, then lying to windward. The Mars made some attempts to lend them assistance; but for want of her being supported by the others, she also adopted the most prudential conduct, by following the Brutus under easy sail. Thus we found ourselves forsaken on all sides, and surrounded by the English fleet. The Venerable having put about, together with all the rest of the English ships, ran a-head of the Vryheid, already engaged with two other ships, and so vigorously attacked her, that in a few minutes all her masts went overboard at once; but, notwithstanding every thing being shot away, many guns dismounted, and about 200 of her men killed and wounded, she nevertheless continued her defence upwards of half an hour; vainly hoping that such of the Batavian ships as had not suffered very much in the engagement, would hasten to the relief and liberation of their admiral; or that by a wind arising from the north-west, we might be driven towards the shore, and the English thereby be obliged to desist from further attack; but these hopes were soon evinced to be momentary illusions. The wind, on the contrary, shifted to the N. and N. E. and the greatest part of the Batavian fleet stood away on the other tack from the English; and from the disastrous effects of these combined causes the admiral de Vries,

Vries, the Gelykheid, the Hercules (which, while on fire, had thrown her gunpowder overboard), and lastly, the Vryheid, were obliged severally to strike, as neither of them were any longer manageable, and, being surrounded by a number of the enemy's ships, all further resistance was rendered ineffectual.

Thus the battle of the 11th of October, 1797, was ended by the ceasing of the fire from the Batavian ship Vryheid, which to the last nobly contended to preserve what she honourably lost—the Batavian colours.

The bad success of this engagement is to be attributed to the following causes:

1st. The English force, although equal in number, exceeded that of the Batavians as to ships of the line.

2nd. The English ships having been together at sea during the space of nineteen weeks, the particular capacity of all the ships was known to them, with relation to each other; which, it must be allowed, is of the utmost importance and advantage in nautical manoeuvres. This was not the case with the Dutch.

3d. The advantage of the attack; and

4th. The early retreat of six Batavian ships from the action. And among those that remained were four very indifferent sailers, to which may be principally attributed the breaking of the line. Add to this, that having lost the advantage of attack, and being partly forsaken, it becomes a matter of less surprize that the victory turned out so decisively in favour of the English. Upon the whole, without magnifying Batavian courage beyond what was exemplified in this me-

1797.

morable engagement; and admitting that casual circumstances had been equally favourable to them as to the English, and admiral de Winter's signals been obeyed and executed with the same promptitude as admiral Duncan's were, it is no improbable conjecture that some of the British fleet would at this time have been moored in the Texel, as a memento of Batavian prowess, and a monument to the memory of the 11th of October, 1797.

16. There was a general illumination in the metropolis, and its vicinities, in celebration of admiral Duncan's victory. The mansion-house, admiralty, theatres, and other public buildings, were splendidly illuminated. Few events have given rise to more general and ardent demonstrations of joy.

17. The gazette of this night announces the capture of *La Découverte*, French brig, 14 guns and 91 men, by the *Unité*; and of the *Telemachus*, French lugger privateer, of 12 guns and 35 men, by lieutenant Tomlinson of the *Speedwell*.

18. The livery of London assembled in common hall, to proceed to the choice of a fit person to fill the lord mayor's chair for the ensuing year.

The court of aldermen went to the hustings at one o'clock, and after the usual ceremonies were passed through, the recorder came forward. He informed the hall, that in consequence of sir Benjamin Hammet's having declined to serve the office to which the livery of London had elected him; and of his having paid into the chamber of the city the sum of 1000*l.* as a fine, it became necessary to choose some other fit and proper person to the same office in his stead.

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The names of the aldermen next in turn were then read, beginning with those of Newman, Anderson, and Combe; the two last of whom, having the majority of hands in their favour, were returned to the court of aldermen for their approbation, and they returned Mr. alderman Anderson duly chosen, he being the senior on the list: he was accordingly invested with the insignia of office.

20. The court of aldermen and common council voted thanks to admiral Duncan and his officers, and the freedom of the city and a sword of 200 guineas value to him; and the freedom, with a sword of 100 guineas value, to vice-admiral Onslow.

26. The city of London presented a loyal address to his majesty on the victory gained by admiral Duncan. See Public Papers.

28. Yesterday, the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when Ann Sammert, Henry Boxer, John Clover, Charles Martin, Richard Simmonds, William Goldsmith, William Ranten, William Morris, Mary Hodges (otherwise Susannah Robinson), William Osland, William Coleman (otherwise Middleton), John Aquith, and Thomas Wiley (thirteen years of age, being a person employed in the general post-office, did feloniously secret a certain letter, containing bank notes and bills of exchange to the amount of 50l. the property of mess. Williams and co.), received sentence of death; 13 were ordered to be transported for the term of seven years; 12 to be imprisoned in the house of correction, Clerkenwell; 5 to be imprisoned in Newgate; and one ordered to be publicly whipped.

The sessions were adjourned until Wednesday the 6th of December next.

30. The coroner's inquest sat on the body of Humphrey Bruister, Esq. who, on Thursday evening, shot himself at his house in Dean-street, Soho, and brought in a verdict lunacy. The nurse was the principal witness on this melancholy occasion. By her evidence it appeared, that the deceased had been indisposed for several days. On Thursday he was sufficiently well, and ordered a haddock for dinner, and a pudding. About two hours before his death he changed his mind, and desired to have boiled mutton at the usual hour. In the morning of Thursday he locked himself in his bed-room for a considerable time, a circumstance by no means customary. At one o'clock the nurse and servant maid heard a pistol-shot as they sat in the kitchen. The nurse ran up stairs, but did not open the door till she called the maid, in consequence of the sulphureous smell which issued from the apartment. On entering the room, Mr. Bruister was stretched on the sofa—the blood issuing from a wound made in his head by the pistol ball. The pistol was not sufficiently charged to shoot the ball through the head, in which it still remains. The ball did not enter the brain, as he survived the fatal shot about five minutes. Near him a loaded pistol was found, and behind him, on the sofa, a small dish of gunpowder and several balls! Mr. Bruister was about fifty, extremely infirm, and led rather a solitary life. He was passionate, but good-natured; nervous in the extreme, and impatient of insult. His rental is 6000l. a year. In the country he kept up a respectable establishment, but in town it was by no means adequate to his income. On Saturday last Mr. Bruister returned from his estate, in consequence of indisposition;

position; and since that time was actually making arrangements to reside wholly in the country, being indignant at the impositions practised on him in town. This unfortunate gentleman had a constant dread of being despoiled of his property; and some wretches, practising on his weakness, had written to him anonymous letters, assuring him that a conspiracy was formed to take away his life, and plunder his house. This had an evident effect on the mind of the deceased.

This morning, just at day-break, the king set off from Windsor lodge, in his post-chaise and four, with the usual escort of light-horse, to Greenwich; where his majesty alighted at the governor's house, and was joined by his suite, the lords of the admiralty, commissioners of the navy, and other officers. A regiment of London militia were on duty at Greenwich, as well as a party of light-horse. The college men were all drawn out to receive his majesty, and lined the stairs, &c. on his embarkation. Lord and lady Hood and daughter were the hosts on this occasion. After breakfast, his majesty went in his barge from the grand stairs of the hospital on board the Royal Charlotte yacht, captain Trollope; the lords of the admiralty and commissioners of the navy also going on board the Princess Augusta, and William and Mary yachts, all of which got under weigh at the time of the tide, and stood down the river. As soon as his majesty came down to the stairs to get into the barge, the signal was given, and a royal salute was fired by all the vessels in the Reach, beginning at Deptford, and running down to Woolwich: on his embarking in the yacht, the salute was repeated; the Tower guns also fired at the same

time, in consequence of a signal. His majesty's yacht was fitted up in a very superb style; in the fore cabin was a chair and rich canopy of crimson velvet, with gold fringe, for the king to sit in; the floor was covered with carpeting; and the chairs for the noblemen who attended him were mahogany, with morocco leather seats. In the after-cabin was the state-bed for his majesty to sleep in, with sofas covered with crimson damask in the apartments adjoining, for the gentlemen in waiting. The state room was also elegantly fitted up for the reception of his majesty's attendants. On his majesty's going on board, he was received by the lords of the admiralty, and the royal standard was hoisted at the main, the lord high admiral's flag at the fore, and the union jack at the mizen-top-gallant-mast-head of the Royal Charlotte; and the Augusta yacht (appropriated for the lords of the admiralty) hoisted the lord high admiral's flag. The wind blowing strong against them at E. N. E. they found it necessary to warp the Royal Charlotte down the river a considerable distance, ere they could venture to cast her loose. The procession was thus arranged:

A king's cutter.

An armed brig. The Royal Charlotte. An armed brig.

The Princess Augusta.

The Mary.

A king's cutter.

The captains commanding were, captain Trollope, of the Royal Charlotte; Princess Augusta, captain Riou; Mary, captain Phillips.

His majesty did not reach Blackwall, owing to the contrary winds, till half past twelve; when he was again saluted by a number of cannon; and the wind being two

points to the northward of east, the royal yacht lay down the Reach, without making a single tack, and was off Woolwich about half past one, where similar honours were paid, and a very general and long-continued cannonade took place. His majesty was not able to get farther with the first tide than the Gallions below Woolwich; where he waited with a perseverance worthy of the object of his voyage. The lords of the admiralty and gentlemen in waiting dined and supped with his majesty in the state-room—and at ten the king retired to his cabin, earl Spencer and the other lords going on board the *Augusta* to sleep. The crowd on the river was immense; but, as might be expected, fell off in proportion to the distance.

31. It being found utterly impracticable to get farther than the Hope; after lying there till this evening, a council was held; and, on account of the important business which required his majesty's presence in town, it was resolved to return to London without accomplishing the object of the royal excursion. In the evening another signal was given to weigh; and the vessels anchored opposite Gravesend at eight o'clock this night, the review being put off till a more favourable opportunity.

Admiralty Office, Oct. 31. This gazette contains an account of the destruction of *Le Cocyte*, French lugger privateer, of 4 guns and 30 men, off Plymouth, by his majesty's ship *Stag*, captain Yorke; and *Le Furet*, French schooner privateer, mounting 4 four pounders, pierced for 14, and 50 men, by the *Triton*, the *Childers* being in company.

Yesterday, Mary Benson, widow, alias Maria Theresa Phipoe, was

committed to Newgate by D. Williams, Esq. and the rev. H. Reynett, D. D. charged on the oaths of John Dunbar, Henry Gray, and others, for having feloniously and wilfully killed and murdered one Mary Cox, by cutting and stabbing her with a knife on the 5th of October, in the parish of St. George, Middlesex. This is the same person that was tried at the Old Bailey in May sessions, 1795, for having by force and violence obtained from Mr. Courtois of Oxendon-street, a note of hand for 2000l. The jury found a special verdict, subject to the opinion of the judges, which opinion was, that the offence was not capital; but, being ordered to remain, she was indicted for the assault at the session-house, Clerkenwell-green, and in April 1796, was there tried, found guilty, and imprisoned in Newgate one year, which expired last April, when she was discharged.

NOVEMBER.

1. At ten this morning, his majesty and the lords of the admiralty landed at Greenwich. After breakfasting with lord Hood, the king returned to town at one o'clock. Immediately before his leaving the Queen Charlotte, his majesty created captain Trollope, who commanded the *Russell* in the late glorious action, and who had the honour of attending his majesty upon this occasion as captain of his yacht, a knight banneret.

When captain Trollope was first introduced to the king on board the Royal Charlotte yacht, his majesty thanked him in the most gracious manner, in his own name, and that of the kingdom, for his conduct; and, when the roughness of the weather made it unsafe to proceed

ceed (the king being thrown out of bed by the violence of the waves), his majesty said to captain Trollope, "Do not consider my person; but consider, if I cannot get to the Nore, the disappointment of those brave fellows, whom I long to thank, as I have you, for defending me, protecting my people, and preserving my country."

A court of aldermen was yesterday held at Guildhall, when the lord-mayor laid before the court an order of the court of lieutenancy, directing the commanding officers of the London militia not to turn out any guards in cases of riots, tumults, or fire, unless at the express desire of some magistrate, and being headed by him; which order was made in consequence of the lord-mayor's representation of some irregularity on the late rejoicing night. The court voted his lordship thanks for his constitutional conduct.

8. Thomas Miller was brought up to receive the judgment of the court of King's-bench, which was passed upon him by judge Ashhurst, after a severe reprimand, to the following effect: 'You are found guilty of an unlawful and injurious offence, in having kept a gaming-house, in which you permitted an unlawful game, called hazard, to be frequently played. The court having taken into consideration the enormity of your offence, and the whole of your conduct, do pass the following sentence: that you pay a fine of 500l.; that you be imprisoned in the house of correction in Cold Bath-fields for the space of one year; that you find sureties for your good behaviour for seven years, yourself in 500l.; and two others in 250l. each, and not to be discharged from your confinement till such sureties be found. I have

also been informed that you suffered playing with loaded dice; but as that constituted no part of the indictment, neither can it contribute toward your punishment, though it increases your guilt.'

Lord Kenyon—'If that crime had been laid to your charge, and proved, your punishment would not have stopped where it has.'

9. Yesterday at Guildhall, John William Anderson, Esq. alderman of Aldersgate-ward, was sworn into the office of lord-mayor for the year ensuing.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 11. This gazette contains an account of the capture of the Palma, a Spanish schooner privateer, of 2 three pounders, 4 swivels, and 28 men, by his majesty's sloop Speedy, captain Downman. Also, the

L'Aigle French privateer of 12 guns, by the Aurora.

L'Hazard and La Manche French privateers of eight guns each, by L'Aigle.

L'Espiegle French privateer of 14 guns, by the Aurora.

L'Espoir French privateer of 16 guns, by the Thalia.

La Foret French privateer of 4 guns (pierced for 14), by the Triton.

La Brune French privateer of 16 guns, by the Dryad and Doris.

18. Yesterday, a court of proprietors was held at the bank; when Mr. Raikes, the chairman, acquainted the proprietors, that he and the deputy governor had an interview on the preceding day with Mr. Pitt, and had also deposited with the secret committee of the house of commons a statement of the affairs of the bank, which he should also lay before the proprietors. The result of this statement was as follows:—

The bank had in cash, bullion,
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and other securities—seventeen millions sterling and a fraction.

Due to the bank from government, four millions and a fraction.

The debts of the bank were—eleven millions of outstanding notes—besides six millions of other demands on it.

The nett balance in favour of the bank, independent of the government stock which it held, was—three millions, eight hundred and thirty-nine thousand pound sterling.

Mr. Raikes then informed the court, that the minister had proposed to extend the further limitation of time when the bank should resume its payments in specie; that it was not necessary for him to judge of the urgency of political motives which might render such a step advisable; but he had the pleasure to inform the court, that the bank was in such a state of affluence, as to be ready to pay all the demands on it in specie, whenever called upon.

The consent of the proprietors was then asked for advancing the amount of the land and malt-tax to government, amounting to two millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was unanimously agreed to.

The business of the meeting being over, Mr. Hoare represented to the directors the great inconvenience arising from the present scarcity of silver; and was informed that a coinage was in agitation.

The London gazette contains the following dispatches.

Copy of a Letter from Admiral Peyton, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Downs, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on Board the Overysel, Nov. 14.

SIR,

Be pleased to acquaint the lords

commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's sloop Fairy arrived here this morning, and has brought in with her a small French privateer. For particulars respecting the conduct of the said privateer, I beg leave to refer their lordships to capt. Horton's letter, herewith inclosed.

I am, Sir, &c.

Jos. PEYTON.

His Majesty's Sloop Fairy,
November 13.

SIR,

Having weighed this morning from off Calais, the Fox (2d) cutter in company, eight or nine miles to the westward of Seater Cliff, the cutter being six or seven a-head of me, she made the signal for an enemy, which, as the haze cleared, I made to be a lugger, with her sails turned to the northward, and westward of her two or three miles. Being light winds, I hoisted out my boats, armed them, and went to the assistance of the Fox; but during the chase, the launch (commanded by Mr. Middleton, purser of the Fairy) separated, and went in chase of another lugger, running down along shore from the westward.—About two o'clock the breeze freshened, when, having no longer any prospect of coming up with our chase, I tacked in shore, with the cutter and boats, to the assistance of the launch, she having then brought the lugger to action, under a very heavy fire from the two batteries in Whitesand Bay; but, to my very great astonishment, I found the launch had carried her, notwithstanding she had anchored within musket shot of the western battery. She proves to be L'Erpervier, national privateer, mounting 2 two-pound carriage guns, 4 swivels, musketoons, and small arms, carrying 25 men, all of whom effected their escape, three being badly wounded; was commanded by citizen

tizen George Hammond, an Irishman, belonging to Dunkirk. Mr. Middleton had only seven men in the launch, was himself the only man wounded by a grape shot grazing (though not entering) his stomach badly. His gallantry on this occasion speaks for itself, nor is it the first time I have witnessed it. I beg leave to recommend him strongly to your attention.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOSHUA SYDNEY HORTON.

P. S. Mr. Hoare, commanding the Fox, made the greatest exertion.

Joseph Peyton, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, &c.

This gazette also contains an account of the capture of *Le Zephyr*, French brig privateer, armed with 2 brass 6-pounders, 6 sixes, and 70 men, coppered; and the recapture of the ship *Eliza*, from London to the Cape of Good Hope, with a cargo of merchandize of various sorts; and ship *Jenny*, of Greenock, from Liverpool, bound to Virginia, laden with salt, earthen ware, and some bale goods, by his majesty's ship *Boadicea* and *Anson*;—also, the French national brig corvette *Le Ranger*, of 14 guns and 70 men; a Spanish schooner, with fish; and the French privateer *L'Hyéne*, of 24 9-pounders, and 230 men, by his majesty's ship *Indefatigable*, captain sir E. Pellew;—and, also, a French lugger privateer, called *L'Emoucher*, of 8 guns, 6 swivels, and 55 men; by his majesty's ship *Albatross*, captain Scott.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 25. Extract of a letter from vice-admiral sir Hyde Parker, knight, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Jamaica, to Mr. Nepean, dated Queen, Cape Nicola Mole, Oct. 8.

His majesty's sloop *Albicore* ar-

rived here last night with a privateer schooner of 3 guns, called the *Nantaise*, copper-bottomed.

Armed vessels taken and destroyed since my last: one small barge of one gun, captured by his majesty's ship *Thames*; one schooner privateer of 2 guns, 14 musquets, and 30 men; three other small boats sent in, and 10 destroyed, by the *Drake*; one schooner privateer of 1 gun, and 20 men, captured and brought in by the *Aquilon*; two armed barges, captured and brought in by the *Rattler*; *La Trompeuse* French schooner privateer, of 12 guns and 78 men, sunk by his majesty's brig *Pelican*; a Spanish packet, of 6 guns, with troops on board, captured by the *Diligence*, in company with the *Renommée* and *Hermione*; a copper-bottomed schooner privateer, of 3 guns and 56 men, captured and brought in by the *Albicore*; one row-boat privateer, armed with swivels and musquetry, captured by the *Albicore*.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 25. Extract of another letter from vice-admiral sir Hyde Parker, knight, to Mr. Nepean, dated the 6th of October, 1797.

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships, that, captain Gascoigne being ill of a fever, I put lieutenant White, of the *Queen*, into his majesty's brig *Pelican*, to command her during the captain's illness. On the 17th of last month, lieutenant White had the good fortune to fall in with the *Trompeuse* French privateer brig. His spirited conduct and officer-like management, I am sure, will be as strongly impressed on their lordships' minds by his account of the action, herewith inclosed, as it was on mine in giving him great credit for both.

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Pelican

Pelican, at Sea, Sept. 17.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that at 30 minutes past 7 A. M. we discovered a brig bearing N. N. W. (Cape Nicolas S. by W. half W.) standing towards us, with the lar-board tacks on board. As she appeared to be a vessel of force, I immediately made all sail towards her, the wind being east. At 45 minutes past 8, she having shown French colours, we opened our fire on her in crossing, then wore round her stern, and kept up a continued and well-directed fire until 20 minutes after 9, when she made all sail from us, with the lar-board tacks. Unfortunately, we could not immediately make all sail after her, as our running rigging was much cut; but, as soon as it was repaired, every exertion was made to get along-side of her a second time, which was effected at 45 minutes after 12, when we opened our fire on her, which was so well directed, that at ten minutes past one she blew up abaft and struck her colours. At 15 minutes after one she went down by the head, and was totally lost. Upon which we immediately hoisted out our boats, and fortunately saved the lives of 60 of her crew, by whom we learn she was the *Trompeuse* French privateer brig, mounting 12 six-pounders, and 78 men on board: she had been out eleven days, but had taken one prize. I feel myself greatly indebted to captain Perkins, of the *Drake*, whom I discovered in shore of us, for using every exertion to work to windward, and cut her off from Jean Rebel, as soon as I made the private signal to him, and that of the chase being an enemy. Great praise is due to lieuts. Ward and Usher, and Mr. M'Cleaverty the master, for their zeal, conduct,

and bravery; as also to the inferior officers and ship's company, for their steadiness, obedience, and courage.

THOMAS WHITE.

28. This day admiral sir Horatio Nelson attended at the chamberlain's office in Guildhall with the lord mayor and Mr. alderman Wilkes, to receive the gold box of one hundred guineas value voted to him for his bravery and conduct in the British service. After the admiral had received the box, and the freedom of the city beautifully written and illuminated, the customary oath of every freeman was administered; to which Mr. chamberlain Wilkes added,

"Rear admiral sir Horatio Nelson,

"I give you joy; and with true satisfaction I return you thanks in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, who have unanimously voted you the freedom of the capital, for your distinguished valour and conduct in the favourite service of the navy, and particularly against a very superior force of the enemy off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February last.

"Many of our naval commanders have merited highly of their country by their exertions; but in your case there is a rare heroic modesty, which cannot be sufficiently admired. You have given the warmest applause to your brother officers, and the seamen under your command; but your own merit you have not mentioned even in the slightest manner; and the relation of the severe and cruel wound you suffered in the service of your country is transmitted to posterity by your noble commander-in-chief.

"May you long live to enjoy the grateful benedictions of the

the country which you honour and protect!"

Sir Horatio Nelson's answer.

"Sir, Nothing could be more gratifying to me (as it must be to every sea-officer) than receiving the high honour this day conferred upon me in becoming a freeman of the great city of London. And I beg you to believe, and to assure my fellow-citizens, that my hand and head shall ever be exerted, with all my heart, in defence of my king, the laws, and the just liberties of my country; in which are included every thing which can be beneficial to the capital of the empire. I beg leave to return you, sir, my sincere thanks, for the very flattering expressions you have honoured me with on this occasion."

DECEMBER.

5. The gazette announces the capture of L'Aimable Sylvie, three Spanish coasters, two Spanish brigs, and L'Aventure French privateer, of 8 guns and 43 men, by captain Digby of the Aurora.

8. Maria Theresa Phipoe, otherwise Mary Benson, was indicted at the Old Bailey for the murder of Mary Cox, on the 25th of October last, by giving her a mortal wound under the left breast, of which she died. The prisoner, who appeared to be about forty years of age, of middle size, rather inclining to the *ebon* point, and not at all handsome, was dressed in a white muslin gown, a black silk cloak, and a plain cap, and came to the bar attended by a female friend.

Mr. Const, on the part of the prosecution, stated the case, in the course of which he was interrupted by the prisoner, who requested from the court the indulgence of a chair,

and also the restoration of her watch, which she stated to have been withheld from her; adding, that she had made previous complaint to a Mr. Williams upon the subject of the detention of her property, who replied only with abuse and cruel sarcasms, and told her she would soon be in a place where she would have no occasion for it. A chair was immediately ordered; but the court postponed the consideration of the second part of her request until the much more momentous business then pending should be decided. And Mr. Const, having finished his statement, called the witnesses in support of the charge.

Letitia Munday, the first witness called, swore, that the prisoner lodged in her house in Garden-street, St. George's in the East; that on the morning of the day laid in the indictment, the deceased came to visit the prisoner, who immediately sent out the witness for some brandy, and likewise the change of a guinea;—that on her return the prisoner called out from above stairs that the things brought in were not then wanting, and that when they were the prisoner would apply to her. Witness shortly after heard a great groaning, and a noise like a scuffle in the prisoner's room, where the deceased was; that being greatly alarmed thereat, she called in Mrs. Macdonald and Mrs. Eyles, two of her neighbours, accompanied by whom she went up stairs; that they found the door locked, and on enquiring what was the matter, the prisoner answered from within, that the woman was only in a fit, and would be soon well; that not being satisfied with this answer, and having persevered in insisting to know the truth, the prisoner opened the door a little, and

said to the witness, "You, Mrs. Munday, may come in, but nobody else;" that the witness being much alarmed declined entering the room, and went for a doctor, and that on her return she found the prisoner in the hall walking about, holding up her finger, and the deceased, who had come down stairs also in the absence of the witness, in the kitchen, her head on her hand, supported by the table, and covered all over with blood.

Mrs. Macdonald and Mrs. Eyles corroborated the testimony of this witness, in addition to which,

Durant, the beadle, swore, that on his entering the kitchen, the deceased took him by the hand, and pointed with it to her right-hand pocket; that he searched it, and found a watch; and that the deceased, being speechless, made signs to him to keep it; that he then went up stairs, found the prisoner sitting on the bed, a case knife and part of a finger were lying on a table; on asking her why she had used the poor woman so, prisoner replied, "I believe the devil and passion bewitched me." In answer to his further questions she also admitted that the knife on the table was the instrument with which she had done the mischief, that the piece of the finger belonged to her, but that the deceased had cut it off.

Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, was of opinion the finger was not cut off in a scuffle; it was cut off directly across, as if it had been laid on a block for the purpose.

The depositions of the deceased, taken after she had recovered her speech, which was shortly before her death, were then read; they stated, that the deceased had waited on the prisoner to purchase a watch, and some other articles, for which

she gave her eleven pounds; that she further asked her for a piece of china then on the mantle-piece; that the prisoner consented, and that while the deceased was in the act of taking it, the prisoner wounded her in the neck with a knife; that she was near an hour under her hands, during which time she received the various wounds and stabs on the several parts of her body, at the end of which prisoner said, "you bitch, I will kill you out, that you may not be able to tell your story."

The prisoner being now called on for her defence, addressed herself to the court and the jury in a firm intrepid tone, without the least appearance of embarrassment or agitation. She said, that the deceased came to her lodging to purchase some articles the prisoner wished to dispose of; that she told the deceased she would not sell a part of them, or not even the whole lot, unless the money was paid down; that the deceased then used the most provoking language; said she supposed she wanted it to go to London, and turn whore again to Courtois, and asked her why she did not go into a nunnery as her mother wanted her. One word produced another in return; the deceased at length snatched up the knife which lay on the table, and cut off her finger, and that prisoner, smarting with the wound, and the insults she had received, lost all reason and recollection, and totally forgot what ensued.

Mr. baron Perryn, who presided, summed up the evidence, in the course of which he pointed out some inconsistencies in the prisoner's defence, with the evidence on the part of the crown, and particularly with the account she gave originally

originally of the transaction, as proved by the beadle.

The jury having retired a few minutes, brought in a verdict, Guilty; and the court pronounced sentence of execution upon her for Monday next. Immediately after this, a packet was handed to her; but, apparently undismayed by the verdict, she addressed the court again, insisted it did not contain her property, and reiterated her complaints that it had been withheld.

9. The gazette gives the following intelligence:

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Bridport, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated the 5th of Dec. 1797.

SIR,

You will herewith receive a copy of a letter from captain White of his majesty's brig Sylph, which I transmit for their lordships' information.

I have, &c.

BRIDPORT.

Sylph, Cawsand Bay, Dec. 2, 1797.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your lordship, that we sailed from this anchorage on the 19th ult. in order to rejoin the squadron under captain Keats, but, owing to thick and blowing weather, I was not able to fall in with him before he quitted the rendezvous. I have further to acquaint your lordship, that since the above period, we have made the following re-captures (between the latitude of Belleisle and Rochfort), and with the last of them we arrived here this morning.

On the 21st of November, Active schooner, from Newfoundland, bound to Teignmouth, laden with fish and oil; she was captured on the 14th of November by La Constance brig privateer, of Nantes. On the 22d of November a Prussian

galliot, from Amsterdam to Lisbon, laden with wheat, captured by le Buonaparte ship privateer, of Bourdeaux, on suspicion of the cargo being Portuguese property; this vessel being very leaky, and her cargo much damaged, I suffered her to proceed (after taking out the Frenchmen) to her original destination. On the 23d of November, the brig Diana, from New Providence, bound to London, laden with cotton, sugar, and coffee, captured on the 12th of November, by the Felix cutter privateer, of 14 guns, belonging to Nantes; besides the Diana, she had taken three English vessels from Newfoundland, and two Americans outward bound. On the 30th of November, the ship Henniker, from London, bound to Martinique, laden with provisions on account of government, was under convoy of the Trent and Amphirrite, and captured in lat. 42 deg. 27 min. north, and lon. 21 deg. 50 min. west, by le François ship privateer, of Nantes, on the 23d of November.

The prisoners taken in the Diana inform me, that le Felix (the privateer to which they belonged) was upset on the night of the 16th of November, in a sudden and violent gust of wind, and, though not a quarter of a mile from her prize, not one of her crew was saved, which consisted of 115 men, exclusive of whom, I am sorry to add, perished 22 British and American seamen, belonging to the vessels this privateer had captured.

I am, my Lord, &c.

J. LE WHITE.

Captures made by his majesty's sloop La Bonne Citoyenne: Le Pleuvier French privateer, of 9 guns and 43 men; Le Canarde French privateer, of 10 guns and 64 men; two Spanish brigs in ballast, with

8,900

8,900 dollars; Jengin del Rosario, Spanish tartan, with 20 recruits; with eight other Spanish merchantmen of small value.

This gazette also contains accounts of the captures of *La Marie*, a French privateer brig, carrying 14 guns and 60 men, by his majesty's ship *Jafon*, captain Stirling;—also, the Spanish corvette *Bolador*, of 16 guns and 74 men, by his majesty's ship *Majestic*, captain Westcott;—also, *Le Conreur*, French privateer, of 14 guns and 90 men, by his majesty's ship *Blanche*, captain Hotham.

11. This morning was executed opposite Newgate, pursuant to her sentence, Maria Theresa Phipoe, alias Benson, for the wilful murder of Mary Cox.

12. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when William Wade, Richard Fuller, Thomas Brown, Robert Franklyn, William Smith, alias Flint, and Robert Penn, alias Fish, severally received judgment of death.

Nine were ordered to be imprisoned in the house of correction at Clerkenwell; four to be publicly whipped, and one to be privately whipped and discharged.

The sessions being ended, the same were adjourned until the 10th of January next.

14. In the common-hall held this day, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved unanimously, That the plan proposed to parliament for increasing the assessed taxes, appears to this common-hall to be partial, oppressive, and impracticable; and if carried into effect, would, by operating chiefly upon the middle and lower classes of the people, render it impossible for them to gain a subsistence.

Resolved unanimously, That by

making the assessment retrospective, preventing persons thereby from making any necessary retrenchments in their expenditure, appears to be founded in cruelty and injustice; and will, if adopted, have more the appearance of an arbitrary measure, than the deliberate act of a British legislature.

Resolved unanimously, That the proposed relief would lead to a disclosure of circumstances highly injurious to the credit and happiness of families, introducing an inquisitorial system, dangerous to the freedom of the subject, and repugnant to the spirit of the British constitution.

Resolved unanimously, That property does not appear to have been made the basis of the intended tax, persons having only a precarious income, acquired by their labour and industry in trade, being obliged to pay in the same proportion as persons who have a permanent income, proceeding from landed or funded property.

Resolved unanimously, That our representatives in parliament be instructed, and they are hereby instructed accordingly, to oppose the arbitrary and unconstitutional bill now pending in the house of commons; and not to concur in any modification thereof, being convinced that the principle of it is destructive of the dearest interest of the people, and subversive of social order.

Resolved unanimously, That the foregoing resolutions be fairly transcribed, signed by the town-clerk, and be immediately transmitted to the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer.

Resolved unanimously, That the foregoing resolutions be printed in the morning and evening papers throughout the kingdom.

Resolved

Resolved Unanimously, That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the right hon. the lord mayor, for his readiness to call the same, and his impartial conduct this day.

Rix.

The city of Westminster, and the principal wards and parishes in London and Westminster, held meetings about this time, in which resolutions similar to the above were passed.

16. The London gazette contains letters from rear-admiral Harvey, all of which, except the last, are dated the 5th of October, 1797, on board the Prince of Wales, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, to Evan Nepean, Esq. &c.

Admiralty Office, Dec. 16. Be pleased to acquaint their lordships, that his majesty's sloop Bittern, commanded by lieutenant Edward Kittoe, fell in with, the 13th ultimo, off Tortola, and captured the French ship privateer l'Agréable, of 18 guns, nine and six-pounders, and 115 men, which had left Guadaloupe two days before, and taken nothing; had been just fitted out, is a fast sailer, and coppered.

The capture of this vessel under her first equipment is of much consequence; and the very spirited manner in which she was attacked and captured in the night (altho' without resistance), does great credit to the conduct of lieutenant Kittoe.

His majesty's ship Lapwing, on the 1st of August, being to the northward of Tortola, in lat. 22 deg. 20 min. captured Le Regulys French privateer sloop, belonging to Porto Rico, of four guns and 26 men, which captain Barton sent to St. Christopher; she had been out fifteen days, and had captured an American brig.

Be pleased to acquaint their lord-

ships, that his majesty's ship Scurge captured, the 28th ult. off Mariagante, La Sarazine French schooner privateer, belonging to Guadaloupe, of six guns and 58 men, which captain Warren sent to this island. She had been out ten days, but had taken nothing.

Be pleased to acquaint their lordships, that his majesty's ship Tamer (captain Martin) has captured and sent to Barbadoes three French privateers belonging to Guadaloupe, the force of which, with their names, and the dates of their capture, are as follows:—4th August 1797, Le Pont de Arcoll, cutter, 4 guns and 48 men, off Martinique. 8th ditto, Le Renard, cutter, 10 guns and 71 men, off Martinique. 10th ditto, L'Utile, ship, of 14 guns and 135 men, off Barbadoes. They had been out a very short time, and the two former had not taken any thing; but the latter had captured one English and two American vessels.

The Alexandrian schooner, of six guns and 40 men, tender to his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, having sailed from hence, under the command of lieutenant William Wood Senhouse, in quest of some privateers that were said to be off this island, fell in with, the 15th of August last, La Cocq French privateer, of six guns and 34 men. After an action of three quarters of an hour she struck, having two men killed and five wounded. The same evening the Alexandrian attacked another schooner of greater force, which, after a running action of some time, escaped by the darkness of the night. The conduct of lieutenant Senhouse, the officers and men of the Alexandrian, on this occasion, was highly spirited and meritorious.

The fifth letter refers to a list of

of merchant vessels captured, recaptured, and detained, between the 25th of July and the 5th of October, 1797; consisting of five brigs, one barque, two sloops, three ships, and a ketch.

October 22, 1797.

SIR,

I enclose, for the information of their lordships, a copy of a letter I have received from lieutenant William Wood Senhouse, of his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, commanding the Alexander armed tender.

The very gallant and spirited conduct of Mr. Senhouse, by the capture of a privateer so superior in force, together with his former services on a similar occasion, will, I am persuaded, recommend him to their lordships' particular favour.

The Alexander's force was six guns and thirty-eight men, that of the French privateer eight guns and seventy-four men.

I have, &c.

HENRY HARVEY.

*Alexander, Fort Royal, Martinique,
Oct. 8, 1797.*

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that, after delivering your dispatches to the governor of Demerary, and captain Manwaring of the Babet, on the first instant, we immediately, in pursuance of your orders, made sail for Barbadoes, and at day-light on the 4th, that island then bearing west five or six leagues, we observed a schooner on our quarter, making sail after an American brig to leeward; we continued our course, but she discovering us to be an armed vessel, hauled her wind to the northward, as we did in chase of her; and at nine, A. M. brought her to a close action of fifty minutes, when she struck, proving to be L'Erpicharis French privateer, mounting eight

carriage guns, and having on board seventy-four men, belonging to Guadaloupe.

It is with regret I add, that this was not accomplished without the loss of an excellent seaman, and four others wounded, one, I fear, mortally. The loss of the enemy, I have reason to think, was great, as on our taking possession of her four men were found laying dead on her deck, and twelve severely wounded.

The muster-roll of the privateer being lost, and the captain's account not agreeing with the number found, I have mentioned seventy-four, as the number actually counted by us when she struck.

I have, &c.

W. W. SENHOUSE.

Rear-Admiral Harvey, &c.

Leeward Islands.

17. Advices are received from the West Indies of a dreadful mutiny, on the 22d of September, on board the Hermione frigate, when captain Pigot, and all his officers, except the surgeon and one master's mate, were murdered, as well as most of the marines—in all, more than 40 persons. They carried the frigate to Laguana, intending to deliver her up to the Spanish governor, on a capitulation to be paid their arrears of pay, to be received as Spanish subjects, and not to be returned at the end of the war.

The mutiny was headed by captain Pigot's own coxswain, who had been in different ships four or five years with him. He cut off the captain's head while asleep.

Letters from Portsmouth mention the death of captain Parker, of the Intrepid, as particularly singular, as well as truly unfortunate. He was sitting in his cabin, when, upon a sudden heel of the ship, and his chair giving way, he fell against the sash window of one of the port-holes,

holes, which he went through into the sea. It blew so strong, that before any assistance could be given by backing the sails, he unhappily disappeared. Captain Parker was brother to vice-admiral sir William Parker, at Lisbon.

Dublin, Dec. 18. Yesterday intelligence was received in town of the death of colonel Fitzgerald, who was lately guilty of a most shameful and dishonourable act in the family of the present earl of Kingston, by seducing a daughter of that much-respected nobleman, to whom he was allied, and in whose family he had been a constant visitor. He met with his death in the following manner:

After the discovery of this unfortunate criminal intercourse, which occurred in England, and in consequence of which a duel had taken place between the brother of the young lady (who is now lord Kingsborough) and the deceased colonel Fitzgerald, she was removed to the country residence of her noble father, now the earl of Kingston, at Mitchelstown, near Kilworth, in this kingdom. The deceased, feeling no remorse for what he had done, in dishonouring, by the most artful stratagems, an illustrious family, had the audacity and hardihood to follow the young lady to Ireland; it is supposed, with a view to wrest her by violence from her parents, and took lodgings at an inn in Kilworth. The colonel had been there some days before his arrival at Kilworth was known, or the object of his expedition was discovered. He was observed to walk out in the night, and conceal himself in the day, and the servants at length noticed him lurking about Mitchelstown house at unseasonable hours. The intelligence having reached lord Kingsborough, who had had

the duel with the colonel, and resolved to defeat his antagonist's project, he left his father's house, and went to Kilworth, where, having enquired if that gentleman was in the house, and being informed he was, he went to the apartment he was directed to that the colonel lodged in. Lord Kingsborough rapped at the door, requiring admittance: the other, knowing his voice, replied that he was locked in, and could not open the door; but, if he had any thing to say to him, he would receive it in writing under the door. This enraged the young nobleman, and he forced open the door, and running to a case of pistols in the room, took one, and desired the colonel to take the other and defend himself; he was resolved to have satisfaction for the scheme the deceased had formed against his sister, and which he came to this place to put in execution. On both seizing the pistols, they grappled with each other, and were struggling, when the earl of Kingston, who had been apprised of his son's departure in pursuit of the colonel, and quickly followed the young lord, entered the room, and finding them in the contest, and that his son must lose his life from the situation the deceased had him in, the earl fired upon the colonel, not we believe with an intent to kill him, though his aggravation was great; but the shot however took effect, and the colonel lost his life, but not lamented by any one who has heard of his very dishonourable conduct in this affair.

When miss King was taken by her father from England, on account of her disgrace, it was discovered, on her arrival in Dublin, that the servant-maid who accompanied her, favoured the views of the seducer. On her consequent dismissal

missal from the service, she returned to England, and was the bearer of a private letter to col. Fitzgerald, the contents of which were, it is said, sufficient to induce the colonel, even at the risk of his life, to make an effort to regain the young lady; but his finances not enabling him to undertake the journey, he borrowed a sum of money of an amiable woman, who ought ever to have been most dear to him, under the pretence of making a visit to Dorsetshire. Thus accommodated, he set out for the sister kingdom, and arrived at the village of Kilworth, near Mitchelstown, the residence of the noble family, the place where the young lady was then kept, and whose conduct was then watched with particular vigilance.

An admiralty sessions was held at the Old Bailey, when three prisoners were tried, one of whom was capitally convicted, viz. George Jay, for that he, being a natural-born subject of this kingdom, was, on the 4th day of June last, taken on board a French privateer, fighting against the subjects of this country, and received judgment of death. Two were acquitted; and four discharged by proclamation.

Admiralty Office, Dec. 19. This gazette contains an account of the capture of a fast-sailing French privateer La Mouche, of 18 guns and 222 men, by his majesty's ship Diana, captain Faulknor.

The national thanksgiving for the three great naval victories of lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, took place this morning. Never, perhaps, was there so fine a spectacle exhibited; and the recollection of the ever memorable events which gave rise to it added in no small degree to the gaiety of the scene. The remarkable beauty and clear-

ness of the day (the finest which had taken place for many weeks) greatly increased the splendour and brilliancy of the spectacle.

Long before day-light the houses through which the procession passed began to fill.

The military, consisting of the three brigades of foot guards, the horse guards, not immediately employed about the king's person, the volunteer corps of London and Westminster light horse, came upon duty at seven o'clock; the latter assembled in Hyde Park, and before eight moved down Constitution Hill, on their route through Pall-Mall and to the city. His majesty, seeing them pass, did them the honour to require them to counter-march by the gate next Pimlico, where his majesty was pleased to stand to see them march past him. His majesty was most graciously pleased to express his high consideration of the corps in the most gratifying terms. About seven, the military moved to their stations in the different streets which they were appointed to line. The foot-guards took the duty from St. James's to Temple Bar, inside of which the streets were lined by the two regiments of city militia, the two regiments of East India volunteers, and several other corps of the same description, to whose military and decorous conduct, we are happy we can bear the most decisive testimony.

At eight o'clock, the seamen and marines, chosen to escort the colours, formed before the admiralty. They were fine-looking men; and the trophies of their bravery were labeled—"June, 1794," "February, 1797," "October, 1797," &c.

The procession began with two colours taken from the French, three from the Spaniards, and four from the

the Dutch; the colours carried on artillery waggons, and each set followed by a party of naval lieutenants on foot, who had served in the several engagements in which they were won. A very large detachment of marines, with music playing, followed; and the whole corps were ranged in the cathedral from the west door to the choir. The following admirals, in carriages, brought up the rear of this part of the procession: Lord viscount Duncan, sir Charles Thompson, sir Richard Onslow, sir Alan Gardner, sir Thomas Paisley, sir Roger Curtis, sir Horatio Nelson, lord Hugh Seymour, Caldwell, Waldegrave, Hamilton, Goodall, Young, Lindsay, Gambier, Bazely, captain sir Henry Trollope. This was by far the most interesting part of the spectacle. The deportment of these gallant sons of the ocean was extremely dignified.

The lords and commons having assembled at eight, their procession began soon afterwards in the following order:

The commons in carriages followed by the speaker in his state-carriage, with his mace-bearer and chaplain.

Three knight marshalsmen.

Clerks of the crown.

Masters in chancery.

The twelve judges.

The peers in the order of their rank, the youngest baron first, and the senior duke bringing up the rear.

Lord high chancellor.

These parts of the procession having reached St. Paul's before nine, the firing of the Park guns announced, soon after ten, that their majesties had entered their carriages at St. James's; and

THE ROYAL PROCESSION began in the following order, each carriage being drawn by six capa-

1797.

risoned horses, except that of their majesties, which was drawn by eight creams.

Household of the duke of Gloucester.

The duke.

Household of the duke of York.

The duke.

Household of the duke of Clarence.

The duke.

Queen's Household.

First coach—ladies of the bed-chamber.

Second coach—the maids of honour.

Third coach—equerries.

Fourth coach—ladies of the bed-chamber.

Fifth coach—master of the horse.

King's Household.

Sixth coach—gentlemen ushers of the privy chamber.

Seventh coach—equerries.

Eighth coach—lord steward, &c.

Ninth coach—lords of the bed-chamber.

Tenth coach—master of the horse.

THEIR MAJESTIES;

with the mistress of the robes to the queen, and the lady of the bed-chamber in waiting.

PRINCESSES.

Attendants on the princesses.

The princesses were dressed in purple satins, trimmed with gold, and wore bandeaus of purple and gold in their hair.

The horses of the twenty carriages of state, amounting to 122, formed, perhaps, the finest equestrian sight ever seen in any country. Those of the duke of Gloucester were bays, of the duke of York white, of the duke of Clarence roans, of their majesty's household black.

The crowd in the streets, from St. James's to the cathedral, was immense; but the carriage-way was kept entirely clear for the procession, which reached the cathedral

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without

without the smallest delay or interruption. The city militia, light horse association, and the gentlemen of the artillery company, kept the strictest regularity in the city; while the various detachments of troops in other quarters added to the grandeur of the scene, and preserved the completest order.

During the procession of the house of commons down the left side of Fleet-street, the lord mayor, the two sheriffs, four of the common council (as representatives of the corporation) in their carriages, preceded by the marshals and city officers, went to Temple Bar, where they waited to receive his majesty; to whom the lord mayor delivered the city sword; which being graciously returned by the king, the lord mayor, with the sheriffs and city deputation *, all elegantly dressed in their gowns of office, rode bare-headed before his majesty to the cathedral church.

His majesty was received with every mark of attention, respect, and applause, which his goodness of heart, and love for his people, so eminently merit. Particular marks of respect were also bestowed on many others; among whom we were glad to notice Mr. Pitt; the plaudits bestowed on him silenced and overpowered the hisses and clamours of a few malcontents, planted in different places apparently to insult him.

When the procession reached St. Paul's, the lieutenants, taking the flags from the waggons, attended by the seamen and marines, divided themselves for their captains to pass up the body of the church, to their seats in the galleries on each side of the choir. The colours, on being brought within the church,

were carried in procession under the loudest shouts of applause, and grand martial music, to the middle of the dome, where they were placed in a circle. The princesses, with the dukes of York and Clarence, prince Ernest, and the duke of Gloucester, and their respective suites, on their alighting, formed a circle within the church, regularly from the right of the great west door, with the lord mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and the admirals on the opposite side, where they waited to receive their majesties. The common council of London, in their mazarine gowns, were ranged, with their ladies, in two spacious galleries, which filled the semicircle of the dome; and, from the number of beautiful women present, added not a little to the grandeur of the spectacle.

The king, on his alighting at the church, was received by the bishops of London and Lincoln, who walked on each side of his majesty, preceded by the heralds at arms, and prebendaries of the cathedral. Her majesty, led by earl Morton, followed with her suite; and the princes and princesses, according to their rank, with their attendants, in procession. On the arrival of their majesties and the princesses within the circle formed by the colours, they were lowered; and the royal family respectively made their obeisances to the company assembled in the different parts of the church, which were returned with the loudest acclamations and congratulations ever perhaps heard on any occasion.

The service was chaunted by the minor canons, the lessons by the sub-dean. At the end of the first lesson, the flag-officers entered in two divisions, right and left of the

* Deputies Aldridge and Blaxland; and messrs. Dixon and Edwards,

king's chair, the ends of the flags being supported by those officers, who immediately followed the bearers in regular succession, advancing to the altar, to deposit the trophies of our naval success, which his majesty seemed to view with much attention; and the whole of the spectators appeared to partake in the royal feelings on this most happy occasion.

A very excellent sermon was preached by the bishop of Lincoln, dean of St. Paul's, from Samuel xxiii. 1-3.

"And David spake unto the Lord the words of this song, in the day that the Lord had delivered him out of the hands of all his enemies.

"The lord is my rock and my fortress, and my deliverer.

"And God of my rock, in him will I trust; he is my shield, and the horn of my salvation."

An anthem was sung, the same as when queen Anne went to St. Paul's.

At half past two o'clock, a signal being given from St. Paul's that the service was over, the Park guns were fired.

In returning, the procession of the royal family's carriages was reversed, their majesties going first.

The whole conduct of the procession and the business of the day was such as reflected great credit on those who superintended its arrangements.

Not any accident happened, that could tend to throw a cloud over the splendour of the day. The soldiery who lined the streets conducted themselves with the utmost decorum. The populace thronged into the streets from all the avenues, and pressed upon the military with great force; but the latter did not suffer themselves to be provoked into any want of humanity; but

kept the populace from pressing into the line of procession, without the least appearance of heat, amidst all the confusion which such a spectacle must necessarily have produced.

23. The gazette announces the capture of the French privateer brig, *Success*, by captain Cunningham of the Clyde.

26. The gazette announces the capture of *la Dorade*, 12 guns and 93 men, by captain Cunningham, but the prize upset, and the master, a midshipman, and seventeen seamen were drowned.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 30. Copy of a letter from captain Robert Barlow, commander of his majesty's ship *Phoebe*, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated in Cawsand Bay, the 26th instant.

SIR,

Be pleased to inform their lordships, that on the 21st instant, at 10 A. M. being, with his majesty's ship under my command, in lat. 48 deg. 30 min. N. long. 10 deg. W. we discovered one of the enemy's frigates, which, about nine o'clock the same evening we had the good fortune to come up with and capture, after an action which lasted upwards of two hours. To account to their lordships for its continuing so long, it will be necessary to trouble them with some detail. The difference in point of sailing between the two ships being inconsiderable, she damaged our masts, sails, and rigging, very much, with her stern-chace guns, and, at the moment when we were nearly in a situation to commence our attack, she put in stays, the *Phoebe* being at this time under a crowd of sail; and as, from the darkness of the night, the enemy's disposition for tacking could not be discovered, a few minutes necessarily elapsed before we could tack to follow her,

(M 2)

after

14. Viscountess Clifden, a son.
 15. Lady of Paul Benfield, esq. M. P. a son.
 16. Viscountess Galway, a son.
 24. Lady of C. Shaw Lefevre, esq. M. P. a son.
 25. Lady Donne, a son.
 26. Lady of R. Down, esq. banker, a son, her 19th child.
Feb. 1. Rt. hon. lady Horatio Seymour, a son.
 —. Lady of R. J. Sullivan, esq. a son.
 6. Countess of Guildford, a daughter.
 8. Countess of Belfast, a son.
 9. Lady of George Henry Rose, esq. M. P. a son.
 11. Countess Temple, a son.
 12. Lady of Edward Beeston Long, esq. a daughter.
 —. Rt. hon. Lady Rodney, a son.
 26. Lady of William Currie, esq. M. P. a son.
March 5. Lady of alderman Combe, M. P. a son.
 10. Lady of sir Thomas Henry Liddel, bart. a son.
 12. Lady of sir James Bland Burges, bart. a daughter.
 15. Mrs. Woodrow, of Bridgewater, two sons and a daughter.
 25. Countess of Mount Edgecombe, a son.
 26. Lady of sir Rich. Carr Glynn, knight, alderman, and M. P. a son.
 28. Countess of Albemarle, a daughter.
April 1. Hon. Mrs. Petre, a son.
 3. Lady of Dr. Stewart, bishop of St. David's, a daughter.
 8. Lady of sir Alexander Grant, bart. a daughter.
 —. Lady of the hon. John Simpson, a daughter.
 11. Lady of sir Richard Gamon, bart. M. P. a daughter.
 16. Lady Carrington, a daughter.
 16. Lady of sir C. Watson, a daughter.
 —. Lady Charlotte Campbell, a daughter.
 21. Lady of sir George Wombwell, bart. a son.
May 13. Countess of Northesk, a daughter.
 15. Lady Musgrave, a son.
 17. Princess of prince Maximilian of Saxony, brother to the elector, a son.
 19. Princess of Brazil, a princess.
 29. Lady Heathcote, a son.
 —. The wife of William Southerland, of Shetland, three sons and a daughter.
June 1. Lady of sir Robert Baker, a daughter.
 8. Lady Charles Townsend, a son.
 18. Mrs. Duidas, lady of the lord advocate of Scotland, a son.
 20. Lady Napier, a son.
 26. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.
July 7. Lady of the hon. William Carr, a son.
 8. Lady Bruce, a daughter.
 16. Lady Margaret Maclean, a son.
 —. Mrs. Ather, of Rothes, a son and two daughters.
 21. Countess Hardwicke, a son.
 30. Countess of Plymouth, a daughter.
 31. Hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.
August 1. Lady Suttie, a son.
 6. Lady of sir John Chardin Musgrave, bart. a son.
 15. Lady of Edmund Wigley, esq. M. P. a daughter.
 20. Lady of sir John Sinclair, bart. a son.
 21. Lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a son.
 —. Mrs. Abrahams, of Ipswich, three children.

22. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a daughter.

26. Lady Sherard, a son.

28. Lady of sir George Glyn, bart. a daughter.

Sept. 4. Lady of sir Thomas Parkyns, bart. a son.

6. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a son.

— Lady Belgrave, a son.

7. Marchioness of Tweedale, a daughter.

13. Lady of sir George Pigot, bart. a daughter.

17. Lady Elizabeth Spencer, a daughter.

18. The duchess of Manchester, a daughter.

— Mrs. Gibbons, of Colchester, three sons.

— Mrs. Gairy, of Dean's Yard, Westminster, twins. She is 49, her husband 84.

Oct. 9. Lady Elizabeth Finch Hatton, a daughter.

13. Lady of Thomas Anson, esq. M. P. a son.

15. Countess of Aboyne, a daughter.

17. Lady Mary Fludyer, a son.

21. Lady Mary Stopford, a son.

23. Lady of sir James Graham, bart. a son.

24. Countess of Caithness, a son.

— Countess of Sutherland, a daughter.

Nov. 5. Lady Lucy Bridgman, a son.

11. Mrs. Hood, of Wilmington, three daughters.

14. Lady of the hon. capt. William Seymour, a daughter.

— Lady Helen Hall, a son.

Dec. 2. Lady Le Despenser, a son.

15. Lady of sir John Kennaway, bart. a son.

18. Mrs. Nevitt, of Newark, three daughters.

MARRIAGES for 1797.

Feb. 2. The earl of Westmeath to lady Elizabeth Moore, eldest daughter of the earl of Drogheda.

6. Right hon. lord viscount Montague to miss Frances Manby, second daughter of the late Thomas Manby, esq. of Bead's Hall, Essex.

13. The hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, to the princess Augusta of Prussia, daughter of the king of Prussia.

16. Hon. Mr. Dundas, son of lord Dundas, to lady Caroline Beaulclerk, daughter of the duke of St. Albans.

18. Sir John Kennaway, of Escot, Devonshire, bart. to miss Charlotte Amyatt, daughter of James Amyatt, esq. M. P. for Southampton.

28. Capt. Halliday, son of lady Jane Halliday, to miss Eliza Stratford.

March 4. Sir John Menzies, bart. to lady Charlotte Murray, daughter of the duke of Athol.

14. Col. Clinton, eldest son of the late sir H. Clinton, K. B. to the hon. Louisa Holroyd, youngest daughter of lord Sheffield.

— Robert Bernard Sparrow, esq. to the hon. miss Acheson, eldest daughter of lord viscount Gosford.

April 6. Col. Grosvenor, M. P. nephew of earl Grosvenor, to miss Heathcote, sister to sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart.

14. Capel Hanbury, esq. of Pontpool-house, Monmouthshire, to lady Machworth, of Gnoil Castle, Glamorganshire.

16. Rev. Edward Nares, youngest son of the late hon. justice Nares, to lady Georgina Charlotte Spencer, third daughter of the duke of Marlborough.

17. Lord

17. Lord viscount Brome, son of marquis Cornwallis, to lady Louisa Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon.

19. Lord viscount Garlies, eldest son of the earl of Galloway, to lady Jane Paget, second daughter of the earl of Uxbridge.

24. Lord Dunsfany to miss Smith, sister of Drummond Smith, esq. Herts.

May 1. Earl of Derby to miss Farren.

2. Henry St. John, esq. youngest son of the late hon. and rev. Andrew St. John, to miss Catherine Wigley.

— Lieut. col. Scudamore, M. P. to miss Walwyn, daughter of James Walwyn, esq. M. P.

4. Hon. capt. Talbot, only brother of the earl of Shrewsbury, to miss Harriet Bedingsfield, daughter of the rev. Bacon Bedingsfield, of Ditchingham-hall, Norfolk.

13. John Wyldbore Smith, esq. only son of sir John Smith, bart. of Sydling-house, Dorset, to miss Elizabeth Anne Marriot.

18. His serene highness Frederic-Charles-William, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, to her royal highness Charlotte-Augusta-Matilda, princess-royal of England.

19. Rev. William Holwell to lady Charlotte Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

23. Rev. William Clay to lady Burrell, relict of sir William Burrell, bart.

25. John Mosely, esq. to miss Payne Galloway, only daughter of S. P. Galloway, esq. and niece to lord Lavington.

30. William Wilberforce, esq. M. P. to miss Spooner, eldest daughter of Isaac Spooner, esq. of Emdon-house, Warwick.

— Sir Charles Edwards to miss Howard.

30. Lord George Thynne, brother to the marquis of Bath, to miss Harriet Courtenay, sister to lord viscount Courtenay.

June 9. Rev. William Garner, eldest son of George Garner, esq. of Wickham, Hants, to miss North, eldest daughter of the hon. and rev. the bishop of Winchester.

23. Wencellaus, count of Purgstall, count of the holy Roman empire, to miss Cranstoun, daughter of the late hon. George Cranstoun.

26. Lieut. col. Childers to the hon. miss Eardley, daughter of lord Eardley.

— Hon. capt. Carleton, eldest son of lord Dorchester, to miss Priscilla Belford, niece to sir Adam Williamson, K. B.

July 6. Lord Holland to lady Vassal, only daughter of the late Richard Vassal, esq.

11. Hon. Francis Matthew, eldest son of lord viscount Landaff, to miss C. La Touche, daughter of John La Touche, esq.

26. John Quincy Adams, esq. ambassador from the United States of America to the Court of Berlin, and son to John Adams, esq. president of the American States, to miss Louisa Johnson, daughter of Joshua Johnson, Esq. London.

August 1. Sir Thomas Pilkington, bart. to miss Tuffnel, eldest daughter of William Tuffnel, esq. of Langleys.

8. Lord Trimblestown to miss Alicia Eustace, daughter of major-general Eustace.

17. Marquis of Carmarthen to lady Charlotte Townshend, only daughter of marquis Townshend.

19. Abraham Spooner, esq. of Elmdon-house, Warwick, to miss Lillington, daughter and heiress of Luke Lillington, esq. of Ferriby-grange, York.

19. William Blake, esq. son of W. Blake, esq. banker, London, to miss Nash, only daughter and heiress of Joseph Nash, esq. son of William Nash, esq. late alderman of London.

Sept. 11. Sir W. Vavasour, of Haslewood, York, bart. to miss Jane Langdale, daughter and heiress of William Langdale, Esq. of Langthorpe.

16. David William, earl of Mansfield, to miss Frederic Markham, fourth daughter of the archbishop of York.

27. Mr. Benyon, son of the late governor Benyon, to miss Sykes, daughter of sir Francis Sykes, bart.

Oct. 12. Robert Carey Elwes, esq. of Roxby-upon-Humber, to the hon. Caroline Pelham, second daughter of lord Yarborough.

18. The hon. col. Robert Fulke Greville, younger brother of the earl of Warwick, to Louisa countess dowager of Mansfield.

Nov. 27. Alexander Trotter, esq. of Dregghern, paymaster of the navy, to miss Lillias Stuart, daughter of the late sir John Stuart, bart.

Dec. 5. The hon. Thomas Morton, eldest son of lord Ducie, to lady Frances Herbert, only daughter of the earl of Carnarvon.

— Hon. Thomas Powys, eldest son of lord Lifford, to miss Atherton, eldest daughter and heiress of the late Robert Vernon Atherton, esq. of Atherton-hall, Lancashire.

23. Lord Grey, son of the earl of Stamford, to the hon. miss Charteris, daughter of lord Elcho.

11. Sir Samuel Egerton Leigh, bart.

14. John Stuart Wortley, esq. M. P.

17. Henry Pelham, esq. brother to the right hon. Thomas Pelham.

— Joseph Bushnan, esq. comptroller of the city of London.

18. Anne, dowager countess of Guildford.

— Elizabeth-Anne, lady Ranciffe.

— The countess of Exeter.

18. Lucy, lady Sheffield, second wife of lord Sheffield.

— The hon. and rev. William Bromley Cadogan, second son of lord Cadogan.

26. Right hon. Hew Macky, sixth lord Reay.

— Hon. and rev. John Ellis Agar, brother to the right hon. lord viscount Cliefden.

— Lady Smythe, relict of sir Edward Smythe, of Acton Burnell, Salop, and aunt to lord Clifford.

Feb. 1. Col. Frederic, son of Theodore, king of Corsica. [See Public Occurrences, p. (24).]

3. Shot himself, Richard Mui-man French Chiswell, esq. M. P.

7. Hon. Mrs. C. Lindsay, wife of the hon. and rev. C. Lindsay.

10. Right hon. lady Mary Milfington, wife of lord viscount Milfington.

14. Lady Morgan, wife of sir Charles Morgan.

17. Lady Anne Conolly, daughter of the third earl of Strafford.

22. Sir John Filmer, bart.

28. Edwin, lord Sandys.

— Miss Addison, only surviving daughter of the celebrated Joseph Addison, esq.

March 2. Horatio Walpole, earl of Orford.

5. Elizabeth, countess dowager of Harborough, relict of the third earl of Harborough.

7. Madame

DEATHS in the Year 1797.

Jan. 11. Jemima, marchioness Grey, baroness Lucas of Crudwell, Wilts.

7. Madame Schwellenberg, keeper of the robes to the queen.

14. Elizabeth, countess of Derby, daughter of the eighth duke of Hamilton.

15. Mrs. Pope, the celebrated actress.

19. Philip Hayes, Mus. D. professor of music in the university of Oxford.

21. Charles Fitzroy, earl Southampton, second brother to the duke of Grafton.

30. Lady Pitches, relict of sir Abraham Pitches, and mother to lady Deerhurst.

— Rev. W. Mason, Residendiary of York cathedral, the celebrated poet.

— John Pratt, esq. uncle to earl Camden.

April 8. Robert Barclay, esq. of Ury, M. P.

20. C. W. Jones, lord viscount Ranelagh.

29. Henry Leigh, viscount Tracy.

— George Barnwell, fifth viscount Kingland, of Turvey in Ireland.

— Henry-Lewis-Charles-Albert, reigning prince of Nassau, Saarbrück.

— Elizabeth, countess of Marchmont.

— Hon. Charles Paget, youngest son of the earl of Uxbridge.

May 1. The hon. Grace Trevor.

8. Archibald Erskine, seventh earl of Kelly.

16. John Wallop, earl of Portsmouth.

19. Hon. Simon Butler, third son of Edmund, tenth lord viscount Mountgarret.

20. Hon. James Hay, third son of the late earl of Errol.

21. Thomas Coventry, esq. uncle to the earl of Coventry.

22. George Robert Clarke, husband of the dowager lady Warwick.

22. William Brabazon, ninth earl of Meath, killed in a duel.

23. Lady Mary Cecil, youngest daughter of the marquis of Salisbury.

25. John Griffin Griffin, lord Howard de Walden.

June 4. Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, captain of the Queen Charlotte.

6. Miss Moore, only daughter of the archbishop of Canterbury.

14. Hon. Mrs. Olmuis, lady of the hon. J. Olmuis.

21. Count Bernstoff, first minister of Denmark.

24. Denys Rolle, esq. father of lord Rolle.

July 4. Sir Richard Symons, bart.

9. Right Hon. Edmund Burke.

11. Charles Macklin, the father of the stage.

17. Dorothy, countess-dowager of Sandwich.

20. Cornelius O'Calloghan, baron Lismore.

21. Peter Isaac Thellusson, esq. M. P.

25. Lady Mountstewart, relict of John lord viscount Mountstewart, and sole daughter of earl Dumfries.

— Mrs. Gunning, aunt to the late duchess of Argyle.

August 3. Jeffrey, lord Amherst, K. B.

6. James Pettit Andrews, esq.

8. Thomas Peter Legh, esq. M. P.

9. Frances, wife of lord Charles Fitzroy.

18. Shot himself, Harvey Redmond Morres, lord viscount Mountmorres.

27. Elizabeth lady Cranstoun, relict of the late lord Cranstoun.

29. Joseph Wright, Esq. of Derby, a celebrated painter.

— Robert George William Treussis, lord Clinton.

Sept.

Sept. 1. Hon. Penn Asheton Curzon, son of lord Curzon.

2. John Gunning, esq. brother to the late dukes of Argyle.

4. Robert Marham, esq. F. R. S.
— Right rev. sir William Ashburnham, bart. lord bishop of Chester.

8. Rev. Richard Farmer, D. D. F. R. and A. S. S. master of Emanuel College.

9. Rt. hon. sir Skeffington Smith, bart.

17. Lady Georgina Johnstone, second daughter of the earl of Hopetown.

20. Hon. Edward-James Elliot, M. P.

22. Lady Farquhar, wife of sir Walter Farquhar, bart.

25. Right. hon. lady Dormer.

Oct. 4. Hon. Mrs. A. King, aunt to lord King.

6. Lady Charlotte William Beauclerk, wife of lord William Beauclerk.

17. Hon. George Murray, vice-admiral of the white.

20. Hon. Robert Rochfort, brother to the earl of Belvidere.

22. Hon. George Petre, second son of William lord Petre.

26. Mrs. Gee, aunt of earl Camden.

Nov. 2. Rev. William Enfield, LL. D.

5. Sir Stephen Langston, knight, and alderman of London.

13. Edward, earl of Kingstown.

16. Frederic-William II. king of Prussia.

22. Lady Mary Irvine, relict of J. Irvine, esq. and daughter of George, earl of Granard.

25. Right Rev. Charles Walmfley, lord bishop of Rama, F. R. S.

29. Lady Leslie, wife of lord Leslie, and daughter of lord Pelham.

Dec. 8. Henry De Burgh, marquis of Clanrickard.

12. Hon. Thomas Bruce, son of William earl of Kincardine.

13. General James Johnston, governor of Quebec.

26. John Wilkes, esq. chamberlain and alderman of London.

PROMOTIONS in the Year 1797.

January 18. The countess-dowager of Elgin — governess to the princess Charlotte.

28. Right hon. William Pitt, Richard earl of Mornington, John Thomas Townshend, and John Smyth, esqrs. and the right hon. Sylvester Douglas — commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

— James Talbot, esq. — secretary of legation to the Swiss cantons.

30. John Macnamara Hayes, M. D. — a baronet.

Feb. 14. Right. rev. Henry Reginald Courteney, bishop of Bristol — translated to the see of Exeter.

— John Forbes, esq. — captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama islands, *vice* the earl of Dunmore.

15. Right hon. Lloyd lord Kenyon, lord chief justice of the court of King's-bench — lord lieutenant of the county of Flint.

20. Alexander Graeme, George Keppel, and Samuel Reeve, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white — rear-admirals of the red. Andrew Mitchell, Charles Chamberlayne, Peter Rainier, esqrs. sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, K. B. William Truscott, esq. and lord Hugh Seymour, rear-admirals of the blue — rear-admirals of the white. Captains

tains William Swiney, Charles Edmund Nugent, William Fooks, Charles Powell Hamilton, Edmund Dod, Horatio Nelson, Thomas Lenox Frederick, sir George Home, bart. and sir Charles Cotton, bart. — rear-admirals of the blue.

— Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, knt. — colonel in his majesty's marine forces.

24. Paul Pechell, esq. of Pagglesham, Essex — a baronet.

March 7. Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. vice-admiral of the blue — a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Keith, of Stonehaven marischal.

— William Hotham, esq. admiral of the blue, — a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Hotham, of South Dalton, with remainder (in default of issue-male) to sir Charles Hotham, bart. of Scarborough, the nephew of the said William Hotham, and the grandson and heir-male of sir Beaumont Hotham, bart. of Scarborough aforesaid, deceased, the father of the said William Hotham, and to the heirs-male of the body of the said sir Charles Hotham, bart.; and, in default of such issue, to the heirs-male of the body of the said sir Beaumont Hotham, deceased.

18. Rev. Folliot Herbert Walker Cornwall, D. D. dean of Canterbury — bishop of Bristol.

21. Capt. Francis Raleigh, of major-gen. Nichols's regiment — town-major of the garrison of Gibraltar.

— Hon. lieut. col. Alexander Hope, of the 14th foot — lieutenant governor of Tynemouth and Clifford's fort.

25. Major-general Andrew Gordon — lieutenant-governor of the island of Jersey.

28. Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone — captain general and governor in chief of the island of Dominica.

29. Sir Joseph Banks, bart. K. B. — sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

31. Richard White, esq. of Bantry, co. Cork — a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Bantry, of Bantry.

April 14. William Bentinck, esq. — captain-general and governor in chief of the island of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other of the islands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the island of Carriacou, in America.

George Beckwith, esq. — governor and commander in chief of the islands called the Bermuda or Somers islands, in America.

18. Stephen de Lancey, esq. — captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Tobago.

— Henry Motz, and Haviland le Mesurier, esqrs. late deputy commissaries-general on the continent — commissaries of stores and provisions for the forces in South Britain. John Wood, John Langden, William J. Cooper, Francis Coffin, P. S. Woltjee, George Spiller, James Newland, William Kay, Roger Metcalfe, William Tudor, and Robert Kennedy, gents. late assistant-commissaries on the continent; Francis Boughton, Maurice Nelson, and John Thomson, gents. late assistant-commissaries to the forces under the command of lord Moira, and Richard Anderson, gent. — assistant-commissaries to the said forces.

26. Lord Charles Somerset, comptroller of his majesty's household; George Beckwith, and Stephen de Lancey, esqrs. and the hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnstone — sworn

sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

29. Major Henry Davis, of the late 93d foot — major of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

— Major Lindelthal — deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces in Portugal, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Geo. Warden, esq. — assistant-commissary-general to the said forces.

May 10. Henry Russell, esq. knighted, on being appointed one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

27. Sir John Jervis, K. B. admiral of the blue — baron Jervis, of Medford, co. Stafford, and earl of St. Vincent.

— Charles Thompson, esq. vice-admiral of the blue, and William Parker, esq. rear-admiral of the red — baronets.

31. Charles Buggin, esq. of Thetford, co. Norfolk, knighted.

June 2. Right hon. Richard earl Howe — the order of the Garter.

3. Capt. William Maxwell, of the late 93d foot, and capt. William Gray, of the 2d foot — majors of brigade to the forces in South Britain.

— Lieut. col. sir James Foulis, bart. of the Mid-Lothian fencible cavalry — fort-major and lieutenant of Edinburgh castle.

8. John Thomas Duckworth, esq. — colonel of his majesty's marine forces.

— Charles lord viscount Dillon of the kingdom of Ireland — constable of the castle, town, and barony of Athlone, the half-barony of Moycarnan, co. Roscommon, and the territory of Brawney, co. Westmeath.

14. Charles lord Romney — lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent.

14. His grace the duke of Athol, sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

29. Edmund Henry baron Glentworth — sworn of his majesty's privy-council in the kingdom of Ireland.

July 7. Sir John Cox Hippisley, of Warfield-grove, Berks, bart. recorder of Sudbury, co. Suffolk, permitted to accept, use, and bear, the ducal arms of Wirtemberg.

8. Edmund Henry baron Glentworth — clerk of the hanaper and clerk of the crown in his majesty's high court of chancery in Ireland.

11. Walter earl of Ormond and Ossory — sworn of his majesty's Irish privy-council.

17. Charles earl of Ely, and Charles marquis of Drogheda — post-masters-general of the kingdom of Ireland.

25. Hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh — keeper of his majesty's signet, or privy-seal, of the kingdom of Ireland.

29. Frederick Christian Lentz, esq. — his majesty's consul at Magdebourg and Stettin.

Aug. 2. Henry Lawes, earl of Carhampton — master-general of his majesty's ordnance in Ireland.

12. Gen. sir Charles Grey, K. B. — governor of the island of Guernsey.

26. James Ker, esq. barrister at law — judge of the court of vice-admiralty for Lower Canada.

— George Isted, esq. of the middle Temple — agent, on the behalf of the public, for the affairs of the island of cape Breton, in North America.

Sept. 5. Major James Hadden, of the royal artillery — adjutant-general to the army serving in Portugal, with

with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

5. Brevet-major William Doyle, of 24th foot — deputy adjutant-general to the forces in Canada, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

14. George Leonard, esq. — superintendant to the trade and fisheries on the coasts of the provinces and islands in North America, from Gaspee, in the gulph of the river St. Lawrence, unto and including the bay of Passimaquoddy, comprising the waters of the bay of Fundy, Chignecto, and Minas, the coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the islands of St. John and cape Breton, and the Madeleine islands.

19. Lieutenant-general Gerard Lake — governor of Dumbarton castle.

— Major-gen. Patrick Bellew, of the 1st foot guards — lieutenant-governor of Quebec.

27. John Trevor, esq. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

— Rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson — K. B.

30. Capt. Colin Macdonald, of the 2d battalion of royals — major of brigade to the forces serving in Portugal.

— Capt. lieut. Spicer, of the royal artillery — lieutenant-governor of Fort Royal, in the island of St. Domingo.

OB. 4. Gen. sir Charles Grey, K. B. — sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council; and also as governor of the island of Guernsey.

— John Anstruther, esq. — knighted.

7. W. Henry Souper, esq. — deputy-commissary of musters in the West-Indies.

— Lieut.-col. John Sontag —

military-superintendent of hospitals in South Britain.

9. Rev. John Buckner, LL. D. — bishop of Chichester.

10. James earl of Lonsdale — a baron and viscount Lowther, of Whitehaven, co. Cumberland, with remainder to the heirs-male of sir William Lowther, late of Swillington, co. York, bart. dec.

— Richard earl of Mornington in the kingdom of Ireland — an English peer, baron Wellesley, of Wellesley, co. Somerset; and Robert baron Carrington in the kingdom of Ireland — baron Carrington, of Upton, co. Nottingham.

— Right hon. Charles Townshend — baron Bayning, of Foxley, Berks; right hon. James Grenville — baron Glaslonbury, of Butleigh, co. Somerset, with remainder to lieut. gen. Rd. Grenville, and his heirs-male; right hon. Thomas Orde Powlett — baron Bolton, of Bolton-castle, co. York; right hon. sir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto, bart. — baron of Minto, co. Roxburg; sir John Wodehouse, bart. — baron Wodehouse of Kimberly, co. Norfolk; sir John Rushout, bart. — baron Northwick, of Northwick park, co. Worcester; Thomas Powis, esq. — baron of Lilford, co. Northampton; Thomas Lister, esq. — baron Ribblesdale, of Gisburne-park, in the west riding of Yorkshire; James Drummond, esq. — lord Perth, baron Drummond of Stob-hall, co. Perth; and Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, esq. — lord Seaforth, baron Mackenzie, of Kintail, co. Ross.

14. Capt. James Maitland, of major-general Whyte's regiment — major of brigade to the forces at St. Domingo.

Richard earl of Shannon, K. P. right hon. sir John Parnell, bart. chancellor of his majesty's exchequer

quer in Ireland, the right hon. Thomas Pelham, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, or the chief secretary to the lord lieutenant for the time being, the right hon. John Monck Mason, the right hon. Lodge Morres, and the right hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called lord viscount Castlereagh — commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland.

17. Adam Duncan, esq. admiral of the blue — baron Duncan of Lundie, in the shire of Perth, and viscount Duncan of Camper Down.

— Richard Onslow, esq. vice-admiral of the red — a baronet.

Nov. 4. Francis baron de Dunstanville — baron Bassett, of Stratton, co. Cornwall; with remainder to Frances Bassett, his daughter, by Frances Susannah baroness de Dunstanville, his wife.

14. Armor Lowry, viscount Belmore, of the kingdom of Ireland — earl Belmore, of the county of Fermanagh; Henry viscount Conyngham — viscount Mount Charles, co. Donegal, and earl Conyngham, of Mount Charles aforesaid; Francis viscount Landaff — earl Landaff, of Thomastown, co. Tipperary; Richard Hely, lord Donoughmore — viscount Donoughmore, of Knocklofty, co. Tipperary, with remainder to the heirs-male of Christian Hely, baroness Donoughmore, dec.; Hugh baron Carleton, chief justice of his majesty's court of common pleas — viscount Carleton, of Clare, co. Tipperary; Margaret baroness Oriel, wife of the right hon. John Foster — viscountess Ferrard, of Oriel, and the dignity of viscount Ferrard, of Oriel aforesaid, to the heirs-male of her body by the said John Foster; James lord Caledon — viscount Caledon, of Caledon co. Tyrone; Thomas

viscount Cremorne — baron Cremorne, of Dawson-grove, co. Monaghan, with remainder to Richard Dawson, esq. nephew of the said Thomas viscount Cremorne; Richard lord Sunderlin — baron Sunderlin, of Baronston, co. Westmeath, with remainder to his brother, Edmond Malone, of Shingles, co. Westmeath aforesaid, esq; right hon. James Cuff — baron Tyrawley, of Balinrobe, co. Mayo; Charles Stanley Monck, esq. — baron Monck, of Ballytrammon, co. Wexford; Mrs. Grace Toler, wife of John Toler, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general of that kingdom — baroness Norwood, co. Tipperary, and the dignity of baron Norwood, of Knockalton, co. Tipperary aforesaid, to the heirs-male of her body by the said John Toler; William Power Keating Trench, esq. — lord Kilconnel, baron Kilconnel, of Garbelly, co. Galway; Charles-William Bury, esq. — baron Tullimore, of Charleville-forest, in the King's county; sir Geo. Allanson Winn, bart. — lord Headley, baron Allanson and Winn, of Aghadoe, co. Kerry; sir John Shore, bart. — governor-general of India, baron Teignmouth, of Teignmouth; and Leonard Trougher Holmes, clerk — baron Holmes, of Kilmallock, co. Limerick.

20. Wm. Dowdeswell, esq. — captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama islands in America.

25. Thomas Burke, of Marblehill, co. Galway, esq; John Jervis White Jervis, of Ballyellis, co. Wexford, esq; Thomas Mullins, of Burnham, county Kerry, esq; John Edmond Browne, of Palmerston, co. Mayo, esq; and Anthony Brabazon, of New Park, co. Mayo, esq. — baronets of the kingdom of Ireland.

28. Lieut.

28. Lieut.-col. Rich. Mark Dickens, of 35th foot—adjutant-general to the forces serving in the West Indies; capt. Henry Cuyler, of 30th foot—deputy-adjutant-general to the said forces, with the rank of major in the army; Brigadier-gen. Duncan Cameron—quarter-master-general to the said forces; Major Binson Bonham, of 69th foot—deputy quarter-master-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Geo. Smith, gent.—deputy commissary of musters in South Britain.

Dec. 9. Dame Ann Crofton—baroness Crofton of Mote, co. Roscommon.

12. Lieut.-gen. sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B.—commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland.

Robert earl of Roden—one of his majesty's most honourable privy counsellors in Ireland.

19. Gen. Staates Long Morris—governor of Quebec.

30. John Knightly, of Fawley, Northamptonshire—a baronet.

SHERIFFS appointed for the Year 1797.

Bedfordshire, John Higgins the elder, of Turvey.

Berks, Bartholomew Tipping, of Wooley.

Bucks, John Sullivan, of Richings Park.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, William Walter, of Chesterton.

Cheshire, John Leche, of Stretton.

Cumberland, Hugh Parkin, of Skirsgill.

Derbyshire, Charles Hurt, of Wirksworth.

Devonshire, John Seal, of Mount Eoon.

Dorsetshire, William Richards the younger, of Smedmore.

Essex, William Manby, of Stratford.

Gloucestershire, William Tindall, of North Cerney.

Herefordshire, John Barneby, of Brockhampton, esqrs.

Hertfordshire, Sir John Saunders Sebright, of Beechwood, bart.

Kent, George Grote, of Beckenham.

Leicestershire, Samuel Bracebridge Abney, of Lindley.

Lincolnshire, John Cracroft, of Hackthorne.

Monmouthshire, Thos. Houghton, of Pontypool.

Norfolk, Joseph Wyndnom, of Hersham, esqrs.

Northamptonshire, Sir William Langham, of Catbrook, bart.

Northumberland, Matthew Bell, of Wolfington.

Nottinghamshire, John Galley Knight, of Warsop.

Oxfordshire, James Jones, of Atwell.

Rutlandshire, Thomas Hunt, of Wing.

Shropshire, William Tayleur, of Bantingsdale.

Somersetshire, Samuel Day, of Chartolhouse.

Southampton, John Compton, of Minstead, esqrs.

Staffordshire, Sir R. Lawley, of Canwell, bart.

Suffolk, Chaloner Archdeckne, of Glemham.

Surry, Robert Taylor, of Ember Court.

Sussex, Charles Scrase Dickens, of Brighthelmstoné.

Warwickshire, Robert Knight, of Barrells, esqrs.

Wiltshire, Sir John Methuen Poore, of Rushall, bart.

Worcestershire, Moses Harper, of Astley, esq.

York-

(192)

P R O M O T I O N S.

[1797.

Yorkshire, Sir John Ramsden,
of Byram, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, John Macnamara, of
Llangoed Castle.

Cardigan, James Nath. Taylor,
of Stradmore.

Carmarthen, David Saunders, of
Glamerhyd.

Glamorgan, Robert Nours, of
Court-yr-Ala.

Pembroke, Abraham Leach, of
Corston.

Radnor, Percival Lewis, of
Downton, esqrs.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, Richard Jones, of
Troſſy Marian, esq.

Carnarvon, Sir Ed. Price Lloyd,
of Panlyglaf, bart.

Denbighshire, Robert Hesketh,
of Gwrych.

Flint, John Ed. Maddocks, of
Vrno Jw.

Merioneth, Bell Lloyd, of Cro-
gen.

Montgomery, Robert Knight,
of Gwernygoe, esqrs.

SHERIFF appointed by his Royal
Highness the Prince of Wales, for
the Year 1797.

Cornwall, William Slade Gully,
of Trevenen, esq.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Transactions in Parliament relative to the Stoppage of Payment in Specie of the Bank of England.

Copies of all Communications between the Directors of the Bank and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting Advances to Government since the first of November, 1794.

(No. 1.)

Copy of a Resolution of the Court of Directors, the 15th of January, 1795.

Resolved,

THAT the governor and deputy governor do take an early opportunity of informing the chancellor of the exchequer, that the court of directors, desirous at all times to give every assistance and accommodation to the public service, think it proper at the present period, when a loan, under the guarantee of this country, for a foreign state, of the large amount of six millions sterling, and also one for our own national wants of eighteen millions sterling, are about to be raised, to bring to his consideration, that it is their wish that he would settle his arrangements of finances for the present year in such a manner as not to depend on any farther assistance from them beyond

1797.

what is already agreed for; and particularly, that the stipulation for the future advances to be made by them, if necessary, for payment of treasury bills of exchange, be strictly adhered to, as they cannot allow that advance at any time to exceed the sum of five hundred thousand pounds.

(No. 2.)

In the Court of Directors, on the 16th of April, 1795.

THE governor and deputy governor were directed by the court to wait upon the chancellor of the exchequer, and to mention to him the uneasiness which they have felt on being left, during so long a period, in an advance of one and an half, to upwards of two millions of money, for the bills accepted by the treasury. That this mode of paying the treasury bills in advance was never meant to be carried to any great extent, at the most to 500,000*l.* and that only as a temporary accommodation.

The chancellor of the exchequer did promise to the governor and deputy governor in December last; and particularly in a conversation on the 17th of January, that the amount of these bills paid at the

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bank,

bank, then exceeding the sum of 500,000l. should certainly be paid off after the receipt of the first payment on the new loan; which promise hath not yet taken place. The court have therefore come to a resolution, that they cannot in future allow of any disburse on this account, exceeding the sum of 500,000l.; and they do request, that the chancellor of the exchequer will be pleased to order the same to be paid.

(No. 3.)

Copy of a Note from the Governor and Deputy Governor, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bank, 5th June, 1795.

THE governor and deputy governor of the bank present their respectful compliments to Mr. Pitt; and take the liberty of stating to him, that though he was pleased to promise, the last time they had the honour of an interview, that the amount of the treasury bills paid by the bank should immediately be reduced to the sum of 500,000l. (beyond which sum, by a resolution of the court, it was not to pass); the bank are now in advance on that account 1,210,015l. 17s. 5d. and before the end of next week it will be increased to 1,658,467l. They at the same time beg to express their concern at being so repeatedly obliged to trouble him on the subject; hoping he will give such directions as may in future prevent it.

To the right hon. Wm. Pitt,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 4.)

Resolution of the Court of Directors, 30th of July, 1795.

Resolved,

THAT the governor and deputy governor of the bank be desired to

inform the chancellor of the exchequer, that it is the request of this court that he will either adopt some other mode of paying the treasury bills of exchange, than by directing them for payment at the bank; or so to arrange the furnishing of money for the payment of these bills, that the amount for which the bank should be in advance, shall not at any time exceed the sum of 500,000l. as this court is determined to give orders to the cashiers, to refuse payment of all bills whenever the advance shall amount to such sum of 500,000l. That previously the court is desirous of fixing on a certain day with Mr. Pitt, when such order shall take place; but in the mean time depend on his former and repeated promise to reduce the present advance as speedily as possible.

(No. 5.)

Report of the Governor, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 6th of August, 1795.

THE governor having laid before the court a letter from the chancellor of the exchequer, which was received yesterday at four o'clock in the afternoon, containing a request for a farther accommodation on the credit of the growing surplus of the consolidated fund:

Resolved, That the consideration of this letter be postponed; and that the governor and deputy governor be desired to wait on Mr. Pitt, and inform him, that this court cannot take his letter into consideration, until it has received satisfaction respecting the re-payment of the monies already advanced for payment of treasury bills of exchange, to reduce that account under the stipulated sum of 500,000l. above which the bank was

was never to be in advance; and until it has had sufficient security held out, that it shall not be called upon to farther advances on this account in future: and that they do request Mr. Pitt to enter into full explanations on this subject, which is not even touched upon in his letter.

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 7th of August, 1797.

THE governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt at the hour he had appointed: — When the governor first observed to him, that his letter did not arrive in time to be taken into consideration by the committee on Wednesday; and that it was therefore of necessity laid before the court on Thursday, without much previous consultation on it in the committee: — And the governor then read to Mr. Pitt the following note, as containing the substance of what passed upon it in the court:

The governor having laid before the court a letter received yesterday afternoon from the chancellor of the exchequer, containing a request for a farther accommodation of two millions and an half, on the growing produce of the consolidated fund;

Resolved, That the consideration of this letter be postponed; and that the governor and deputy governor be desired to wait on Mr. Pitt, and inform him, that this court cannot fully take his letter into consideration until he has finally settled the arrangement, notified to him last week, relative to the reduction of the amount of the treasury bills paid by the bank, so that the sum advanced may never exceed 500,000*l.* of which his letter makes not the least mention.

(No. 6.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 13th of August, 1795.

Downing-Street, 12th of Aug. 1795.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE to request the favour of you to state to your court, that if they think proper to afford the accommodation which I have requested in my letter of the 5th instant, by taking exchequer bills payable out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, they may depend upon measures being immediately taken for the payment of one million of the sum they have advanced for the payment of bills; and farther payments to the amount in the whole of another million may be made in the course of September, October, and November, in such proportions as may be found convenient. But as fresh bills may be expected to arrive, I am under the necessity of requesting that a latitude should be allowed for the payment of such bills to an amount not exceeding one million; in addition for which sum, payment shall be provided before the end of February, or, if the court materially prefer it, of January. In order to guard against any fresh disappointment, I beg leave to suggest, that it may be useful, if from time to time you send me notice, whenever the amount advanced comes within fifty thousand pounds of the limit fixed, that warrants may be prepared without delay.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W^M. PITT.

Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

IN the court held this day, after reading Mr. Pitt's letter of the 12th of August, it was resolved, That

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this

this court do not accede to the proposal contained in the said letter. It was farther resolved, That the court do consent to Mr. Pitt's request, in his letter of the 5th instant; namely, to advance two millions five hundred thousand pounds on exchequer bills, on the security of the surplus of the consolidated fund, to be re-paid as follows:

About eleven hundred thousand pounds from the produce of the quarter ending the 10th of October next; and for the remainder they are willing to wait till the ending of the quarter of the 5th of April, 1796.

And that the governor and deputy governor be desired to inform Mr. Pitt, that the court still adhere to their former resolution, of insisting that the credit on the treasury bills be restrained to 500,000*l.* but that the court will wait for the re-payment of one million of the money already advanced beyond the said sum of 500,000*l.* until the latter end of November (if it is of essential service to the government of the country that it should do so), provided positive assurance is given by the chancellor of the exchequer, that this additional million shall punctually be repaid at that time; and that in no case, if this proposition is acceded to, the bank is to be in advance beyond one million and an half for payment of the treasury bills, which by the end of November are to be reduced to 500,000*l.*

The court also request, that the governor and deputy governor will express to Mr. Pitt, the earnest desire they have, that some other means may be adopted, in the next session of parliament, for the future

payment of bills of exchange drawn on the treasury. When the last resolution was proposed, Mr. Winthrop moved the following amendment, and was seconded by Mr. Simeon, to be added after the words "Consolidated Fund," and to leave out all the remainder;

"Provided at least two millions of the same shall be applied to the discharge of the sum for which the bank is now in advance, on account of bills accepted by the treasury; it being the intention of this court to restrain the amount of such advance to the sum of 500,000*l.* agreeably to their former resolutions."

The said amendment being put to the vote, was negatived; and the resolution as first moved was carried in the affirmative.

August 14, 1795.

THE governor and deputy governor, in compliance with the desire of the court held yesterday, waited this day on the chancellor of the exchequer, to signify to him, that his letter of the 12th instant had been duly considered; and it was resolved, that the proposals which it contained could not be acceded to; and to communicate to him the farther resolution of the court respecting his request in his letter of the 5th instant, as minuted in this book yesterday. The governor put into his hands a copy of the two resolutions, which Mr. Pitt read attentively; and returned soon after with a letter, written by himself, at the request of the governor and deputy governor, signifying his acquiescence in the said resolution, and promising punctually to comply with the conditions stipulated therein.

Downing.

Downing-Street, 14th Aug. 1795.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE to request the favour of you to inform your court, that I agree to the conditions specified in their resolution of yesterday, (see the note of the 13th of August,) for the advance of two millions and an half on the credit of the consolidated fund; and will take care that they shall be punctually complied with. I return the paper containing the resolution; and am, Gentlemen, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) W^M. PITT.

Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

(No. 7.)

Copy of a written Paper delivered to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bank of England, 8th Oct. 1795.

THE very large and continued drain of bullion and specie which the bank has lately experienced, arising from the effects of the loan to the emperor, and other subsidies, together with the prospect of the demand for gold not appearing likely soon to cease, has excited such apprehensions in the court of directors, that, on the most serious deliberation, they deem it right to communicate to the chancellor of the exchequer, the absolute necessity they conceive to exist for diminishing the sum of their present advances to government—the last having been granted with extreme reluctance on their part, on his pressing solicitations and statement, that serious embarrassments would arise to the public service, if the bank refused.

It must occur to Mr. Pitt's recollection, that last January the governor and deputy governor of the bank did, by instructions from their

court, formally announce to him their apprehensions of the consequences that were likely to ensue from the emperor's loan taking place; the events seem fully to justify their fears, and to render every measure of caution absolutely necessary for their future safety.

In addition to the above causes, it may be proper to state, that large sums are likely soon to be called for by the claimants of the cargoes and freights of the neutral ships taken, and about to be re-imbursed; many of whom, as they are credibly informed, are instructed by their owners and proprietors to take back their returns in specie or bullion.

The present price of gold being from 4l. 3s. to 4l. 4s. per ounce, and our guineas being to be purchased at 3l. 17s. 10½d. clearly demonstrates the grounds of our fears; it being only necessary to state those facts to the chancellor of the exchequer.

Ever ready as the court of directors have been to accommodate and give their assistance in the service of the public, they must now express their hopes, that Mr. Pitt will, on the meeting of parliament, so arrange his plans of finance, as not to depend upon the immediate advance of the duties on land and malt, 1796; and that he will be pleased to provide the means of re-imbursment to the bank, conformably to his agreement, of the million on account of the treasury bills, and the one million one hundred thousand, part of the advance on the product of the consolidated fund, in case it shall not have been previously paid, and also to re-imburse the remaining 1,400,000l. on the same product in January or February, instead of April.

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(No.

(No. 8.)
Interview with the Chancellor of
the Exchequer, 23d of October,
1795.

THE governor mentioned his having heard that there might be annexed to the ensuing loan, one of 1,400,000*l.* for the emperor of Germany; and stated, that in such a case it would be highly proper for the bank to have some intimation of it, that they might adopt such arrangements as the measure would render absolutely necessary:

—The chancellor of the exchequer replied, That he had not at present the most distant idea of it; though he did not pledge himself that on no occasion such a thing might happen. The governor thanked him for his answer, which he told Mr. Pitt he received with pleasure, thinking, as he did, that another loan of that sort would go high to ruin the country. The governor also acquainted him, that the drain of cash continued; and was likely to do so, while the bills from abroad continued to be drawn on the treasury. Mr. Pitt said, they might last two months longer, but he believed not longer.

(No. 9.)
Interview with the Chancellor of
the Exchequer, 18th of November,
1795.

THE governor informed Mr. Pitt, that the present price of gold was 4*l.* 2*s.* per ounce, and that the daily large drains of specie from the bank filled the minds of the directors with serious apprehensions; and that in the present situation of their affairs, he must not rely on any aids from them, not even the vote of credit and supply bills.

The chancellor of the exchequer apologised for the warrants that

were designed to be applied to the reduction of the amount of the treasury bills paid by the bank, having, from the most urgent necessity, been otherwise applied to the payment of the troops going abroad. With respect to the million which he had promised should be paid in the course of this month in farther reduction of the treasury bills, he said his intention was to take out that sum in part of the land and malt for 1796, and to pay it on this account, having no other means to do it by. The governor then hinted to Mr. Pitt, his apprehensions from a rumour that a farther loan to the emperor was in agitation, notwithstanding the assurances which Mr. Pitt gave him some time back, that he had not then the most distant idea of such a measure. The chancellor replied, That he then had not such a thought, from the tardy and slow operations of the Austrians; but the face of things having since changed, and the Austrian army having been of late very active and successful, he confessed it was his opinion that a continuance of such exertions was the surest way of distressing the French, and bringing them to proper terms of peace; and on this ground ministry now had it in contemplation to let the emperor have another loan, not exceeding two millions, trusting that it might be done with safety, and on the consideration that the subsidies of about 900,000*l.* per annum, which had been paid to different states in Germany, for troops, would cease, and also the bills drawn for the support of our army on the continent, which had last year amounted to near three millions sterling: beside, that should the loan take place, he had no objection to modify the stated times for

for the remittance thereof, so as to cause the least bad effect on the course of exchange. And he farther added, That should the situation of the bank be such, as to make this measure a very hazardous one, he would, in compliance with our request, overlook every other consideration, and abandon the loan. The governor and deputy governor then told Mr. Pitt, that they would take the sense of their court to-morrow on the advances, which he wished to have on the land and malt of 1796, and wait upon him with the determination of the court as soon as it should break up.

(No. 10.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 20th of November, 1795.

THE court of directors having, on a consideration of the advances proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer on the land and malt, 1796, resolved to let him have the sum of one million, under the restriction that it be immediately applied to the discharge of so much of the bank's advance on the treasury bills: and also a farther advance of 500,000*l.* for his present accommodation: — The governor and deputy governor went, as soon as the court was over, to wait on the chancellor of the exchequer, to acquaint him thereof. But at the same time the governor mentioned to him, that it was the expectation of the court, that he should not take up any more on this fund until about February next, and then gradually, as the advance on the former year would be coming in. The governor also said, that from the present situation of matters at the bank, and from appearances for the future, it would be absolutely out of the power of the court to

make the advance, which had been done before, of 2,500,000*l.* on the vote of credit which might be passed this session; and he felt it right to announce this in time to Mr. Pitt, before the loan, that he might make his arrangements accordingly:—Which Mr. Pitt thanked him for having mentioned; said he supposed he might venture to issue about 1,500,000*l.* of such exchequer bills to the public; and that he must provide for the other million by an addition to the loan. The governor then repeated to Mr. Pitt, the absolute determination of the court to have the advance on the treasury bills quite cleared off, by an early payment out of the monies received in part of the loan.

(No. 11.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12th of December, 1795.

IN consequence of a message from the chancellor of the exchequer, the governor and deputy governor waited upon him this day; when he returned to them the paper which contained the copy of the court's resolution made on the 3d instant.

The governor renewed the subject of the payment of the treasury bills to Mr. Pitt, which amount now to 2,670,000*l.*; but Mr. Pitt said, the money hitherto received on account of the present loan, should be applied to the payment thereof, and a farther sum out of the payments in full, until that advance was reduced to 500,000*l.*

(No. 12.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 8th of January, 1796.

THE governor and deputy governor this day waited on the chancellor

cellor of the exchequer, by his desire. When he mentioned to them his request that the bank would accommodate him with an advance of 500,000*l.* which he wanted for the purpose of paying off sums due to the army agents, and for which he would pledge exchequer bills on the land and malt of the present year; and if the payments made upon the loan for this year should amount in all before the end of this month to above 5,800,000*l.* the excess beyond that sum, as far as 500,000*l.* should be employed in re-paying the bank's advance on the exchequer bills on the credit of the growing produce of the consolidated fund for the service of the last year. The governor told Mr. Pitt that he did not think the court would object to such an advance, and desired him to write an official letter in time to be laid before the next court for that purpose.

Mr. Pitt said, he had an immediate necessity for 200,000*l.* which the governor said he might take up directly; not doubting that it would be approved of by the court of directors.

(No. 13.)

The Governor's Report, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 28th of January, 1796.

THE governor having informed the court, that a notice was brought this morning from the treasury, that certain bills drawn on the commissioners of the treasury, amounting to the sum of 201,000*l.* would fall due on Wednesday the 3d of February, and were directed for payment at the bank; and that the sum now in advance on treasury bills is 1,157,000*l.*

Resolved unanimously, That the governor do give directions to the

cashiers not to advance any money for the payment of these bills, nor to discharge any part of the same, unless money shall be sent down for the purpose; in which case such money is to be appropriated exclusively for the discharge of these bills.

Resolved, That the governor, deputy governor, and a deputation from this court, do wait on the chancellor of the exchequer, with a copy of the above resolution; and do farther respectfully lay before him, the determination of the court not to continue any longer the mode of advancing the payment of treasury bills, than to such time as shall be fixed on between Mr. Pitt and the deputation before-mentioned, which time the court hopes will not be fixed for a distant day.

(No. 14.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 29th of January, 1796.

THE governor and deputy governor, with Mr. Peters and Mr. Bosanquet, waited on Mr. Pitt this day with the resolution of the court, as stated in the foregoing minute. He dwelt much on the inconvenience which it would put him to, to comply with it; but after some conversation, said he would arrange his affairs, so as to provide the money in time for the payment of the treasury bills due on the 3d of February, by applying to that purpose money which he had destined for other services.

As to fixing a period when the payment of the treasury bills shall no longer be referred to the bank, Mr. Pitt declared himself unable to settle that at such a short notice; but that he would look into the situation of his payments, and endeavour to form such a plan as soon

as possible; and hoped to be able to conclude it by Friday the 5th of February, when he would expect to see the deputation again.

(No. 15.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 5th of February, 1796.

THE governor, deputy governor, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Bosanquet, this day waited upon Mr. Pitt again, according to appointment, to hear his determination about the latter part of the court's resolution, on the 28th ultimo, as to fixing a time when the present mode of paying the treasury bills in advance should be brought to a period. Mr. Pitt, after much conversation on the subject, said, That measures were now taking for a payment of 500,000*l.* more on this account, to the bank, which would reduce their advance on this score to under 200,000*l.*; but that, as matters were situated, he could not foresee a possibility of paying the remainder, and quite finishing the account, till May or June next; for that, as some part of our cavalry had not been brought home from Germany, there must still be some monies drawn for their charges, but he did not think it could amount to above 300,000*l.* more in the whole. Mr. Pitt, however, said, he would digest his ideas on this subject more particularly, and send a letter with a proposal to the bank court against next Thursday.

Mr. Pitt dwelt much on the necessity of some farther support to be given to the emperor, to enable him to continue his efforts against the French, as the most probable means of bringing the war to an end; but knowing the sentiments

of the directors of the bank to be against any such assistance in money, he promised that he would not commit himself to any engagement for a farther loan to the emperor, without a previous communication on the subject with the gentlemen of the bank.

Mr. Pitt read some extracts of letters from the British resident and others at Hamburgh, which mentioned that large quantities of English guineas were imported thither by the packets from Yarmouth; and one mentioned that the guineas were melted down on arrival there. Mr. Pitt said, that attention should be paid to this circumstance at the ports from which the packets sailed.

(No. 16.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12th of February, 1796.

THE governor told Mr. Pitt, That the court had received his letter of the 11th instant, and would comply with his desire of continuing to pay the treasury bills as usual till May, when he hoped it would be totally done away; and that he might look to a temporary accommodation of 500,000*l.* in the interval; but absolutely required, that it should never exceed that sum.

Mr. Pitt said, That as far as lay in his power, it should not exceed it; but that demands did arise occasionally which he could not foresee, but which the public service required to be provided for; and if the money from the loan did not flow in fast enough, he might be obliged to have recourse for temporary assistance to the bank; and that it lay with the court of directors to judge whether they chose to accommodate the public or not.

(No.

(No. 17.)
Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 11th April, 1796.

THE governor and deputy governor this day waited on the chancellor of the exchequer at his desire; when he informed them, that he meant to propose in parliament a farther loan of about six millions and a half, in order to fund the four millions of exchequer bills, which the bank holds on the supply and vote of credit of 1795; two millions of exchequer bills which have issued to the public, and about half a million, the amount of navy bills held by the bank, due in the months when he means to fund them, but which the governor had informed Mr. Pitt that the bank chose to have the payment of. Mr. Pitt said, he hoped to be able to bring this matter before the house on Monday next the 18th instant; and would desire the governor and deputy governor to come on some day this week, to a previous meeting with the parties who were to be concerned in this business.

(No. 18.)
The Governor's Report, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 19th of May, 1796.

THE governor having informed the court, That the present advance on treasury bills of exchange is 835,000*l.* beyond which there is a notice now lying in the house of a farther sum of about 200,000*l.* which will shortly become due; and that a notice was brought on Monday last from the treasury, containing a list of bills drawn on the commissioners to the sum of 900,000*l.* more, of which the principal part would fall due on the 20th instant, which were directed for payment at the bank; the court

resolved, That a representation in writing should be made to the chancellor of the exchequer on the subject.

(No. 19.)
Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 24th May, 1796.

IN consequence of an appointment from the chancellor of the exchequer, the governor and deputy governor waited upon him this day, with a view to lay before him the resolution entered into by the court on the 19th instant; but they found him so impressed with the necessity of providing the funds to pay off the treasury bills for 900,000*l.* and that he had formed his plan for the liquidation thereof, that they thought it prudent to withhold the resolution from him.

Mr. Pitt explained his measure in the following letter to the governor and deputy governor, which he wrote while they were with him.

Downing-Street, 25th May, 1796,
Gentlemen,

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for the information of your court, that a warrant is directed for the issue of 900,000*l.* for the payment of the bills to become due to that amount in the course of the present week. I must at the same time desire you to request of the court, in consequence of the pressure arising from this unexpected payment, that they will accommodate government by advancing a sum of 200,000*l.* to the account of the paymaster general, to be repaid out of the cash to be received on the next payment of the loan of 7,500,000*l.*

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) W^m. PITT.
Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

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The governor afterwards mentioned in conversation the desire of the court to have the new arrangements made which should ease the bank from the payment of the treasury bills. The promise to which point Mr. Pitt acknowledged to have made; but being excessively hurried with a variety of business, and about to set off to attend the election at Cambridge, he desired leave to defer this object until some time next week, after his return, when he would resume it.

(No. 20.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 14th June, 1796.

THE governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt with a statement of the treasury bills paid by the bank, which advance now to the sum of

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and of bills already advised, but not yet due	230,093	16
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£.1,232,649 2 5
and requested that speedy measures might be taken to pay off the same. Mr. Pitt told them, That he had made arrangements to pay off the 200,000l. which he had borrowed (as by his letter of the 25th of May, copied in the private minute book of the court), and also for the payment of 800,000l. out of the monies received on the last loan, for which he would take up exchequer bills to that amount on the vote of credit of 1795; and in consequence of these payments he hoped the bank would have patience to wait for the discharge of the advance on the treasury bills above-mentioned until the quarter ending the 5th of July, of the consolidated fund, when the surplus thereof should be applied to that purpose—

which the governor said he should refer to the court for their opinion.

(No. 21.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 21st of July, 1796.

Downing Street,

Wednesday, 20th of July, 1796.

Gentlemen,

AS the pressure of demands for the public service, at the present moment, prevents the payment in cash of the sum advanced by the bank on treasury bills, I should consider it as a great accommodation if the court would accept of exchequer bills on the vote of credit, to the amount of the sum now due beyond five hundred thousand pounds. I would also beg the favour of you to propose to the court, in order to guard against any farther excess on that point, that any farther sums to be advanced for treasury bills should be paid in exchequer bills, on the credit of the consolidated fund, at the end of each month. I am also under the indispensable necessity of expressing my earnest hope, that the court will be induced to make a present advance of eight hundred thousand pounds, on the credit of the consolidated fund, which will enable me to make provision for the present demands, and to pay immediately the four hundred thousand pounds lately advanced by the bank, and the navy bills now due. I shall also be obliged to request a farther advance of the like sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, on the same security, towards the end of the month of August. It gives me much concern to be obliged to apply for an accommodation to so large an extent; but I cannot too strongly represent how necessary it is

is for the public service: and I trust the very large re-payments which are secured to the bank in the course of the present year, will admit of their making these temporary advances at a period when they are peculiarly important.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Wm. Pitt.
Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

P. S. In case the bank should find it necessary (which I hope will not be the case) to dispose of any of the exchequer bills on the vote of credit, before provision is made for their discharge, and any loss should arise from their being at a discount in the market, I should of course propose that such a loss should be made good by the public.

After a debate on the subject of this letter, the court came to the following resolution thereon:

Resolved, That this court do consent to receive payment for the amount of advances on the treasury bills which have been and shall be paid before the first of August, beyond the sum of 500,000*l.* and which will be 867,700*l.* in exchequer bills issued on the vote of credit of the present year, under the stipulation of indemnity from loss on the sale proposed by Mr. Pitt, and to wave their claim of re-payment of the 500,000*l.* till the meeting of parliament; when the court will expect that this mode of paying treasury bills shall be totally done away.

Resolved, That the court do not consent to advance any more money for the payment of such bills which fall due after the first of August.

Resolved, That the court do consent to the other part of the letter, to advance the sum of eight

hundred thousand pounds on the credit of exchequer bills on the consolidated fund, on condition of being paid off the 400,000*l.* lately advanced to government, and the navy bills due and coming due; but they do not consent to advance the second sum of eight hundred thousand pounds in the month of August.

The governor, deputy governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Samuel Thornton, were desired by the court to carry up these resolutions to the chancellor of the exchequer; which they did as soon as the court broke up. And being admitted, they gave a copy of the resolutions to Mr. Pitt, who having read them attentively over, said, "He was obliged to the court for what they did grant, which he should accept of; but added, that it would be of no material use, in the present circumstances of the nation, unless the other requisitions which he had made were complied with. That he must refer the affair again in a more pointed manner to the reconsideration of the court, which he would do in a letter to be sent to the bank next Tuesday morning, for the previous deliberation of the committee; and that he would be glad to see the governor and deputy governor again before the next court should meet."

(No. 22.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 28th July, 1796.

Downing Street,

Wednesday, July 27th.

Gentlemen,

AFTER attentively considering the resolutions of your court, which
I re-

I received from you on Thursday last, I feel it an indispensable duty, however unwilling I am to urge any request which appears to them liable to any difficulty or objection, to represent to you, in the most earnest manner, that it will be impossible to avoid the most serious and distressing embarrassments to the public service, unless in addition to the accommodation which has been already agreed to for the present month, the court can consent to advance the second sum of 800,000*l.* in the month of August, and can also make provision for the payment of such farther treasury bills as may fall due in the next month, or as may be drawn payable in September and October. With respect to those for the two latter months, as none such have yet been accepted, I should hope an arrangement may be made for accepting them, payable at a period subsequent to October, by which means the inconvenience of the advance may possibly be in a great degree obviated. I must request you to take the first opportunity of laying this application before your court, and to state to them, that objects of the utmost importance to the public are involved in their determination upon it.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) W^M. PITT.
Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

Resolved, That this court do agree to advance, for the service of the public, the sum of 800,000*l.* towards the end of the month of August, on the security of exchequer bills to be issued under the act of parliament on the surplus of the consolidated fund; and that

such treasury bills as have been accepted, and shall fall due during the month of August, be likewise discharged on a deposit of like exchequer bills to be issued on the consolidated fund to an equal amount, which bills have been stated by the chancellor of the exchequer to be about the sum of 300,000*l.*

That this court do not engage to advance for any sum of treasury bills which may be drawn, and shall fall due after the month of August.

That this court do expect that the chancellor of the exchequer will give a promise that a new mode of paying the treasury bills shall be adopted immediately on the meeting of parliament, as this court will not continue the mode of discharging them any longer.

Resolved, That the court, having granted this accommodation with great reluctance, and contrary to their wishes, the governor be desired to present to Mr. Pitt, a copy of the following memorial; and request of him, that, for the justification of the court of directors, the same may be laid before his majesty's cabinet:

"The court of directors of the bank of England, fully sensible of the alarming and dangerous situation of the public credit of this kingdom, and deeply impressed with the communication lately made to them by the right honourable William Pitt, both by letter and in a conference with the governor and deputy governor, are very willing and desirous to do every thing in their power to support the national credit, and to enable his majesty's ministers to carry on the public service; but in complying with the request made to them by the right honourable William

liam Pitt, in his letter of the 27th instant, they think that they should be wanting in their duty to their proprietors, and to the public, if that compliance was not accompanied with the following most serious and solemn remonstrance; which, for the justification of their court, they desire may be laid before his majesty's cabinet.

" They beg leave to declare, that nothing could induce them, under the present circumstances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the dread that their refusal might be productive of a greater evil, and nothing but the extreme pressure and exigency of the case can in any shape justify them for acceding to this measure; and they apprehend, that in so doing they render themselves totally incapable of granting any farther assistance to government during the remainder of this year, and unable even to make the usual advances on the land and malt for the ensuing year, should those bills be passed before Christmas.

" They likewise consent to this measure, in a firm reliance that the repeated promises so frequently made to them, that the advances on the treasury bills should be completely done away, may be actually fulfilled at the next meeting of parliament, and the necessary arrangements taken to prevent the same from ever happening again, as they conceive it to be an unconstitutional mode of raising money, what they are not warranted by their charter to consent to, and an advance always extremely inconvenient to themselves."

(No. 23.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 9th Aug. 1796.

SOME lists of treasury bills ac-

cepted, payable at the bank, of which about 37,000*l.* fall due in September and October, being brought down to the bank, the governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention this matter to him; and to remind him, that the court had resolved not to pay any bills on the treasury due in those months, unless provision was made for the same by the treasury. Mr. Pitt thanked them for the attention, and told them, that it was meant to prepare money at the bank for the discharge of those bills.

(No. 24.)

At a Court of Directors at the Bank, on Thursday the 3d of November, 1796.

The following Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, addressed to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, having been read, viz.

Downing Street, Nov. 3, 1796.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE to request you to represent to your court, that it will contribute essentially to the public service, if they think proper, to advance the amount (as it may be wanted) of exchequer bills usually raised on the land and malt; and that I shall, in that case, be enabled to make provision for the payment of the balance now due on treasury bills, at such time and in such proportions as may be agreed upon by them.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) W^M. PITT.

Resolved, That the lords of the treasury be accommodated with the sum of 2,750,000*l.* on the land and

and malt taxes, 1797, on the following conditions: That the sum of 1,513,345*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* already advanced by the bank on treasury bills of exchange, be paid thereout; and that all the treasury bills directed to be paid at the bank, which shall fall due in the months of November and December, shall be discharged and satisfied by money to be sent down for the purpose: and that from the first day of January, 1797, provision shall be made, on notice that bills have been accepted to the amount of 100,000*l.* that money or exchequer bills to that amount shall be issued to the bank three days before the whole sum becomes due. The government was desired to inform the chancellor of the exchequer with the above resolution, and at the same time mention to him, that the court intended to adhere strictly to these terms, and hoped he would give directions that no alteration should take place respecting them.

(No. 25.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1*st* of February, 1797.

THE governor and deputy governor yesterday waited upon the chancellor of the exchequer, to represent to him how uneasy the court were at their large advances for government, and especially on the treasury bills paid, which now amounted to 1,554,635*l.* and would in a few days be augmented to 1,819,818*l.* and required that some effective measure should be immediately taken for the payment of the whole of this sum, as had been so seriously promised them should be done at the opening of this year.

Mr. Pitt acknowledged his intentions, and wish to have done it;

but said, that he had been prevented by the very pressing calls for various other services. He said, however, he would consider over his payments and resources, and would endeavour to form some plan, for the re-payment of the treasury bills, against the next day, when the governor and deputy governor were to wait upon him again about the business of the national stock. Accordingly, this day Mr. Pitt resumed the subject, and said, that he was endeavouring to sell exchequer bills; out of which he hoped to be able to pay about 300,000*l.* at present; which the governor wished him to do, that the bank might be provided for the bills now falling due. Mr. Pitt said, as to future payment he believed he could propose to pay every week about 150,000*l.* or in that proportion, until the whole sum now due was paid off. Mr. Pitt, however, hinted in conversation, that another large sum of bills had appeared from St. Domingo. The governor begged he would give us an idea to what amount they were. He said, about 700,000*l.* on which the governor expressed great apprehension about such an access to the present advance; and begged of Mr. Pitt to put off the acceptance of these fresh bills, or, at least, to protract the acceptance of them to a term of two months beyond their tenor; which, he said, he would consider about, and take his resolution.

The governor then desired Mr. Pitt to write a letter officially to him, and he would lay it before the court, and take their resolutions upon it. Mr. Pitt then hinted that he should want some money to send to Ireland, that he had been applied to for a large sum, but that 200,000*l.* in specie would be necessary.

liam Pitt, in his letter of the 27th instant, they think that they should be wanting in their duty to their proprietors, and to the public, if that compliance was not accompanied with the following most serious and solemn remonstrance; which, for the justification of their court, they desire may be laid before his majesty's cabinet.

"They beg leave to declare, that nothing could induce them, under the present circumstances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the dread that their refusal might be productive of a greater evil, and nothing but the extreme pressure and exigency of the case can in any shape justify them for acceding to this measure; and they apprehend, that in so doing they render themselves totally incapable of granting any farther assistance to government during the remainder of this year, and unable even to make the usual advances on the land and malt for the ensuing year, should those bills be passed before Christmas.

"They likewise consent to this measure, in a firm reliance that the repeated promises so frequently made to them, that the advances on the treasury bills should be completely done away, may be actually fulfilled at the next meeting of parliament, and the necessary arrangements taken to prevent the same from ever happening again, as they conceive it to be an unconstitutional mode of raising money, what they are not warranted by their charter to consent to, and an advance always extremely inconvenient to themselves."

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cepted, payable at the bank, of which about 37,000*l.* fall due in September and October, being brought down to the bank, the governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention this matter to him; and to remind him, that the court had resolved not to pay any bills on the treasury due in those months, unless provision was made for the same by the treasury. Mr. Pitt thanked them for the attention, and told them, that it was meant to prepare money at the bank for the discharge of those bills.

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I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) WM. PITT.

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Mr. Pitt acknowledged his intentions, and wish to have done it;

but said, that he had been prevented by the very pressing calls for various other services. He said, however, he would consider over his payments and resources, and would endeavour to form some plan, for the re-payment of the treasury bills, against the next day, when the governor and deputy governor were to wait upon him again about the business of the national stock. Accordingly, this day Mr. Pitt resumed the subject, and said, that he was endeavouring to sell exchequer bills; out of which he hoped to be able to pay about 300,000*l.* at present; which the governor wished him to do, that the bank might be provided for the bills now falling due. Mr. Pitt said, as to future payment he believed he could propose to pay every week about 150,000*l.* or in that proportion, until the whole sum now due was paid off. Mr. Pitt, however, hinted in conversation, that another large sum of bills had appeared from St. Domingo. The governor begged he would give us an idea to what amount they were. He said, about 700,000*l.* on which the governor expressed great apprehension about such an access to the present advance; and begged of Mr. Pitt to put off the acceptance of these fresh bills, or, at least, to protract the acceptance of them to a term of two months beyond their tenor; which, he said, he would consider about, and take his resolution.

The governor then desired Mr. Pitt to write a letter officially to him, and he would lay it before the court, and take their resolutions upon it. Mr. Pitt then hinted that he should want some money to send to Ireland, that he had been applied to for a large sum, but that 200,000*l.* in specie would be necessary.

necessary. The governor and deputy governor told him, that any farther drain of cash from the bank would, in these times, be very dangerous, as they acknowledged that the cash had been very materially lessened of late, and they therefore begged of him to try if 100,000*l.* would not be sufficient.

(No. 26.)
Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 3d of February, 1797.

THE governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention to him that his letter, which contained the engagement to liquidate the present advance on treasury bills, was yesterday laid before the court; who, after a long debate on the subject, had submitted to the plan as proposed by him; but that, by the direction of the court, they recommended a punctual performance of the payments promised — Which Mr. Pitt said should certainly be observed; and

that he had hopes of being able to pay it off, even quicker than he had proposed.

(No. 27.)
Resolution of the Court of Directors, and Deputation's Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 10th February, 1797.

THE committee met this day, and taking into their most serious consideration the certainty, which now threatens us, that Mr. Pitt will be obliged to bring forward here a loan for Ireland, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* and the evils which will probably follow on such a measure to this house, by the sending over to that country a great part of the sum in specie — they resolved to ask of Mr. Pitt, a considerable reduction of the bank's present advances to government, to be raised, as he hinted, by a new loan: and they made out a statement for that purpose to be presented to him, which was as follows:

Arrears of advance on land and malt, 1794	- - -	£. 337,000
Ditto ditto - - - 1795	- - -	491,000
Ditto ditto - - - 1796	- - -	2,392,000
Exchequer bills on vote of credit	- - -	968,800
Ditto on consolidated fund 1796	- - -	1,323,000
Treasury bills paid	- - -	1,674,645
		£. 7,186,445
Besides arrears of interest due, &c.	- - -	400,000

They desired that a deputation of the governor, deputy governor, Mr. Bosanquet, and Mr. S. Thornton, would go up to Mr. Pitt; and request, that if the Irish loan must take place, he would undertake first to arrange the re-payment of the above sum to the bank, as the only means which the committee can propose for the defence of the bank against the mischiefs they dread from the Irish loan.

And the committee also desired, that, if necessary, a special court of directors might be summoned to meet, on this business, on Monday next, at twelve o'clock, that the business may be brought before the court.

In consequence of the above resolution, the governor, and other gentlemen deputed, went to Mr. Pitt, shewed him the statement of the bank's demands on government,

ment, which they wished to have paid off, or so arranged before the settlement of the Irish loan. Mr. Pitt, on the article of the treasury bills, said, that he had already laid his plan for the discharge of that article, which he meant to adhere to, and that therefore this article might be left out of the present agreement; and that he would lay his plan for the liquidation of the rest, by an addition to the late voluntary loan; or by some other measure as might be most forcible. The deputation pressed on him the necessity of attending, in his plans, to the point of making the payments to the bank precede those which might be fixed for the Irish loan. They also informed him of their intention to call a special court of directors, to impart their business to them, which might be held on Monday or Tuesday next, as might best suit Mr. Pitt. He begged it might be called on Monday, as he said that Mr. Pelham, the secretary of state for Ireland, had been here some days on this business, and that it was of the utmost consequence that the matter should be fixed, and advice sent over to that country of it as soon as possible. On which the governor told Mr. Pitt, that a court of directors should be summoned for Monday; and requested, that he would furnish him with a letter, explanatory of the business, to be laid before the court; which Mr. Pitt promised should be sent to the bank either to-morrow, or on Sunday.

(No. 28.)

Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Opinions of the Court of Directors.

Downing Street, 15th Feb. 1797.

Gentlemen,

SINCE our last conversation I
1797.

have turned my attention to an idea, which has been suggested to me, of raising the money wanted for Ireland, as part of one loan, together with that which may be requisite here, and of leaving the time and mode of remittance to be settled between the English and Irish governments, according to circumstances. Such a measure might possibly prevent some inconvenience, which would arise from there being otherwise two loans on the market at the same time, and might also give better means of regulating the remittance in the manner least inconvenient. It would at the same time hardly fail to be acceptable to Ireland, as it would probably procure money for them at a much cheaper rate than they could otherwise borrow it. I have to request the favour of you to learn the sentiments of your court on this point, and to communicate to me the result.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

After a debate on the subject of this letter, it was the opinion of the court, that it might be better for the minister of this country to have the controul over the remittance of the sum intended for Ireland, than, by an open loan for Ireland, to leave in the power of that government to draw the money away, without any consideration of the case of the bank. And the governor and deputy governor, and Mr. S. Thornton, were desired to wait on Mr. Pitt with the following observation on his letter, as dictated by the court:

"It is the opinion of this court,
"That the plan of adding to the
"intended English loan, the sum
(O) "that

"that has been proposed to be
 "raised here for the government
 "of Ireland, and of making the
 "remittances at such periods, and
 "in such manner, as may be least
 "inconvenient, is preferable to the
 "raising an Irish loan in England
 "by itself, and fixing the payments
 "and remittances in a manner,
 "which cannot be varied accord-
 "ing to circumstances.

"But the court must repeat their
 "apprehensions, that any measure
 "which tends to carry money out
 "of the country, is replete with
 "alarming consequences to the
 "bank of England."

The paper containing the above
 was accordingly carried up to Mr.
 Pitt, who read it with attention,
 and then returned it.

(No. 29.)

Resolution of the Court of Direc-
 tors, 23d of February, 1797.

"Resolved, That it is the opi-
 "nion of this court, that the trea-
 "sury bills of exchange shall be
 "paid, which will become due in
 "the course of next week, to the
 "amount of about 150,000*l.* but
 "that no other treasury bills of ex-
 "change shall be paid by this
 "house, until money be issued to
 "the Bank to pay the same."

The governor and deputy gover-
 nor were desired to go and wait
 upon Mr. Pitt with the above reso-
 lution, as soon as the court broke
 up.

(No. 30.)

Addition to (No. 26.)

THE governor mentioned to
 Mr. Pitt, the great distress and in-
 convenience which the bank, the
 bankers, and the public, suffered
 for want of a fresh coinage of silver,
 and requested the chancellor of the
 exchequer to take some early mea-
 sures for a redress thereof by a new

coinage, at least of some part of
 what would be wanted.

(No. 31.)

Interview with the Chancellor of
 the Exchequer, 18th of Febru-
 ary, 1797.

THE governor and deputy go-
 vernor this day waited upon the
 chancellor of the exchequer, by his
 appointment; when he mentioned
 to them, that he was exceedingly
 pressed by the government of Ire-
 land, to allow them to raise a loan
 in this country; and he thought
 that about 1,500,000*l.* would be
 the sum. He knew it would be a
 difficult and unpleasant measure to
 be carried through, but thought it
 right to speak to the governor of
 the bank about it. The governor
 immediately told Mr. Pitt, that such
 a scheme must have the worst ef-
 fect possible; that it would cause
 the ruin of the bank; for that such
 a loan raised here would all be sent
 over in money to Ireland, and
 would drain much of our specie
 from us. Mr. Pitt desired that the
 matter might at present be only
 communicated to the committee of
 treasury, but not to the court of
 directors: which the governor pro-
 mised to do, and to wait upon him
 again to-morrow with Mr. Puget,
 as Mr. Pitt wished to speak with
 him also on the subject.

(No. 32.)

Interview with the Chancellor of
 the Exchequer, 9th of Febru-
 ary, 1797.

THE governor this day commu-
 nicated to the committee, the cir-
 cumstance mentioned by Mr. Pitt
 yesterday, about a farther loan for
 Ireland, which struck them all as
 likely to produce the most disas-
 trous consequences to the house.
 And the committee joined in opi-
 nion

nion fully, that the governor in his interview with Mr. Pitt to-day, should tell him, that under the present state of the bank's advances to government here, such a measure would threaten ruin to the house, and most probably bring us under the necessity to shut up our doors.

After the court this day, the governor, with Mr. S. Thornton (as the deputy could not attend), and Mr. Puget, waited on Mr. Pitt; who told them, that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which they foresaw by his carrying into execution a farther loan for Ireland, he found it to be a measure of government absolutely necessary; but that he would do every thing he could to obviate the difficulties, by making the bank more easy in other points; and he proposed to raise, by an addition to the present voluntary loan, or by other means, with the consent of the subscribers to that loan, whatever sum the bank might desire to be paid off from its advances to government. He proposed this, from an opinion that it was possibly in the power of the bank to render itself safe by the diminution of its outstanding notes; and he added that he wished this reduction of their notes to be effected by a diminution of their advances to government rather than by lessening their commercial discounts.

On the governor's stating, that in the event of the measure of an Irish loan being effected here, the bank would probably think it necessary to restrain their advances, both to government and to the public, by way of discount:—Mr. Pitt answered, He had rather pay back five millions to the bank, than that they should restrain their discounts three millions; or to that effect. Mr. Pitt expressed an opi-

nion that a good deal of the money that had been taken from this country last year was returned; and, perhaps, kept back in London, or in other parts of the kingdom, from whence he hoped to draw the resources he wants by a loan under the proposed circumstances. Some discussion took place with Mr. Puget, whether a part at least of the Irish loan might not be negotiated in Ireland: and reason was given to think that a trial for this would be made. Mr. Puget suggested, that a pecuniary assistance given by this government to the Irish government might be preferable to a loan, as the money might be demanded back when there was pressing occasion for it: but Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that if the necessity to call it back should arise, Ireland would not be able to pay it; whereas he hoped the specie would find its way back, by the regular course of trade, as soon as the internal state of that country would permit.

Mr. Pitt proposed that the repayment to the bank should be made proportionate to the instalments on the Irish loan, or to exceed them considerably if desired: also that no discount for prompt payment should be made on the Irish loan.

On their return from Mr. Pitt, the governor ordered a committee to be summoned to meet to-morrow, on very special affairs, at 12 o'clock.

(No. 33.)

Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 13th of February, 1797.

AT a court of directors held this day on special affairs, the governor laid before the court the matter which had been proposed to the

(O 2) committee

committee of the treasury by Mr. Pitt, and which had been the subject of the several minutes of the committee on the 8th, 9th, and 10th instant, in their private book; and the governor then read to the court the following letter, which he had received from the chancellor of the exchequer, viz.

Downing Street, Feb. 10, 1797.

Gentlemen,

I have to request you to acquaint your court, that from the representations received from Ireland, it appears indispensable, for the public service, that a loan should be raised here, for the use of that government, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* on which I understand a considerable deposit will be requisite about the end of March. I am fully sensible that, in the present situation, such a loan might produce great temporary inconvenience here; and unless some measures were adopted to guard against its possible effects, might make it appear necessary for the bank, from prudence and precaution, to restrain the accommodation which they now give to the commerce of the country, within much narrower limits than is desirable. In order to avoid this great inconvenience, and at the same time to be enabled to provide for the urgent demands from Ireland, which are connected with the greatest interest and safety, to prevent farther embarrassments in the vigorous exertions which the present crisis may require; it may, I think, be expedient to propose to parliament to raise money sufficient for paying off fix (or if it should be thought necessary) seven millions (including the treasury bills) of the sum now outstanding due from the public to the bank. So great a reduction of their advances must, I trust,

render them much more at ease, as to the effect of other operations. I wish also to have it understood, that I should propose the re-payments to be received by the bank, to take place by instalments, at least as early, and to as great an amount, as any remittance that could be made to Ireland, under the instalments to be fixed for that loan. I shall be extremely glad to know the sentiments of the court on that subject, and to confer with you, and any other gentlemen of the court, on any point which may require explanation, and on the best means of carrying the measure into execution, if it meets with the concurrence of the court.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

Governor and Deputy }
Governor of the Bank. }

The court received this communication with great uneasiness, from an apprehension of the bad consequences which would, in all probability, arise to the bank from the remittance of such a sum to Ireland, and the great drain of cash which it would occasion; and after a very serious debate upon the subject, they came to the following resolution, viz.

“Resolved, That the court is of
“an opinion, that the re-payment
“of seven millions of the money
“advanced by the bank to govern-
“ment will be of very essential ser-
“vice to this house: but the court
“is nevertheless extremely appre-
“hensive that the negotiating the
“proposed loan for Ireland in this
“country, will necessarily endan-
“ger the safety of the bank of
“England, by the large drains of
“cash which it must occasion for
“the remittance of that sum to Ire-
“land.”

The

The governor and deputy governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Bosanquet, were deputed by the court to wait upon the chancellor of the exchequer with this resolution; and they took with them a copy of it in a paper sealed up, that in case Mr. Pitt should require it to be left with him to shew it to the cabinet, it might be in a situation guarded from the eyes of the people in office. The deputation waited on Mr. Pitt when the court broke up, and waited till he came home; when, being admitted, the governor told him, that a special court had been held on the subject, and that he and the other gentlemen were deputed to bring him the resolution of the court upon it; which Mr. Pitt read attentively; and desiring to have a copy left with him, the one sealed up was given to him, which he was desired by the governor to return to him when he had communicated it to the cabinet. In the conversation which took place afterwards, the governor asked if it was not possible that a part of the 1,500,000*l.* could be raised in Ireland for its own use! Mr. Pitt said, that the sum mentioned was all expected from this country—that a farther sum was wanted in the whole; but that the Irish government hoped to raise the remainder in that country. On the subject of the loan to be raised here to pay off the above sum to the bank, Mr. Pitt said, he meant to make it equal, not only to that purpose, but to set him at his ease for other parts of the public service, which he had not been able to calculate with sufficient exactitude on bringing out the last loan. That he meant to raise this additional sum in the same funds, and, if possible, by the same subscribers, to whom proposals would be made, with an

allowance for their loss on the former engagement: and that if he was disappointed in this expectation, he must take other measures, as usual.

After this, the governor asked of Mr. Pitt if it could not be made compatible with the forms of office, that when the payments should come to be made on this proposed loan, the money might be retained at once by the bank, as far as was intended for the liquidation of their advances, without being sent up to the exchequer, as was hitherto practised, which mode had often caused a delay of many days; and once last year a total disappointment of the sum? Mr. Pitt said, that he saw no reason why this routine of office should not be altered—that he would think of it, and order another arrangement.

(No. 34.)

Resolution of the Court of Directors, and Deputation's Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 21st of Feb. 1797.

THE committee observing, with great uneasiness, the large and constant decrease in the cash, held a particular consultation on that subject this day; and on examination into the state of the cash since the beginning of this year, they found that in the course of the month of January there had been a decrease of £ and since the beginning of this month a farther loss of £ and that the cash was now reduced to between and about £ value, in bullion and foreign coin, and about the value of £ in silver bullion. Perceiving also, by the constant calls of the bankers from all parts of the town for cash, that there must be some extraordinary

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nary reasons for this drain, arising probably from the alarms of an expected invasion; the committee, after maturely considering the matter, resolved to send a notice to the chancellor of the exchequer, of the situation of matters at the bank: and to explain exactly to him how the cash is circumstanced, that he may, if possible and proper, strike out some means of alleviating the public alarms, and stopping this apparent disposition in people's minds for having a large deposit of cash in their houses. The governor, deputy governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. B-sanquet, were deputed to wait upon Mr. Pitt; who went to him; and after describing to him the anxiety of mind which all the directors were under on this subject, they explained to Mr. Pitt the exact particulars above-mentioned. Mr. Pitt seemed aware that this unusual drain of cash from the bank must arise from the alarm of an invasion, which he observed was now become much more general than he could think necessary. He said, that by all his informations he could not learn of any hostile preparations of consequence making in France to invade this country, except the fleet which was re-fitting at Brest, after being driven off from the coast of Ireland; but that he could not answer that no partial attack on this country would be made by such a mad and desperate enemy as we had to deal with. The deputation pressed on Mr. Pitt to declare something of this kind in parliament, in order to ease the public mind.

The deputation then mentioned to him the necessity of bringing forward the new loan, out of which the re-payment of the seven millions to the bank was to be made, as in the present emergency it was

of the utmost consequence that our advances should be contracted as soon as possible. He said, he was occupied on that point, and hoped, in a couple of days, to have his plan so arranged as to be able to call the gentlemen together, with whom it might be necessary to negotiate for a new loan. Mr. Pitt also mentioned, that he hoped the committee would, in the present situation of matters, think it necessary to endeavour at obtaining a supply of gold from foreign countries, which the governor told him they were considering about, and should do what they could therein.

(No. 35.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 22d Feb. 1797.

Messrs. Goldsmid and Ellison attended the committee this day, and were directed to give farther orders to Hamburgh for the purchase of gold; and were told that an application would immediately be made to the minister to order a frigate or armed sloop to go to Hamburgh to take in such gold as might be bought, and also to desire that the restriction on the captains of the packets, not to take any gold on board at Hamburgh for this country, might be taken off. The governor and deputy governor waited on Mr. Pitt on this subject, who promised to apply to the admiralty for directions about sending out a frigate or armed sloop; and that he would apply to the postmaster general to give the orders to the captains of the packets.

The governor pressed Mr. Pitt again on the subject of the treasury bills, and told him, that he feared the Court would not agree to pay the treasury bills, which fall due next week.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt said, he would send 50,000*l.* to the bank in part provision thereof, but that he did not think he could raise the money to the full amount of the bills due.

(No. 36.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 24th of February, 1797.

AT a committee of the whole court held this day, it appeared that the loss of cash yesterday was above £.

and that about £. were already drawn out this day, which gave such an alarm for the safety of the house, that the deputy governor and Mr. Bosanquet were desired to wait on Mr. Pitt to mention to him these circumstances, and to ask him how far he thought the bank might venture to go on paying cash, and when he would think it necessary to interfere before our cash was so reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate service of the state. Mr. Pitt said, this was a matter of great importance, and that he must be prepared with some resolution to bring forward in the council, for a proclamation to stop the issue of cash from the bank, and to give the security of parliament to the notes of the bank. In consequence of which he should think it might be proper to appoint a secret committee of the house of commons to look into the state of the bank affairs; which they assured him the bank were well prepared for, and would produce to such a committee. Mr. Pitt also observed, that he should have no objection to propose to parliament, in case of a proclamation, to give parliamentary security for bank notes. The governor and deputy governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention

to him, that it would in the present circumstances be highly requisite that some general meeting of the bankers and chief merchants of London should be held, in order to bring on some resolution for the support of the public credit in this alarming crisis; and they took the liberty to recommend to Mr. Pitt, to have a private meeting of some of the chief bankers at his house to-morrow, at three o'clock, in which the plan for a more general meeting on Tuesday or Wednesday next might be laid; in the propriety of which Mr. Pitt agreed, and said he would summon a previous meeting for to-morrow accordingly. This was communicated by the governor to the committee.

ANSWER to (No. 1.)

ON the communication of the resolution (No. 1.) on the 17th of January 1795, the chancellor of the exchequer expressed his thanks for the communication; and said, he should arrange his measures in conformity: but that though he was going to reduce immediately the sum of the treasury bills, it might not be in his power to bring them down to the sum stipulated, till after the first payment of the loan.

ANSWER to (No. 2.)

THE chancellor of the exchequer having read the paper, seemed fully convinced of the propriety of the representation; and declared, that it should have been attended to on his part before, but that in the multiplicity of public affairs it had been forgotten. He, however, said, that it should be complied

plied with out of hand, and that he would order 1,200,000*l.* to be paid to the bank, on that account, immediately.

ANSWER to (No. 4.)

ON presenting this paper, Mr. Pitt said, it was not his fault that the account had not been diminished, for he had ordered, some time since, two warrants to be made out, amounting to above 600,000*l.* which were now completing, and would soon come down to us; shewing, at the same time, the preparatory parts thereof. The governor then replied, that 600,000*l.* would not nearly reduce the amount to the agreed sum; that our calls had lately been so great, with large drains of cash and bullion, as made us earnestly wish to lessen our credits, as much as possible; and then he wished Mr. Pitt would, without particular inconvenience to himself, name a day from whence the resolution of the court should take place. The deputy-governor asked, if Mr. Pitt could do this next Monday (when the chairs were to meet him on the national-stock business)? He replied, he could not, he believed, be ready to do it by that time; but he might probably then inform us farther about it; and added his hope, that the bank did not, for this year, mean to restrict him from the credit of 500,000*l.* on treasury bills.

ANSWER to (No. 5.)

MR. PITT acknowledged, That he had not, in his note of Wednesday last, entered into any particulars about the payment of the treasury bills; but that he meant, if the bank assisted him with the two

millions and an half in question, on exchequer bills, payable out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, in the quarters for October next and the April following, he did mean to pay part of the bank's advance on the treasury bills out of that money; but he hoped that the whole of it would not be required, but that it should be provided for out of other funds.—The governor then observed to him, how frequent promises had been given to reduce this advance to the limit of 500,000*l.* which had never yet been carried into effect; and begged leave to represent, how desirous the bank court was, to have the payment of the treasury acceptances otherwise arranged than at the bank; which Mr. Pitt said, should be taken up on a future occasion. The governor said, he could not engage for any thing; but he knew how desirous the court always was to assist the government; though a provident care for their establishment must precede all other objects. Mr. Pitt observed on this, that the welfare of the bank, we must suppose, was an object of equal importance to him as to us. The governor then added, that though he did not engage for the court, if Mr. Pitt could promise that two millions of the sum now asked for should be applied to extinguish so much of the advance on the treasury bills, he believed it might be acceded to. Mr. Pitt replied, that he could not answer for so large a part being paid immediately; but that he would, on this information, draw up a new letter to the court, to be considered next Thursday; and he wished to see the two governors at twelve o'clock on Tuesday next, to submit to them the plan of his letter;

letter: and the governor and deputy promised to wait on him at that time accordingly.

ANSWERS to (No. 7.)

AFTER Mr. Pitt had read this paper, with great attention, twice, he began by expressing his satisfaction and approbation of the measure of communicating such matters to him; saying, that he would most certainly frame his arrangements in a manner that might enable him to remove our fears, and prevent unpleasant consequences; and that he would endeavour to do this in such a manner as should produce no alarm; strongly recommending to the court of directors to use every possible precaution to prevent that also.

The governor then said, That he hoped Mr. Pitt did not conceive it to be the intention of the court to refuse the advance of the land and malt, 1796; but only that it was their wish to protract it for some time. Mr. Pitt said, he understood it so, and should avoid applying for it until it might be more suitable to the bank. He also said, he should certainly re-imburse a million of the treasury bills, and repay the 1,100,000l. as soon as the accounts were made up; and, if necessary, the 1,400,000l. remaining should be re-imbursed.

The governor mentioned to him, the drain of cash to Ireland, the calls for the West-India armament, and the probability of soon perceiving those that may be occasioned by the claimants of the neutral ships being re-imbursed: in all which he seemed to concur. Then the governor stated to him, that the price of gold being so much above the value of our guineas, must necessarily impress his mind with the unavoidable

consequences. The chancellor of the exchequer viewed this in a most serious light.

The governor then mentioned the probability of the claims of the American ships taken in the West Indies soon coming to a hearing, and which he said, from report, would amount to near four millions. Mr. Pitt agreed that appeals were soon to be made, but he did not think the amount would come up to such a sum. The governor then resumed the subject of the treasury bills; and hoped, that after the meeting of parliament, Mr. Pitt would so arrange matters as to prevent their continuing to be paid by the bank in the manner lately adopted. His reply was, that this object would soon cease; their amount seemed to have impressed his mind with a design to discontinue the service that occasioned them; the troops were about to return home. He candidly acknowledged, that the expense of our troops on the continent had been enormous; and intimated, that the bent and operation of the war, as long as it did still continue, would be naval, and in the West Indies.

The governor then made his acknowledgments to Mr. Pitt, for the indulgence of so much time as he had given to him and the deputy-governor. The chancellor of the exchequer said, he was going out of town to-morrow, for a week, and at his return would be glad to see the governors again, if any thing material should occur.

Report from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed by the House of Lords to examine and state the total Amount of outstanding Demands on the Bank of England, and likewise of the Funds for discharging the same,

same, and to report the Result thereof to the House, together with their Opinion on the Necessity of providing for the Confirmation and Continuance of Measures taken in pursuance of the Minute of Council on the 26th of February last.

Ordered to report,

THAT the committee having, in pursuance of the order of the house, proceeded to take into their consideration the several matters referred to them, have agreed to report thereon as follows :

With respect to the first part of the order of the house, by which they are directed to examine and report the total amount of outstanding demands on the bank of England, and likewise of the funds for discharging the same, they called upon the governor of the bank, and upon Mr. Bosanquet, one of the directors of the bank (who attended them in the absence of the deputy governor), for an account to that effect ; which account having, by them, been produced to the committee, was verified by the deputy accountant of the bank ; and the same having been examined by the committee, it was agreed to report the result thereof to the house, as follows :

That the total amount of outstanding demands on the bank, on the 25th day of February last, was 13,770,390*l.*; and that the total amount of the funds for discharging those demands, over and above the permanent debt due from government of 11,686,800*l.* was, on the same day of February last, 17,597,280*l.*; and that the result is, that there was, on the 25th day of February last, a surplus of effects belonging to the bank beyond the total of their debts, amounting to the sum of 3,826,890*l.* over and

above the before-mentioned permanent debt of 11,686,800*l.* due from government.

The committee think it right to observe, that this account is made up to the 25th of February inclusive; and that since that day, several considerable issues have been made by the bank in bank-notes, both upon government securities, and in discounting bills, the particulars of which could not immediately be made up; but that, as those issues were upon corresponding securities, taken with the usual care and attention, the actual balance in favour of the bank has not been materially varied, but, if at all, has been rather increased.

In proceeding to the consideration of the second part of the order of reference, in which the committee are directed to report to the house their opinion on the necessity of providing for the confirmation and continuance of the measures taken in pursuance of the minute of council of the 26th of February, the committee have thought it right to confine their inquiries to those points only on which that necessity appeared to them principally to depend; and having examined to these points the governor of the bank, and the said Mr. Bosanquet (one of the directors thereof), the committee find,

That the bank of England has lately experienced an unusual drain of cash.

That this drain was owing, in great part, to demands for cash, from the country; such demands being made upon the bank indirectly from the country, but directly from the bankers of London, who are to supply the country.

That by the effect of this drain,
the

the cash of the bank has been of late very considerably reduced; that it has, however, been known, by those conversant in the affairs of the bank, to be a great deal lower; but that on this occasion the rapidity of the demands has been unparalleled.

That those demands have been of late progressively increasing, but particularly in the last week: and that in the two last days of that week, the demands exceeded those of the four preceding days.

That there was every reason to apprehend that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash, would continue, and even increase.

That by the effect of such reduction, if it were to continue in the same, or in a still farther increased proportion, the bank of England would be deprived of the means of supplying the cash which might be necessary for pressing exigencies of public service; and this led the bank to make the communication they did to his majesty's ministers.

And lastly, that since the date of the minute of council above mentioned, no such alteration has occurred as materially to vary the situation of the bank in this respect.

On this view of the present state of the important question referred to them, the committee have agreed to report it to the house as their opinion, that it is necessary to continue and confirm the measures already taken, for such time, and under such limitations and restrictions, and with such power of discontinuing the same, as to the wisdom of parliament may seem expedient.

The Lords of the Committee

Think proper to conclude their report, with a summary of the chief points which have occurred in their inquiry respecting the causes that produced the order of council of the 26th of February last, as resulting from the evidence taken by them, and from the accounts laid before them.

In order to render the subsequent details relative to this important subject more intelligible, the committee think it right to begin, with taking a general view of the state of the circulation of the kingdom.

It appears by the evidence, that the circulation of this kingdom, by which its immense commerce is carried on, consists, principally, in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, either of the notes of the bank of England, or of coin chiefly made of gold.—In the country (where the notes of the bank of England did not circulate to any great amount), it consists of the bills of country bankers, or of the banking companies in Scotland, payable to bearer on demand; and of coin of the description before mentioned.

Inland bills of exchange are thought, by many, to be a part of the circulation of the kingdom. They are not strictly so, in the same sense as the two sorts of paper before mentioned. They are rather transfers of debts, from the drawers to the persons on whom the bills are drawn. They are generally made payable at distant periods; and as they are not payable at all times on demand, they cannot, like the former, answer all the purposes of cash.

In the metropolis, the quantity of

of paper much exceeds the quantity of coin in circulation. The committee have no sufficient means before them, to judge of the proportion of cash and paper, in the metropolis; except as far as any inference can be drawn from the quantity of cash paid at the bank, compared with the amount of the notes issued by that corporate body, as stated in the evidence of Mr. Newland, principal cashier of the bank; and particularly from the proportion of cash paid quarterly at the bank, in discharge of the dividends of the public stocks, a part of which only is received by bankers, the remainder by persons of every description.

But in the country, and particularly in those parts of it where no considerable manufactures are established, and no great commercial enterprise is carried on, there is reason to conclude, that the quantity of paper exceeds in a less proportion the coin in circulation, than in the metropolis. It must vary according to circumstances of time or place; and the committee have no information which enables them to form a judgment on this subject. It can hardly, however, be doubted, that there is too little of British coin, particularly of silver, current in the kingdom, from a cause which will be hereafter stated.

The bank of England is at the head of all circulation. It is the great repository of the spare cash of the nation, and alone carries bullion to the Mint to be coined. It is subject, on that account, to be called on for cash, directly or indirectly, by those who are in want of it, and is necessarily sensible of every material failure or distress, which arises from any defi-

ciency or want of coin, in every part of this kingdom of Ireland.

It appears that the circulation of paper was carried to its greatest height, a short time previous to the beginning of the year 1793.

But early in that year, a great diminution took place, in the circulation of country bank bills, from the sudden failure of many of the country banks. Mr. Ellifson states, that previous to this period there were about two hundred and eighty country banks in England and Wales, and that he does not believe they exceed at present two hundred and thirty; the business of which has by no means increased, in proportion to the reduction of the number—and that the issue of country bank bills has considerably diminished—that the quantity of specie actually kept by the present country bankers, is at this time larger than it was before the year 1793, and that they have lessened their balances with the London bankers.

Mr. Thornton's evidence confirms the account given by Mr. Ellifson, of the failure of the country banks in 1793, and of the consequent diminution of the circulation of country bank bills at that time—subsequent to this event, these country bank bills increased again in some degree, but never to their former extent. Both Mr. Thornton and Mr. Ellifson are of opinion, that considerable quantities of cash must have been drawn from the metropolis into the country, in order to supply the deficiency of these country bank bills.

In the beginning of the year 1793, when, from the causes before mentioned, the circulation of this kingdom began to be so much diminished,

diminished, the present war commenced. A state of war always requires a more ample circulation, even within the kingdom. The public loans, which in all wars are necessary, and in the present war have been particularly great, employ a considerable proportion of the circulating capital. The present increased value of money, which is sufficiently proved by the high rate of interest, clearly shows what must be the demand for it, and consequently, the scarcity of it. But during the present war, it is worthy of remark, that expensive enterprises of a private nature have not diminished, as in all former wars, but even augmented. It appears by an account inserted in this report, that the number of bills of inclosure which passed in the four years preceding the present war was one hundred and thirty-eight, and that the number which have passed during the four years of the war was two hundred and eighty-three. That the number of bills for navigations and canals, which passed in the four years preceding the present war was thirty, and that the number which have passed during the four years of the war was sixty-nine. And farther, that the sum authorised to be borrowed for the making those canals and navigations, was in the first four years 2,377,200*l.*; and in the last period of four years 7,415,100*l.*

But the demand of money for public expenses abroad, more particularly applies to the present subject: the loan made to the emperor in the year 1795 of 4,600,000*l.*—The subsidies paid to foreign princes, — the money remitted for the pay of British troops, or foreign troops in British pay, while this kingdom had an army on the continent; and the advances made to

the court of Vienna; together with the money sent to the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, for the pay of British troops there; if they did not all together draw British coin out of the country, in any great amount, must at least have prevented that influx of coin or bullion which, in consequence of a favourable balance of commerce, would have otherwise supplied the circulation of the kingdom. Mr. Boyd, however, in his evidence, states, that in remitting the imperial loan, as well as the late advances to the emperor, he never sent any British coin out of the kingdom (which could not indeed legally be done); and that in remitting the said loan, he sent in foreign coin or bullion, to the amount only of about 1,200,000*l.* That the remainder of the loan, and the whole of the advances, were remitted in bills of exchange. It is obvious, however, that the drains occasioned by expenditure abroad for the purposes before mentioned (large as the amount of them may have been), are nothing more than what has happened in all former wars, in which the government of Great Britain has found it essential for its interests, to maintain armies on the European continent, or at any great distance from the kingdom.

It appears by an account inserted in this report, that all the remittances made for the services of the war in the West-Indies, on the continent of Europe, in the island of Corsica, and other distant parts of the world, amounted, during the four last years, to (vide Account No. 24.) 33,510,779*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* It appears by another account (No. 23.) inserted in this report, which has distinguished the sums expended on the European continent,

ment, from what were expended in other distant parts of the world, that the total of the money expended on the continent of Europe during the said four years, including the imperial loan, and the advances made to the emperor, amounted to 14,988,422l. os. 8½d.

It appears lastly, by a third account (No. 22.) inserted in this report, that the sums paid for all sorts of military services on the continent during the war ending in 1763, amounted to 20,626,997l. os. 7d.

To the sums sent, during the present war, to the European continent, to the West Indies, and the Cape of Good Hope, for military purposes, should be added, the sums drawn for by the commanders of our fleets on foreign service, in every part of the world.

It appears, on the other hand, by the accounts of the value of the imports and exports for the last twenty years, produced by Mr. Irving, inspector-general of imports and exports, that the demand for cash to be sent abroad, for the purposes before mentioned, was greatly compensated by a very large balance of commerce in favour of this kingdom, greater than was ever known in any preceding period. The value of the exports of the last year amounted, according to the valuation on which the accounts of the inspector-general are founded, to 30,424,184l.; which is more than double what it was in any year of the American war, and one third more than it was on an average during the last peace, previous to the year 1792; and though the value of the imports to this country has, during the same period, greatly increased, the excess of the value of the exports above that of the imports, which constitutes

the balance of trade, has augmented even in a greater proportion.

It is particularly observable, that the exports to Germany alone, for the two last years, have amounted to more than 8,000,000l. annually; when, in time of peace, they did not usually amount to more than 1,900,000l. And those exports to Germany exceed an amount, by at least 2,600,000l. the whole that was annually exported in time of peace, to France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany.

The house will see in the evidence of Mr. Irving, much information, for the purpose of shewing that all our principal articles of export, particularly those which consist of British manufactures, are greatly under-rated in their value, as well as many capital articles of import. Coffee is the only material article which appears to be over-rated in the books of the inspector-general; it is more over-rated on exportation, than on importation. The valuation, upon which the accounts of the inspector-general are founded, was settled in the year 1696 or 1697, when the prices of all these articles were greatly inferior to what they are at present, and before our manufactures had received the improvements which have been made in them of late years, so that the real value of both our imports and exports, particularly of the latter, is certainly considerably higher than is stated in his accounts. The house will also see many excellent observations, in the evidence of this gentleman, for the purpose of correcting the manner of taking the true balance of our trade. He observes, that in forming this balance, many articles of import are stated as unfavourable to this country, when they are in fact accessions of wealth, such as the produce

duce of our various fisheries, and a considerable part of the imports from our possessions in the East and West Indies. The whole of the produce of these fisheries is certainly an accession of national wealth. So much thereof as is imported directly into this country, must be considered as an increase of stock to it: the value of such parts as are sent directly from the fishing places to foreign countries, and sold there, is either remitted in bills of exchange, which is wealth; or it is laid out in the purchase of commodities, to be imported into this country, which is an increase of stock. This produce is procured, not by any wealth sent from this country, but by the adventurous enterprise of our fishermen; and the value of such produce, when it is sent directly from the fishing places to foreign countries, cannot appear in any custom-house account. In like manner, a considerable part of the imports from the East and West Indies, ought not to be stated, in the balance of our commerce, as unfavourable to this country, particularly such parts of the investments in the East Indies, as are purchased by the revenues of the British settlements there; as well as those parts, which are imported either from the East or West Indies, for the purpose of remitting private fortunes acquired there, or as the incomes of persons, who, having estates or mortgages in the West Indies, reside and spend their incomes in Great Britain. The value of such part of these imports, as is re-exported, will appear on the export side of the account, and serves to balance the value of the same articles, as stated on the import side; and the whole of the mercantile profit, which they leave behind, is in it-

self a considerable accession of wealth to this kingdom, that cannot appear in the custom-house accounts.

Mr. Irving has delivered it as his opinion, that the true balance of our trade amounted, on a medium of the four years preceding January 1796, to upwards of 6,500,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the profits arising from our East and West India trade, which he estimates at upwards of 4,000,000*l.* per annum; and exclusive of the profits derived from our fisheries.

But whatever uncertainty may still remain, in forming an estimate of the true balance of our commerce in any particular year, the accounts of the inspector-general of imports and exports, serve at least to afford a good comparative state of the amount of our commerce in different years; for it is fair to presume, that the defects are not greater in the accounts of one year than of another.

Great however as this balance of commerce may appear, it would have been still greater in a very considerable degree, but from the unusual scarcity of grain, which made it necessary both for government and individuals, to import large quantities of grain, for the relief of the inhabitants of this kingdom. In an account delivered by Mr. Claude Scott, an eminent corn factor, it appears, that for the three years preceding the 5th of January 1797, there were paid to foreign countries, for grain imported into this kingdom, the following sums, viz.

In 1794	-	£. 1,983,856
In 1795	-	1,535,672
In 1796	-	3,926,484
		7,446,012
		Add,

Add, imported in 1793, as estimated by Mr. Scott in his evidence before the committee

1,500,000

Total £ 8,946,012

This balance of commerce was also rendered less favourable, by the great sums paid for naval stores during the war, beyond what are usually paid in time of peace. It appears by an account presented by the commissioners of his majesty's navy, that the value of naval stores imported on account of his majesty's navy, in the four years previous to 1797, amounted to

£. 7,825,876

And in the four years preceding 1793,

amounted only to

2,500,139

Excess

£. 5,325,737

And it appears by an account presented, of the amount of bills drawn on the commissioners for victualling, from foreign parts, in the four years ending the 5th of January 1797, that they amounted to

£. 1,368,921

And in the four years ending the 5th of January 1793, to

134,629

1,234,292

Total Excess £. 6,560,029

Though it cannot be doubted that the balance of our trade, even with these deductions, must have brought great wealth, in various articles of commerce, into this kingdom, and that unusual quantities of foreign merchandise must, in consequence thereof, have been deposited in it; yet it may be doubted, whether it brought so great a quantity of the precious metals, to be converted into coin, as in former periods; for it appears in the evidence of sir John Hort, who was his majesty's consul general in Portugal for twenty-nine years, and of Mr. Whitmore, an eminent Portuguese merchant, that the importation of gold and silver bullion, from Lisbon into this kingdom, has been less than it was formerly: and that the exchange between Lisbon and London, which used formerly to be greatly in favour of London, has of late, from a variety of circum-

stances, been sometimes in favour of, and sometimes against, this country; and, for the last three years, more against this country than in its favour, from causes which are fully explained in the evidence of those gentlemen. Mr. Whitmore adds, that the quantity of silver which has of late been imported, has greatly exceeded the quantity of gold. But as the Mint price of silver bullion has been, during nearly the whole of the present century, considerably less than the market price of this precious metal, the silver bullion so imported could not be converted into coin, but after having left a quantity sufficient for the use of our manufactures, must have again been exported, and did not contribute in the smallest degree to augment the coin of this kingdom.

The accounts presented by the officers of the Mint, of the quantity

ntity of bullion coined in the last four years, show that the quantity coined at the Mint in 1795, amounted only to 493,416l. and in 1796, to 464,680l. which is not more than a sixth of what was brought to the Mint to be coined in the two preceding years, and greatly inferior to what had been coined upon an average of the former years of his majesty's reign.

By an account presented by Mr. Irving, of the quantity of bullion exported from this country from the year 1790 to 1796, both inclusive, it appears that the quantity of gold bullion exported on an average, in the four last years, being years of war, is not a third of what was annually exported on an average in the three preceding years of peace; and that the quantity of silver bullion exported in the four last years, being years of war, is also not a third of what was annually exported on an average in the three preceding years of peace; and this account receives a certain degree of confirmation, from the accounts delivered in by the East-India company, of the amount of Spanish dollars exported by the company, or permitted by the company to be exported by private persons, which prove that in the last three years the amount of Spanish dollars exported, has been less than usual.

The committee wished to throw farther light on this subject, by obtaining an account of the amount of gold and silver coin or bullion imported into this kingdom, in the before-mentioned periods; but they find, that by a law passed in the 15th year of the reign of his late majesty Charles II. ch. 7. sec. 12. coin and bullion are exempted from entry at the custom-house, on importation into this kingdom: so

that the officers of the customs could not produce an account of any such importation.

There are, however, other circumstances in evidence before the committee, which may have contributed to render less perceptible, hitherto at least, the advantages arising from the influx of wealth into this kingdom, in consequence of a favourable balance of trade.

It was observed by Henry Thornton, esq. (and it is indeed self-evident), that in proportion as the commerce of this country increases, a greater capital is necessary for carrying it on; and also, that any given quantity of commerce, in time of war, by the increased expenses of freight, insurance, and mercantile charges, requires a greater capital than the same quantity of commerce in time of peace. These two circumstances must have had considerable influence, in the course of the last three years, upon the circulating cash and paper of the kingdom, especially when it is considered, that, from causes already assigned, the circulation of paper was considerably diminished; and Mr. Bosanquet, a bank director, in assigning the causes of the great pressure on the bank, for want of cash, in the year 1783, is of opinion that the drain of cash at that time proceeded from the great extension of commerce which followed the peace, and which occasioned so large an export of the commodities of this country, that the circulation was hardly sufficient to support it.

It appears lastly, by the evidence of the bank directors, that in consequence of the long credit given by our merchants, the payments for the great quantities of our manufactures, produce, and other merchandise exported, do not take

(P)

place

place till a considerable time after their exportation, though a great additional capital has been previously employed, in providing the articles so exported. The balance of payments, which arises out of the balance of trade, is necessarily posterior to it, and in countries like Great Britain, where long credits are given, it may not produce its full effect upon our circulation, for a considerable time.

The result of all the various circumstances before stated, does not appear, on the whole, to have produced any permanent disadvantageous effect on the cash of the bank, till the month of September 1795: the cash of the bank had, indeed, been much lower than usual in March and June 1793; but it rose in the September of that year nearly to its usual average. From September 1795, however, it continued progressively declining, so as to be, during the whole of the year 1796, considerably less than in the year 1795, but not lower at the end of 1796 than in the middle of that year; and in the commencement of the present year, still less than in the year 1796 — and in the week preceding the issuing of the order of council, it diminished rapidly: It was not, however, even at that period, in any degree so low as in the year 1783, and particularly in the month of October of that year.

The conferences between the chancellor of the exchequer, and the governor and deputy governor of the bank, on the apprehensions they entertained of the diminution of their cash, and the representations made by them, from time to time, on the effect which foreign loans and remittances had on the state of their cash, will appear by

the evidence of the said governor and deputy governor, and other directors of the bank, when they attended the committee, either as a deputation, or in their individual capacity, as well as from the minutes of those conferences, and the copies of the resolutions delivered by them to the chancellor of the exchequer: — it will appear also, from the evidence of the chancellor of the exchequer, and from the letters written by him to the governor of the bank; all which are inserted in this report, and to which the committee think it more proper to refer the house, than to give a summary of them.

The accounts before inserted, and the evidence just referred to, will also show, what was the nature of the advances made by the bank to government — Upon what funds or credit they were made — What was their amount at different periods — How far the amount of those advances, during the present war, have exceeded those made in time of peace — How far they have exceeded those made in the last war — And whether they were greater or less, immediately previous to the issuing the order in council of the 26th of February, than at any preceding period.

The committee were desirous of throwing farther light on this subject, by laying before the house some accurate account of the exchanges between Great Britain and other countries; as these, when they can be correctly ascertained, afford a good criterion of the balance of payments between Great Britain and other countries, and thereby show, whether there is reason to conclude, that any coin or bullion have been exported or im-
ported.

ported. At present, the only places with which there subsists any regular course of exchange with Great Britain, are Lisbon and Hamburgh. At this last place, a great proportion of the accounts between Great Britain and the northern parts of Europe, is now settled and paid. The par of exchange with Lisbon can be accurately stated; it is 67½. It has already been shown from the evidence of sir John Hort and Mr. Whitmore, how far the exchange between London and Lisbon has been of late to the disadvantage of this country; and their account of it is fully confirmed by a statement of the course of exchange taken from Castaing's papers, inserted in this report.

With respect to the exchange between Great Britain and Hamburgh, the committee have not been able to decide, to their satisfaction, what is the actual par of exchange between London and Hamburgh. The witnesses they have examined have widely differed, with respect to the par of exchange between those places. The committee, however, have inserted in the minutes of the evidence, the answers of Mr. Boyd to two questions put to him, and a paper presented to this committee by one of the members of it, which throw considerable light on this intricate subject, and will account, in some degree, for the difficulty the committee had experienced in determining, with sufficient accuracy, the par of this exchange.

The mercantile accounts in Hamburgh and London have a reference to different metals. Silver appears to be the common coin of Hamburgh, and gold is, in that place, rather to be considered as a commodity. Gold is the mercantile coin of Great Britain, and sil-

ver has been for many years only a commodity, which has no fixed price, and is very rarely carried to the Mint to be coined, but varies according to the demand for it at the market. The market price of these precious metals appears also to have an influence on the Banco money of Hamburgh, in which the exchanges are reckoned—It is probable that to these circumstances is to be imputed the difficulty of determining the par of exchange between London and Hamburgh. On the present subject, therefore, all that the committee can say with certainty is, that according to the evidence of the governor of the bank of England (which is confirmed by a paper annexed), the exchange with Hamburgh ceased to be unfavourable to this country, in March, 1796, became more favourable in the month of October last; and that it continued favourable till the 26th of February, when the order of council was issued; and that it continues so still.

The committee have hitherto stated the several points relating to the more remote causes, by which the circulation of the kingdom, and the general state of the bank, may have been affected. They proceed now, to those which immediately preceded the 26th of February last, and more directly contributed to the necessity of the order of council, which was issued on that day.

It appears from the evidence of Mr. Ellison, that a few weeks previous to the 26th of February, two great mercantile banks at Newcastle stopped payment in cash, owing to the effect of a local alarm, similar, as stated by this gentleman, to that in 1793, which occasioned most of the country bankers to draw large sums of money from the

metropolis, and induced them to keep in store larger quantities of specie, than before the year 1793, in order to make their payments, if such should be required of them. Mr. Thornton confirms in general this account given by Mr. Ellifson. He agrees also with Mr. Ellifson with respect to the demand for cash made on the metropolis by the country bankers, for the purpose of being sent to different parts of the kingdom, where it is partly kept by the country bankers, for the uses before mentioned, and partly drawn out of their hands by individuals, to be hoarded.

It appears by the evidence of Mr. Thornton, that there was, at this time, also a demand of cash to be sent from the metropolis to Scotland.

But those demands for cash, from the distant parts of the kingdom, were not the only causes of the embarrassments of the bank of England, at this period. It is stated in an account delivered by Mr. Puget, one of the directors of the bank of England, and agent for the bank of Ireland, that in the commencement of the year 1797, there was an unusual demand of cash made on the bank of England, to be sent to Ireland; and that there was an expectation of a loan being intended to be raised in Great Britain for the service of Ireland, which would have necessarily occasioned the exportation of a considerable quantity of coin from the metropolis to the latter kingdom. It is proper to add, that the kingdom of Ireland appears, for some weeks previous to the issuing the order of council of the 26th of February, to have experienced a great want of cash, similar to that which was experienced in Great Britain.

There is a circumstance that

throws a considerable light on one at least of the causes which produced this great demand for cash on the bank. It appears by the account of the state of the cash at the bank, at different periods, as laid before the committee, that the greatest drain of cash which the bank has experienced, subsequent to the year 1783, was in March and June 1793, that is, a short time after the failure of the country banks in that year; and in the commencement of the month of February of this year, that is, a short time after the Newcastle banks stopped payment in cash, and when the alarms before stated produced great demands for cash, from different parts of the country: So that, in both those periods, the same cause appears to have produced an effect nearly similar, that is, a very unusual drain of cash from the bank.

The increased demand for cash must bear a proportion to the decrease of any other sort of circulation that is a substitute for it. The committee will presently show, to what degree the circulation of the notes of the bank of England had been diminished, immediately previous to the 26th of February last. With respect to the decrease of country bank bills in circulation, Mr. Thornton, who appears to have collected his evidence from several parts of the kingdom with great accuracy, was desired by the committee to deliver in an account of the proportion in which, according to his information, country bank bills circulated in different parts of the kingdom, before the failures in 1793; at a period subsequent to that year; and at the present time. This account may be seen at large in the evidence; but the result is, that at the present

sent time, the circulation of these bills is in one part of the kingdom not more than about a third; in another, not more than half; and in a third, but a sixth, of what was in circulation before the year 1793: and the committee have already endeavoured to show, in a former part of this summary, to what degree the means of coining, and, in consequence thereof, the regular supply of new coin (which alone could fill up the void occasioned by this decrease of circulating paper) had diminished of late years.

From the evidence of the governor of the bank, and from the report of the last secret committee, which has been laid before this committee, it appears, that it was not singly the diminished state of their cash, which gave the directors any great alarm; the governor and Mr. Bosanquet rather impute this alarm to the progressively increasing demands for cash upon them, particularly in the week preceding the 26th of February, and to the reasons they had to apprehend that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash, would continue, and even increase; and they add, that this drain was in great part owing to demands for cash from the country, such demands being made upon the bank indirectly from the country, but directly from the bankers of London, who were to supply the country.

The directors of the bank, under the impression which these alarms and embarrassments had occasioned, appear to have judged it prudent to diminish their notes in circulation, and the consequent demands that might come upon them, so as to make the demands more nearly correspond with the state of their cash. It will be seen, in the

accounts presented to the committee, of the amount of bank notes in circulation, at different periods, that the average amount of these notes in circulation, for several years previous to the end of the year 1796, may be stated at between 10,000,000*l.* and 11,000,000*l.* hardly ever falling below 9,000,000*l.* and not often exceeding, to any great amount, 11,000,000*l.* It will appear by one of the afore-mentioned accounts, that in the latter end of the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, the amount of the bank notes in circulation was less than the average before stated; and on the 25th of February last, it was reduced to 8,640,250*l.*

It is true, that in an account presented to the committee, of the amount of bank notes in circulation in the years 1782, 1783, and 1784, the quantity was then generally even less than the sum last mentioned; but at that time the foreign commerce of the kingdom was not even one half of what it is at present, as will be seen in the account of imports and exports inserted in this report.

It is not probable that the reduction of bank notes to 8,640,250*l.* immediately previous to the issuing the order in council of the 26th February, was owing to any diminution of the demands for them; for at that time the merchants of London were subject to difficulties, from not being able to get their bills discounted.

The directors of the bank had, on the 31st December, 1795, come to a resolution to diminish their discounts; but notwithstanding that resolution, they did not diminish the amount of their discounts in the course of the year 1796, compared with what they were in 1795, but had rather increased them, not however to such an extent, as to

make them correspond with the wants of the commercial world. A considerable degree of distress consequently ensued, which distress may also be imputed to another cause, in evidence before the committee. By law, no man is to take more than 5l. per cent. interest for money lent or advanced by him; and this restriction is understood to apply to bankers in the business of discounting; so that in time of war, when a much greater interest than 5l. per cent. can be made of money, upon government securities, the discounts which merchants obtain from bankers and other individuals, are necessarily much diminished, and they are forced, on that account, to resort directly to the bank.

Some of the persons whom the committee examined on this part of the subject, have expressed a strong opinion of the inconvenience produced by the conduct of the bank, in diminishing their notes in circulation, and in restricting their discounts.

One of these persons is of opinion, that an increased quantity of bank notes, proportioned to the increased occasion for them, must tend to prevent a demand for guineas rather than to promote it; and that if the quantity of notes issued is very considerably less than the occasions of the mercantile world require, a run upon the bank will be the consequence. He is of opinion also, that the directors of the bank do not avail themselves of the full extent of their credit; and that the caution necessary to be observed by private bankers in the amount of their bills, does not apply to the case of the bank of England, for several reasons which he assigns. A great quantity of bank notes, in his opinion, is absolutely

necessary for the circulation of the metropolis; and that in this respect, it is immaterial whether these notes are issued for advances made to government, or in discounts to private persons, except that in the last case, those whose bills are discounted to a greater extent, may suppose that more relief is granted to them. He allows, however, that as the bank discounts, even in time of war, at 5l. per cent. there may be a greater disposition to borrow of the bank at 5l. per cent. than it may be prudent always for the bank to comply with.

Another of those gentlemen is of opinion, that the resolution of the bank to restrict their discounts, excited an alarm and distrust that led to an increase of the drain of their cash; that it has contributed also to the forced sale and depreciation of public securities, and to other embarrassments occasioned by an insufficient supply of bank notes and cash; which supply has not kept pace with the demand arising from the employment and circulation of active capital, particularly for the last fifteen months; and he also is of opinion, that it would not signify materially to the public, whether the quantum of bank notes introduced into circulation, was created by discounting bills for the merchants, or by advances to government.

The committee have judged it right to state the causes assigned by these gentlemen, of the distress that has lately prevailed from the want of sufficient means of circulation in commercial transactions: the committee, however, do not mean to decide whether the bank directors might not have solid reasons for their conduct in this respect, or to convey any opinion on this doubtful and delicate question; but
conceive

conceive it their duty to call the attention of the house to a point of so great importance, and refer the house to the arguments stated more at large in the evidence.

The committee have thus gone through the chief points which have occurred in their inquiry respecting the causes which produced the order in council of the 26th of February last, as resulting from the evidence taken by them, and the accounts laid before them. They submit the same to the consideration of the house; but as the minutes of their proceedings are inserted in the former part of this report, and as the house is thereby possessed of the evidence on the whole of this subject, in great detail, the members of it will be enabled to supply any omissions, and to correct any defects which may be found in this summary.

The committee being desirous of confining themselves to those matters on which they have thought proper to call evidence, and sensible of the difficulty (even at all times) of appreciating the extent and influence of alarm, forbear from adverting to the effects produced upon the state of pecuniary transactions and circulation, by the apprehensions of invasion generally prevalent towards the close of the last year, and in the beginning of the present, but of which the operation must doubtless have been considerable. Nor will they attempt to estimate how far the interruption given to the banking operations of many great commercial cities, by the troubles and calamities which have agitated Europe, and the entire ruin of many commercial houses and establishments, may have tended to derange the accustomed course and confidence of general circulation.

The committee think it sufficient merely to enumerate considerations of such general notoriety, and to submit them, without farther observation, to the wisdom of the house.

Copy of Resolutions moved by the Duke of Bedford, May 15, 1797, in Consequence of the above Report—The previous question was carried on the whole Series.

1. " THAT it appears to this house, that subsequent to the month of June, 1795, and during the year 1796, a great diminution was experienced in the specie of the bank of England.

2. That the governor and deputy governor of the bank did, at various times, represent to the chancellor of the exchequer the danger to the bank, from the diminution of its specie, particularly at the following periods:

11th December, 1794,
10th October, 1795,
23d October, 1795,
18th November, 1795,
3d December, 1795,
15th and 16th January, 1796,
28th January, 1796,
5th and 8th February, 1796,
11th February, 1796,
8th, 10th, and 21st February, 1797.

3. That it appears, that during these periods the directors of the bank frequently remonstrated with the chancellor of the exchequer on the magnitude of their advances to government, anxiously requiring payment, or a considerable reduction of the same; but that nevertheless the chancellor of the exchequer not only neglected to comply with the object of those remonstrances, but usually, under pre-

tence of the necessity of the public service, renewed his demands for farther aid; and that under the exigency of the case, as stated to them by the chancellor of the exchequer, the directors of the bank were, from time to time, induced to consent to farther accommodation.

4. That it appears that the chancellor of the exchequer frequently solicited such farther accommodation in the most anxious and pressing terms; declaring, that it was impossible to avoid the most serious embarrassments to the public service, unless the bank directors afforded the assistance he required.

5. That it appears, that although by these means the directors of the bank were induced to comply with his demands, they generally expressed their reluctance in strong language; and that they at last, that is to say, on the 28th of July, 1796, thought it necessary for their own justification, to request the chancellor of the exchequer to lay before his majesty's cabinet, their most serious and solemn remonstrance; in which they declare, that, "sensible of the alarming and dangerous state of public credit, nothing could induce them to comply with the demand then made upon them, but the dread that this refusal might be productive of a greater evil."

6. That it appears, that during the above period, a considerable portion of the bank advances was occasioned by payments of bills of exchange drawn on the treasury from abroad.

7. That it appears, that it had seldom been the custom of the bank of England to advance, on the account of such bills, more than from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.*; and that even during the American war, such bills never exceeded at

any one time the sum of 150,000*l.* the wisdom of our ancestors having foreseen and provided against the mischief of similar advances, by a clause in an act passed in the 5th year of William and Mary, by which the governor and company of the bank of England were restrained from advancing any sums of money, other than on such funds on which a credit is granted by parliament.

8. That it appears, that from and after the year 1793, at which time an act of parliament passed, containing a clause, by which the directors of the bank are indemnified for the advances they had made on bills drawn from abroad, and exempted in future from the penalties of the said act of William and Mary respecting such advances to government, the amount of treasury bills paid at the bank continued progressively to increase; and that between the 1st of January 1795, and the 25th of February 1797, sums to the amount of upwards of 15,000,000*l.* were at different periods advanced to government upon this head.

9. That it appears, that the directors of the bank did, at various times during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, apply to the chancellor of the exchequer for re-payment of such advances, and represent to him the ruinous consequences to themselves and to the public, of continuing the system of making treasury bills payable at the bank: and that they even declared they conceived it to be "an unconstitutional mode of raising money, and what they were not warranted by their charter to consent to."

10. That it appears, that the chancellor of the exchequer did, at various times in that period, undertake to reduce the advances on that

that head within the sum of 500,000*l.* and likewise so to arrange his payments as to put an end to the account; but that nevertheless the said promises never were kept by him, and that the advances on treasury bills, on the 28th of February, 1797, amounted to 1,619,049*l.*

11. That it appears to this house, that foreign remittances to a much larger amount than ever were known in the most expensive wars in which this country has been involved, have taken place since the year 1793.

12. That the extent of such remittances occasioned, at so early a period as the end of the year 1794, and the beginning of the year 1795, great alarm in the minds of the directors, which they at various periods communicated to the chancellor of the exchequer; and that on the 3d of December, 1795, the court of directors, under the apprehension that it was intended to grant a farther loan to the emperor, came to a resolution, by which they declared their unanimous opinion, that should such a loan take place it would be most fatal in its consequences to the bank of England. "That they communicated such resolution to the chancellor of the exchequer, who assured them he should lay aside all thoughts of it, unless the situation of things relative to the bank should so alter as to render such a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them."

13. That on the 5th of February, 1796, the chancellor of the exchequer, after stating, in conversation with the governor and deputations from the bank of England, his opinion of the necessity of farther assisting the emperor, promised to take no step in that business with-

out previously communicating to them his intention.

14. That on the 11th of February, 1796, the directors of the bank passed unanimously the following resolution;

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this court, founded upon the experience of the effects of the late imperial loan, that if any farther loan, or advance of money, to the emperor, or to any other foreign state, should, in the present state of affairs, take place, it will in all probability prove fatal to the bank of England.

The court of directors, therefore, do most earnestly deprecate the adoption of any such measure, and they solemnly protest against any responsibility for the calamitous consequences that may follow thereupon."

To which resolution, when communicated to him, the chancellor of the exchequer returned for answer, "That after the repeated intimations which he had given to the governor, &c. of the bank, that no farther loan to the emperor would be resolved on without previous communication with the bank, he did not see any reason for these resolutions; that he did suppose they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he should consider them in that light."

15. That both from the general tenor of the said answer, and from its particular reference to the substance and matter of the resolution then communicated to him, he gave the governor, &c. of the bank to understand, that he was bound by promise to them, to negotiate no loan for the service of his imperial majesty, nor to make any remittance either to his said imperial majesty, or any foreign prince, under any pretences whatever, with-

out

out previously communicating such his intention to the bank of England; that the directors so understood him; and that, impressed with that belief, they abstained from making any further remonstrance on this subject.

16. That nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer, for some time prior to February 11, 1796, clandestinely remitted, and did for several months subsequent, clandestinely remit, to his said imperial majesty, and other foreign princes, large sums of money, in defiance of his repeated promises, and in violation of his solemn engagement with the bank of England, and consequent upon their resolution of the 11th of February.

17. That it appears, that if the said advances of the bank to government had been paid off when required, or considerably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to reduce, if expedient, the amount of its outstanding notes; and that such option would have been of essential service to its interests.

18. That it appears, from the evidence of the governor and deputy governor of the bank, that if the said advances had been paid off when required, or considerably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to give more extended aid to the mercantile interest of Great Britain, in the way of discount.

19. That it appears, that if the advances on the treasury bills had been paid off when required, and as the chancellor of the exchequer had promised, and the foreign remittances abstained from, as the chancellor of the exchequer had likewise promised, there would have existed no necessity for sus-

pending the due and ordinary course of the bank payments in cash.

20. That it appears to this house, upon an attentive examination of the evidence reported by the secret committee, upon a minute perusal of the correspondence between the governor and directors of the bank of England and the chancellor of the exchequer, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, and after a thorough review of the whole circumstances of the case, that the neglect of the chancellor of the exchequer in discharging, or sufficiently diminishing, the amount of the sums advanced to government by the bank of England; his perseverance in directing treasury bills of exchange to an amount unexampled to be paid at the bank; his frequent promises, and constant breach of those promises, to reduce their amount within the sum of 500,000l.; and the enormous amount of his remittances to foreign princes in loans and subsidies, were the principal and leading causes which produced the necessity for suspending the due and ordinary course of the bank payments in cash."

Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, in Consequence of the Resolution of the House to reject the Motion of the Duke of Bedford for the Dismissal of Ministers.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. Because, acting according to the ancient practice of the British constitution, and in conformity with its true principles, we hold the advisers of the crown to be responsible for the condition of the state; responsible for its internal peace, and general good government;

ment; for the preservation of all its ancient fundamental rights and liberties; for the protection of its commerce, of its credit, and the various sources of its prosperity and wealth; for the observance of order, discipline, and obedience in all the departments of the public force; for the honour and success of our arms (if unfortunately engaged in war); for the preponderance of the British power, and for the glory and splendour of the British name. Instead of recognizing in his majesty's ministers that ability, foresight, and integrity, by which these, its dearest interests, are preserved, we have seen throughout a course of years, the affairs of the nation conducted with that incapacity, perfidy, and corruption, by which all great empires, from the beginning of the world, have found their ruin; and which, in the particular state and situation of Great Britain, have nearly exhausted its resources and its credit, and annihilated its constitution, which have brought shame upon its character in the eyes of foreign nations, and diffused largely among its subjects mistrust in the intentions of their governors, hatred of their power, and contempt for their debility.

2. Because encouraged by the uniform, implicit, and fatal confidence of this house in the conduct of ministers, a system of government has arisen, which, if it be further persevered in, will render the fortunes of these realms utterly irretrievable, even should wisdom and virtue succeed in the minds of those ministers to ignorance and wickedness. That system is governed by principles the very reverse of those by which states and societies have hitherto been kept together. It is grounded on the

doctrine that honour and reward is to attend on crime and folly; and that men are to be entrusted with power in proportion to their disposition to abuse it. Such perverted maxims of policy take from government all the support it derives from opinion. The opinion of its consistency is lost by ministers adopting and rejecting, as it suits the purpose of their power, systems which they alternately recommend and revile. The opinion of its justice is destroyed from seeing that power depends on a principle which confounds the first distinctions of right and wrong. All opinion of its vigour and efficiency is lost in the daily insults to its authority to which they are compelled to submit. Every species of disorder is hence introduced. The example of those who govern is followed by those who obey. Nothing regular or orderly is found in the intercourse between subject and sovereign. State necessity, instead of being reserved for occasions of the last emergency, is resorted to as the constant, and every day practice of executive administration. In such a system there is neither order nor freedom; and it is the energy of freedom alone that can resist with effect the zeal or fancied superiority of military means. Where no power is left to correct the vices of an ill-administered commonwealth, nothing will remain to oppose to the enterprises of a foreign enemy.

3d. Because to suffer ourselves to be found by a foreign enemy in this distracted condition, when we have the means of avoiding it, seems to us highly impolitic, and wantonly to call down destruction upon the state. We see nothing in the present ministers so valuable as to induce us to risque, for

for their preservation, any part of the common interest. They have already kindled, by their odious persecution of the catholics in Ireland, the flames of civil discord in that country. We believe that an immediate change of men and of measures would yet preserve the common ties by which the two countries are united. If, unhappily, measures of intolerance are to be sustained by the sword, and if that oppressed country be torn from the British crown, as America was severed from our empire, rather than that these ministers should incur the loss of their offices, we are unable to see in what Great Britain would be the gainer. If an invasion of these realms should be the result of delaying to open a sincere negotiation for peace, fully as we rely upon the zeal and bravery of our countrymen for the event, we do not conceive that the mischief of such an attempt would in any degree be compensated by finding, at the close of it, those ministers still in their offices. Above all things we deem it highly inexpedient that any numerous or important a class of the people should, in so perilous a moment, conceive themselves to be placed in the alternative between foreign conquest, and domestic usurpation. We think that in this crisis no excuse is left for not calling forth the whole wisdom, and all that remains of the energy of the British nation; that it is among the crimes of these ministers that they have exhausted in idle alarms for factious purposes, those resources which ought to have been preserved whole and unbroken, to meet the disasters which are impending over us; and for having set up a cry of loyalty against liberty, to the destruction of that real strength by which alone

our shores and our altars can, in the last extremity, be defended.

4th. Because such a system is dangerous to our present safety and existence as an independent state, and the support uniformly given to it, tends to degrade and vilify this house in the opinion of the people. For the first time in our history the continuance of a minister in office seems to be made a condition of the constitution. If that minister, after having reduced his country to the lowest ebb of shame and misery, shall continue to receive and no dispense all trusts, honours, and emoluments, and to be supported in his abandoned courses by this house, no motive will remain to love and reverence a constitution exhibited in these colours to the people, through the medium of this house. Feeling no interest in our proceedings, they will lose all respect for our character and all belief in our honour.

5th. Because we believe the present ministers to be utterly incompetent to the cure of the evils they have produced. As the principles on which they made the war offer no prospect for its success, those on which they have hitherto negotiated for peace afford no hope for its attainment. As the improvidence and incapacity with which they have conducted the war have contributed so largely to produce the calamitous situation of Europe, and to build up the prodigious power of the French republic, we conceive that they possess not the means of obtaining safe or honourable terms of peace for this country. We cannot expect that they will hereafter cherish or encourage that spirit of liberty, under which, in former times, our greatness has grown and been matured. We are rather

rather impressed with the fear, that under the same pretences which have caused all our present disasters, large military establishments will continue to be kept up, with a view of crushing all its efforts, and rivetting still closer the fetters of the people; that, released from the pressure of foreign hostility, they will have recourse to coercive measures in that unhappy country where their oppressions have already provoked the people to resistance. We can hope for no economy from men whose extravagance and waste exceeds whatever has been heard of the mad prodigality of former periods. We can expect no salutary reformations from those who have endeavoured to engraft upon and blend with the substance of the constitution itself, those abuses by which their rapacity is supported. Finally, we can expect, from such men and such a system, no other issue but the establishment of a dominion of ministerial terrorism, supported by parliamentary corruption, instead of the ancient constitution of this country, conducted according to the principles of the revolution.

(Signed)

BEDFORD.

CHEDWORTH.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Tuesday, July 20, 1797.

My lords, and gentlemen,

I cannot put an end to this session of parliament without returning you my most sincere and cordial thanks for the assiduity and zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the important objects which have required your attention, and for the wisdom and firm-

ness which you have manifested in the new and difficult emergencies for which you have had to provide.

I must particularly express the just sense I entertain of the salutary and effectual provisions which you made for strengthening the means of national defence, and the measures adopted for obviating the inconveniences which were to be apprehended to credit from the temporary suspension of payments in cash by the bank; as well as of the promptitude, vigour, and effect, with which you afforded me your assistance and support in suppressing the daring and treasonable mutiny which broke out in a part of my fleet, and in counteracting so dangerous and pernicious an example.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that, since the accession of the present emperor of Russia, the commercial engagements between the two countries have been renewed in such a manner as will, I doubt not, materially conduce to their mutual interests.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I must return you my particular thanks for the liberal and extensive provision which you have made for the various exigencies of the public service; and, while I lament the necessity which increased them to so large an amount, it is a consolation to me to observe the attention you employed in distributing the heavy burdens which they occasioned in such a manner as to render their pressure as little severe as possible to my people.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The issue of the important negotiation in which I am engaged is yet uncertain: but, whatever may be the event, nothing will have been

been wanting, on my part, to bring it to a successful termination, on such conditions as may be consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests, of my dominions. In the mean time, nothing can so much tend to forward the attainment of peace as the continuance of that zeal, exertion, and public spirit, of which my subjects have given such conspicuous and honourable proofs, and of which the perseverance and firmness of parliament has afforded them so striking an example.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said:

My lords, and gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday the fifth day of September next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to the fifth day of September next.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Nov. 2, 1797.

My lords, and gentlemen,

It is matter of great concern to me, that the earnest endeavours which I have continued to employ, since I last met you in parliament, to restore to my subjects the blessings of peace, on secure and honourable terms, have unhappily been rendered ineffectual.

The declaration which I have caused to be published, and the other papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will, I am confident, abundantly prove to you, and to the world, that every step has been taken on my part, which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are solely to be ascrib-

ed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of those with whom we have to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms.

I have the fullest reliance, under the blessing of providence, on the vigour and wisdom of your counsels, and on the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, of a great and free people, sensible that they are contending for their dearest interests, and determined to show themselves worthy of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve.

Compelled as we are, by the most evident necessity, to persevere in the defence of all that is dear to us, till a more just and pacific spirit shall prevail on the part of the enemy, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we possess means and resources proportioned to the objects which are at stake.

During the period of hostilities, and under the unavoidable pressure of accumulated burthens, our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has surpassed its former limits.

The public spirit of my people has been eminently displayed; my troops, of every description, have acquired fresh claims to the esteem and admiration of their country; and the repeated successes of my navy over all our different enemies, have been recently crowned by the signal and decisive victory with which providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan.

No event could be attended with more important and beneficial consequences, or form a more brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course

of

of the present war, have raised to a pitch hitherto unequalled the naval glory of the country.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. The state of the war, joined to the happy consequences of our recent success, will, I trust, admit of some diminution of expense, consistently with the vigorous efforts which our situation indispensably requires. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying the heavy expense which will still be unavoidable, you will, I am persuaded, bear in mind that the present crisis presents every motive to animate you to the most effectual and spirited exertions; the true value of any temporary sacrifices which you may find necessary for this purpose, can only be estimated by comparing them with the importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and convincing the enemy that, while we retain an ardent desire for the conclusion of peace on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to support with vigour this arduous contest, as long as it may be necessary for maintaining the safety, honour, and independence of these kingdoms.

My lords, and gentlemen,

After the experience I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your anxious regard for the interests of my subjects, I have only to recommend to you a perseverance in the same principles and conduct.

The events of every day must more and more impress you with a just sense of the blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments, and which have so

long distinguished us among all the nations of Europe. These blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, on which the security and happiness of every class of my subjects essentially depend.

Address of the House of Peers to the King.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; and to express to your majesty the just sense which we entertain of your majesty's paternal anxiety for the welfare of your subjects, manifested in the earnest desire expressed by your majesty for the restoration of peace on secure and honourable terms.

We return your majesty our humble thanks for the communications which you have directed to be laid before us; and we assure your majesty, that we shall proceed, without delay, to the consideration of those measures which the circumstances of the present crisis require; and that, while we participate with your majesty in the concern which your majesty feels at the failure of your earnest endeavours to procure for your people the blessings of peace, we are fully confident, from the uniform tenour of your majesty's conduct, that every

every step has been taken by your majesty which could tend to accelerate that object; and that it is to the unwarrantable pretensions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms, that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be ascribed.

We intreat your majesty to believe that, impressed as we are with the necessity and the magnitude of the contest in which we are engaged, as well as of the value of the interests which we have at stake, no exertions will be wanting on our part to enable your majesty to prosecute the war with vigour, until a more just and pacific spirit shall prevail on the part of the enemy; and to employ, in the defence of every thing that is dearest to us, those means and resources which the present situation of our country holds out.

We assure your majesty that we reflect with peculiar satisfaction on the public spirit which has been displayed by your majesty's subjects, and on the conduct by which your majesty's troops, of every description, have acquired fresh claims to our esteem and admiration.

We are particularly desirous of embracing the earliest opportunity to offer to your majesty our warm and heartfelt congratulations on that signal and decisive victory which has crowned the series of splendid successes obtained by your majesty's fleets over all our different enemies in the course of the present war; a victory no less important in its consequences, than glorious in the circumstances by which it is distinguished.

We are deeply sensible of the

manner in which your majesty is pleased to express your gracious acceptance of our best endeavours to testify by our conduct our anxious regard for the interests of our country, and our invariable attachment to your majesty's person and government.

Sensible of the blessings which, under your majesty's paternal care, are derived to us from our civil and religious establishments, and which distinguish us from among all the nations of Europe; and persuaded that these blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, and by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, — it shall be the first object of our attention to contribute, by every means in our power, to the maintenance of that happy constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, and on which the security and happiness of every class of your majesty's subjects essentially depend.

ANSWER.

My Lords,

I thank you for this loyal, dutiful, and affectionate address.

In a crisis of so much importance to the security and happiness of every class of my subjects, it is a great satisfaction to me to know that you entertain a just sense of the nature, magnitude, and necessity of the contest in which we are engaged; and that I may rely with confidence on your support in my fixed and unalterable determination to maintain to the utmost the laws, liberties, and religion of my people, and the dignity, honour, and independence of my kingdoms.

The

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King, moved by Mr. Wilbraham Boodle.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne, and for the communication of the declaration, and the other papers respecting the negotiation with France, which your majesty has been graciously pleased to direct to be laid before us.

Permit us to assure your majesty, that we shall not fail to apply ourselves, with the utmost diligence and attention, to the consideration of the measures which the present crisis requires; but we cannot refrain from expressing, at the earliest moment, our firm determination to afford your majesty the most effectual support in resisting every unwarrantable pretension, and checking every attempt dictated by inordinate ambition on the part of those with whom we have to contend.

We entertain a firm persuasion that all your majesty's faithful subjects feel as they ought the value of the blessings which they are struggling to preserve, and will not fail, in every situation, to support your majesty in defence of their essential interests, with the zeal, magnanimity, and courage, worthy of a great and free people: and we must, at the present moment, observe, with peculiar satisfaction, the proofs afforded of our means and internal resources in the flourishing state of the revenue, industry, and commerce of the country.

With the utmost gratitude we acknowledge the sense which your majesty expresses of the public spirit

which has been so eminently displayed by your people, and of the conduct of your majesty's troops of every description, which has justly entitled them to the additional esteem and admiration of their country.

And we most heartily congratulate your majesty on the signal and decisive victory with which providence has rewarded the exertions of your fleet under the command of admiral lord Duncan; an event which has crowned the repeated maritime successes obtained over all our enemies, and has, indeed, afforded a brilliant addition to the numerous and heroic exploits which, in the course of the present war, have raised to the highest pitch the naval glory of the country.

It will afford us great satisfaction to find that any branches of our expence will admit of reduction, consistently with the continuance of those vigorous efforts which must be necessary for our safety, and which, at all events, cannot fail to be attended with heavy expence. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying it, we shall, undoubtedly, bear in mind the nature of the present crisis; and, in estimating the value of any temporary sacrifices, we shall not lose sight of the infinite importance of supporting effectually our public credit, and of convincing the enemy that, while we join in your majesty's anxious desire for the conclusion of peace, on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to support, with vigour, this arduous contest, as long as it may be rendered necessary, for maintaining the safety, honour, and independence of these kingdoms.

We beseech your majesty to believe that our loyalty and attachment to your majesty, and our anxious regard for the interests of

your subjects, will ensure our perseverance in that line of conduct which may best preserve the advantages resulting to your people from your majesty's auspicious government.

The blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments have long been deeply imprinted on our minds; and we cannot but feel more and more, from the events of every day, how much they distinguish us among all the nations of Europe: we shall never be unmindful that they can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence and obedience to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every attempt to disturb our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, on which the security and happiness of every class of your majesty's subjects essentially depend.

ANSWER.

Gentlemen,

I return you my warmest thanks for this loyal and dutiful address, and for the expressions of your affectionate attachment to my person and government. The assurances of your firm determination to resist, to the utmost, the unwarrantable pretensions and inordinate ambition of the enemy, afford me the highest satisfaction at this important conjuncture. They justify the reliance which I have uniformly placed on the vigour and wisdom of your councils, and leave me no room to doubt that the strength and resources of these kingdoms will be effectually employed in supporting our dearest interests, maintaining our happy constitution, and vindicating the honour and independence of the country.

Papers which passed in the late Negotiation for Peace at Liffa, between Lord Malmesbury, Plenipotentiary from the King of Great Britain, and the Commissioners from the French Directory. Presented to the House of Commons, by Command of his Majesty, November 3, 1797.

(No. 15) — *Official Note. — Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.*

The signature of the preliminaries of a peace, the definitive conclusion of which is to put an end to the continental war, appears to afford to the two governments of Great Britain and France a natural opportunity and new facilities for the renewal of pacific negotiations between them: a part of the obstacles, which might have retarded this salutary work, no longer existing; and the interests to be treated of being, after this event, neither so extensive nor so complicated as they were before.

The court of London, always desirous of employing such means as are best calculated to contribute to this object, so interesting to the happiness of the two nations, is unwilling to omit renewing to the French government the assurance of the continuance of its dispositions on this subject. And the undersigned is authorized to propose to the minister for foreign affairs to enter without delay, and in such manner as shall be judged the most expedient, upon the discussion of the views and pretensions of each party for the regulation of the preliminaries of a peace, which may be definitively arranged at the future congress.

As soon as the form of this negotiation shall have been agreed upon, the British government will be ready

ready to concur in it, by taking on its part such measures as are the most proper for accelerating the re-establishment of the public tranquillity.

(Signed) **GRENVILLE.**
Westminster, June 1, 1797.

(No. 2.)—*Official Note.*—*The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.*

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs of the French republic, lost no time in laying before the executive directory the note which was transmitted to him on the 1st of June (O. S.) by Lord Grenville, in the name of his Britannic majesty. He is directed to answer it.

The executive directory sees with satisfaction the desire which the cabinet of St. James's expresses to put an end, at length, to the calamities of war. It will receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which shall be made to it by the court of England.

The executive directory desires, notwithstanding, that the negotiations should be set on foot at once for a definitive treaty. This proceeding appears to the directory preferable to a congress, of which the result must be remote, and which does not correspond with the ardent desire that it has to re-establish, as quickly as possible, peace between the two powers.

(Signed) **CH. DELACROIX.**
Paris, 16 Prairial, 5th Year
of the French Republic, one
and indivisible.

(June 4, 1797.)

(No. 3.)—*Official Note.*—*Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.*

The court of London has received,

with the greatest satisfaction, the assurances of the dispositions of the executive directory to entertain with eagerness the pacific overtures of Great Britain, as well as of its desire to re-establish, as soon as possible, peace between the two powers.

Anxious to contribute to it in every thing which can depend upon itself, the British government will not delay to send to Paris, or to such other place, upon the continent, as may be agreed upon, a minister, to treat and conclude with the plenipotentiary, who shall be appointed by the executive directory.

The undersigned is directed to desire to know the wish of the directory, as to the place of the negotiation, in order that a speedy determination may be taken here upon that subject; and to request the minister for foreign affairs to send him, without delay, the necessary passports, to enable the king's plenipotentiary to repair immediately to his destination. The question of signing preliminary or definitive articles, will necessarily depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations, to which, on the part of Great Britain, will be brought the most sincere desire for the speedy re-establishment of peace.

(Signed) **GRENVILLE.**
Westminster, June 8, 1797.

(No. 4.)—*Official Note.*—*The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.*

The executive directory of the French republic has seen with satisfaction, by the official note of Lord Grenville, dated June 8th (O. S.), that the court of London shows itself disposed to set on foot, without

(Q 2) delay,

delay, the negotiation, for which it has lately made an overture. Filled with the same eagerness, convinced that the intentions of the British government are such as it describes them, the directory has directed the undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, to transmit to Lord Grenville the necessary passports for a minister furnished with full powers for the purpose of negotiating a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French republic.

The executive directory has fixed upon the commune of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.
à Paris, 23 Prairial, 5th Year
of the French Republic.
(June 11, 1797.)

(No. 5.) — *Form of Passport.*

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Union.

In the name of the French republic.

To all officers, civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name respected abroad.

Allow to pass freely

furnished with full powers of his Britannic majesty for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French republic, native of, &c. &c.

going to Lisle, department of the North, the place appointed for the negotiation,

without giving or suffering any hindrance to be given to him.

This passport shall be in force for decades only.

Given at Paris the 23d Prairial, 5th year of the republic, one and indivisible.

The minister for foreign affairs,
(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

By the minister,
(Signed) T. GUIRADET.

(No. 6.) — *Official Note.* — Lord Grenville to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned has received from the minister for foreign affairs of the French republic his official note, with the passport which accompanied it.

The court of London willingly accepts the proposal of the French government with respect to the place of negotiation, and consents that Lisle shall be appointed as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries: — it being always understood, that the king's plenipotentiary shall have liberty to dispatch his couriers directly from Lisle to Dover, by way of Calais; and that the English vessels, appointed for keeping up this communication, shall be allowed freely to go into, and come out of, the port of Calais, and to pass in perfect safety between that city and Dover.

With respect to the passport, the undersigned finds himself under the necessity of remarking that the terms in which this instrument is drawn up, differ from the usual form, by the particular description, which is inserted in them, of the nature and extent of the powers, and of the omission of the king's plenipotentiary.

This new form appears liable to produce, in many instances, considerable inconvenience; and according to the terms used in this particu-

particular instance, it would have the disadvantage of not answering exactly to the powers and the mission of the minister in question.

His full powers, drawn up in the usual form, will include every case; and without prescribing to him any particular mode of negotiation, will give him the most unlimited authority to conclude any articles or treaties, whether preliminary or definitive, as might best conduce to the speedy re-establishment of peace, which is the sole object of his mission.

But the court of London does not by any means make a point of concluding a preliminary treaty, and would prefer only that mode, whatever it may be, which shall be found the best calculated to accelerate the conclusion of peace.

The king's plenipotentiary then will be equally ready, and authorised to begin the negotiation without delay, upon either footing; upon the footing of a preliminary treaty—or should such continue to be the wish of the directory, upon that of a definitive treaty.

As to what regards the question of a separate treaty—there would be no objection to settling, by a treaty of this kind, whatever relates to the respective interests of France and of Great Britain, as has been usually the practice in similar cases: but the king cannot allow any doubt to subsist as to his intention of providing for what is due to the interests of his ally her most Faithful majesty. And in pursuance of the same principles, his majesty will not refuse to enter into such explanations with respect to the interests of Spain and Holland as may appear necessary for the re-establishment of peace.

After this frank and precise explanation, the British government

is persuaded that the directory will not delay to transmit to them a passport for the British plenipotentiary and his suite, in the usual form, and such as was sent in the month of October last for the mission with which lord Malmesbury was then charged.

In this expectation, and for the sake of avoiding all delay, his majesty has already made choice of the same minister to represent him on this important occasion. And the undersigned is charged to inquire on what day the French plenipotentiary will be at Lisle, in order that lord Malmesbury may arrive there at the same time.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Westminster, June 17, 1797.

(No. 7.)—*Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.*

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs has laid before the directory, immediately upon its receipt, the official note addressed to him by lord Grenville, dated June 17, 1797 (O. S.). He loses no time in replying to it, according to the orders which he has received.

The directory, partaking most sincerely in the pacific sentiments which his Britannic majesty announces, and wishing to bring the negotiation as quickly as possible to a happy issue, persists in requiring that the respective plenipotentiaries shall begin immediately upon their meeting, to treat of a definitive treaty. The directory accepts, with satisfaction, the consent of his Britannic majesty upon this subject, expressed in the note of lord Grenville.

The directory consents that his Britannic majesty shall make, by his

his plenipotentiary, such proposals or stipulations as he shall think proper for her most Faithful majesty, as in return the plenipotentiaries of the republic will do for their allies his Catholic majesty and the Batavian republic.

The directory consents that the negotiation shall be opened with lord Malmesbury. Another choice would, however, have appeared to the directory to augur more favourably for the speedy conclusion of peace.

The directory requires that it shall be established as a principle, that each English packet-boat, which shall have brought over either the plenipotentiary or a courier, shall return without delay, and shall not be allowed to make any stay. The directory will give orders that a French packet-boat shall be furnished, without delay, to each of the couriers whom the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty shall dispatch. The directory desires, at the same time, that the couriers should not be sent too frequently; the frequent sending of them having been one of the principal causes of the rupture of the former negotiation.

After the above explanation, it becomes unnecessary to transmit to lord Grenville a new passport; the restrictions which he apprehended were to be found in that which has been addressed to him being entirely done away.

The French plenipotentiaries will have arrived at Lisle by the time at which lord Malmesbury can himself be there.

(Signed) CH. DELACROIX.

Paris, 2 Messidor,

(June 20, 1797.)

(No. 8.)—Official Note.—Lord Gren-

will to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The undersigned has laid before the king the official note of the French government, which he received the 23d of the present month.

As to the two first articles of this note both parties are agreed. On this point, therefore, there is nothing to be added to the explanations already given; in consequence of which explanations lord Malmesbury will, without delay, proceed to Lisle to enter into a negotiation with the French plenipotentiaries for the completion of a definitive treaty; the remark of the directory upon the choice which his majesty has thought fit to make of his plenipotentiary, being certainly of a nature not to require any answer.

The British government agrees to the arrangement proposed for the packet-boats, provided that a French packet-boat shall be furnished regularly, and without the least delay, for each courier which the British plenipotentiary shall find it necessary to dispatch: the exercise of his incontestable right in this respect being to be governed by his own discretion only, with a view to bringing the negotiation with which he is charged to a speedy and successful end.

With regard to the rupture of the last negotiation, the circumstances and the motives of it are known to all Europe; and it is not at the moment of entering into a new pacific discussion, that the British government conceives it can be of any use to recall them to recollection.

Lord Malmesbury will set out from London on the 30th of this month

month to proceed to Calais; from whence he will arrange his departure according to the notification he may receive of the day on which the French minister may reach Lisle.

(Signed) *GRENVILLE.*

Westminster, June 26, 1797.

(No. 9.)—*Official Note.—The Minister for Foreign Affairs to Lord Grenville.*

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs lost no time in laying before the executive directory the official note addressed to him by lord Grenville, dated the 26th June (O. S.), 8th of the present month Messidor.

In answer to this note, he has the honour to declare to lord Grenville, that the plenipotentiaries charged by the directory with the negotiation are already assembled at Lisle, and that the conferences may be set on foot as soon as the plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty shall have arrived there. Provision has been made, that there shall never be a want of packet-boats for the couriers which he shall think proper to send to London.

The undersigned at the same time apprizes lord Grenville, that a copy of this note will be delivered to lord Malmesbury on his arrival at Calais, in order that there may be nothing to hinder his immediate departure for Lisle.

(Signed) *CH. DELACROIX.*

Paris, 11th Messidor, 5th Year.

(June 29, 1797.)

(No. 10.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 6, Thursday, 8 P. M. 1797.*

My Lord,
Having had this morning my first

conference with the French plenipotentiaries, and having mutually exchanged our full powers, I think it my duty to dispatch a messenger, in order that his majesty may have the earliest information of this circumstance. My dispatch, however, must be confined to this alone, as nothing whatever has yet passed relative to the negotiation itself.

(No. 11.)—*Copy of the full Powers of the French Plenipotentiaries.*

Equality. Liberty.

Extract from the Registers of the Deliberations of the Executive Directory. Paris, the 30th Prairial, 5th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The executive directory, after having heard the report of the minister for foreign affairs, decrees as follows :

The citizens Le Tourneur, heretofore member of the executive directory, Pleville le Pelley, and Maret, are authorized to negotiate with the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, the treaty of peace to be concluded between the French republic and Great Britain. The directory gives them the necessary full powers for agreeing upon and signing the articles of the treaty to be made. They shall conform themselves to the instructions which have been, or shall be given to them by the executive directory, to whom they shall render an account of the progress and the issue of the negotiations.

They are equally authorized, and under the same conditions, to stipulate for the allies of the republic, his catholic majesty and the Batavian republic.

The citizen Colchen, appointed secretary general to the French legation, is authorized to assist at the

conferences, to afford the information which shall be required of him, and to take a note of what shall be agreed upon and settled.

The present decree shall not be printed for the present.

A true copy.

The president of the executive directory,

CARNOT.

By the executive directory, the secretary general,

LAGARDE.

(No. 12.)—*Extracts of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 11, 1797.*

I had the honour in my last, by Brooks, of the 6th instant, to inform your lordship of my arrival here, of the manner in which I had been received, and of my having, in the usual form, exchanged my full powers with the French plenipotentiaries.

On Friday the 7th at noon we held our second conference.

I opened this second conference with the French plenipotentiaries, by saying, that I myself had no observations to make on their full powers, which appeared to be conformable to those usually given by the directory to their plenipotentiaries, and of course must be considered as sufficient for the purposes expressed in them: that I, however, had transmitted them by a messenger to my court, and reserved to myself the right of communicating any objections or remarks which I might receive by the return of my messenger relative to them.

M. Le Tourneur, to whom, as president of the commission, I addressed myself, replied, that they had taken precisely the same steps as myself; that they considered the

full powers I had given in, as in due form and sufficient; but that they also reserved to themselves the same right, in regard to instructions they might receive from the directory on this subject, as I had claimed in regard to my court.

To this, of course, I assented.

On Saturday the 8th instant, I gave in the projet precisely as I had received it from your lordship; a copy of which (A), as it is translated into French, I think it my duty to inclose.

One of the French plenipotentiaries proposed, that some time should be given them to take the proposals I had made into consideration, and begged of me, merely for the sake of accuracy, and to help their memory, that I would be good enough either to let Mr. Colchen put down on paper, or myself send them a note containing the words with which I wished the articles left in blank to be filled up. I readily acquiesced in the latter mode, and immediately on my return sent them the inclosed note (B).

On Sunday evening I received the inclosed note (C) from the French plenipotentiaries; and in consequence of it went to the proposed conference yesterday.

One of the French plenipotentiaries informed me on the subject of the projet I had given them, and the note with which I had accompanied it, that as these papers contain many points on which their instructions did not enable them to answer, they had, after having given them a very serious attention, sent them, with such observations as they had thought it their duty to make on them, to the directory, and that the moment they received an answer, they would communicate it to me. But that in the mean while, not to delay the progress

progress of the negotiation, they wished that several points which he termed insulated, but which, though not referred to in our project, were, he said, inseparably connected with the general subject of peace, might be discussed and got rid of now if I had no objection, and that it was with this view they had requested me to meet them.—On my not expressing any disapprobation to this mode of proceeding, one of the French plenipotentiaries began, by saying, that in the preamble of the treaty the title of king of France was used; that this title they contended could no longer be insisted on, the abolition of it was in a manner essential to the full acknowledgment of the French republic, and that as it was merely titular as far as related to his majesty, but quite otherwise in the sense in which it applied to them, he hoped it would not be considered as an important concession.

I informed him, that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to me to answer every purpose they required, and which it was my intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed, as proper to make part of this. The article (the first of the separate ones in the treaty of 1783) was then read; but they objected to it, as not fully meeting their views. It was to the title itself, as well as to any right which might be supposed to arise from it, that they objected. I could scarcely allow myself to treat this mode of reasoning seriously. I endeavoured to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word; that it was creating difficulties where none existed; and that if all the French monarchs in the course of three centuries had allowed this to stand in the preamble of all treaties and transactions between the two countries, I could

not conceive, after its having been used for so long a period without any claim or pretension being set forth in consequence of it, how it could now affect either the dignity, security, or importance of the republic—that in fact such titles have ever been considered as indefeasible, and as memorials and records of former greatness, and not as pretensions to present power—and I quoted the titles of the kings of Sardinia and Naples, &c. as examples exactly in point. I argued however in vain. They treated it very gravely, and made so strong a stand upon it, that I could not avoid taking it for reference, which I thought it better to do, than, feeling as I did at the moment, to push the conversation farther.

The second insulated point was a very material one indeed, and which, although it had been adverted to as a proposal that might possibly be brought forward, I confess came upon me unexpectedly.—It was to ask either a restitution of the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them. They grounded this claim on the preliminary declaration made by lord Hood on his taking possession of Toulon; and on the eighth article of the declaration of the committee of the sections to him. They said, peace they hoped was about to be re-established; that his majesty, in acknowledging the republic, admitted that a sovereignty existed in the French government; and of course that the ships, held only as a deposit by England till this legal authority was admitted, ought now to be restored. I replied, that this claim was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for me to have been provided for it in my instructions, and that I could therefore only convey my own private sentiments

ments on it, which were, that they could not have devised a step more likely to defeat the great end of our mission. One of the French plenipotentiaries said, that he sincerely hoped not; that without a restitution of the ships an equivalent might be found to effect the purpose desired, since their great object was, that something should appear to prove that this just demand had not been overlooked by them, and was not left unsatisfied by us. I told him fairly, I did not see where this equivalent was to be found, or how it could be appreciated; and that considering the great advantages France had already obtained by the war, and those she was likely to obtain from the act of condescension I had already intimated his majesty was disposed to make in order to restore peace, I was much surprised, and deeply concerned at what I heard. I trusted, therefore, that this very inadmissible proposal would be withdrawn. They said it was not in their power; and one of them, from a written paper before him, which he said were his instructions, read to me words to the effect I have already stated.

The third question was as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the emperor by Great Britain.—They wished to know if any such existed, since, as they had taken the Low Countries charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare that they should not consider themselves bound to answer any mortgage given for money lent to the emperor, for the purpose of carrying on war against them.

I told them, that without replying to this question, supposing the case to exist, the exception they required should have been stated in their treaty with the emperor, and could

not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries as they stood charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retro-active effect.

The French plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two; and as I found to every argument I used that they constantly opposed their instructions, I had nothing to do but to desire that they would give me a written paper stating their three claims, in order that I might immediately transmit it to your lordship; and on this being promised, our conference broke up.

Between four and five P. M. yesterday, I received the inclosed note (D), and I have lost no time since it is in my possession in preparing to send away a messenger, as, independent of the disagreeable subjects brought forward in this last conference, and which it is material should be communicated without delay, I am anxious his majesty should be informed of what has passed in general up to this day, as it may perhaps furnish some ideas as to the possible event of the negotiation.

(No. 13. A.)—*Projet delivered by Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries in their Conference, July 8th, 1797.*

Projet of a Treaty of a Peace.

Be it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern: The most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, duke
of

of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy roman empire, and the executive directory of the French republic, being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which has for some time past subsisted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and constituted for their plen potentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace; viz. the king of Great Britain, the lord baron of Malmesbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, privy counsellor to his Britannic majesty, and the executive directory of the French republic,

who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. As soon as this treaty shall be signed and ratified, there shall be an universal peace as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship between the two contracting parties, and their dominions, and territories, and people, without exception of either places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions, territories, and people, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other before or since the commencement of the war; and they shall carefully avoid for the future every thing

which might prejudice the union happily re-established.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons of both parties to stop all hostilities; and for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side to the ships dispatched to carry the news of peace to the possessions of the two parties.

II. The treaties of peace of Nimwegen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763; and that of Versailles of 1783, serve as a basis and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty. And for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenour, and religiously executed by both parties in all the points which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.—Each party respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners in the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic

authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and security shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release.

IV. With respect to the rights of fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the two parties shall return to the same situation in which they stood respectively, according to the treaties and engagements subsisting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with this view, his majesty consents to restore to France, in full right, the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon.

V. The same principle of the state of possession before the war, is adopted by mutual consent, with respect to all other possessions and rights on both sides, in every part of the world; save only the exceptions which are stipulated by the subsequent articles of this treaty. And, to this intent, all possessions or territories which have or may have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not specially excepted in this treaty), shall be restored to the party to whom they belonged at the commencement of the present war.

VI. From this principle of mutual restitution, the two parties have agreed to except

which shall remain to his Britannic majesty in full sovereignty.

VII. In all the cases of restitution provided by the present treaty, the fortresses shall be restored in the same condition in which they now are, and no injury shall be done to

any works that have been constructed since the conquest of them.

VIII. It is also agreed, that in every case of restitution or cession provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the respective territory or place restored or ceded, shall be allowed to persons of whatever description, residing or being in the said territory or place, possessed of property therein under any title existing before the war, or which has since devolved to them by the laws then existing; during which term of three years they shall remain and reside unmolested in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their possessions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they so acquired the same, without being liable in any manner, or under any pretence, to be prosecuted or sued for their past conduct, except as to the discharge of just debts to individuals; and that all those who, within the time of six months after the notification of this treaty, shall declare to the government, then established, their intention to withdraw themselves, or their effects, and to remove to some other place, shall have and obtain within one month after such declaration, full liberty to depart and to remove their effects, or to sell and dispose of the same, whether moveable or immoveable, at any time within the said period of three years, without any restraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal prosecution for acts done subsequent to the notification of this treaty.

IX. As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions herein-before stipulated, it is agreed, that

that the same shall take place in Europe within (one month), in Africa and America within (three months), and in Asia within (six months), after the ratification of the present treaty.

X. For preventing the revival of the lawsuits which have been ended in the territories to be restored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgments in private causes pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XI. The decision of the prizes and seizures of ships and their cargoes taken at sea or seized in the ports of either country, prior to the hostilities, shall be referred to the respective courts of justice; so that the legality of the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation which shall have made the capture, or ordered the seizures. And in order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British channel and in the North seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall be restored on each side: that the term shall be one month from the British channel and the North seas, as far as the Canary islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean, or in the Mediterranean: two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equinoctial line or equator: three months from the equator to any part to the westward of the Cape of Good Hope,

and the eastward of Cape Horn: and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. The allies of the two parties, that is to say, her most Faithful majesty as ally of his Britannic majesty, and his Catholic majesty and the Batavian republic as allies of the French republic, shall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace on the terms and conditions specified in the three following articles; the execution of which the said two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being thereto respectively authorized by their above-mentioned allies: and the two contracting parties further agree, that if their allies respectively shall not have so acceded within the space of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party so refusing to accede, shall not receive from its ally any aid or succour of any nature during the further continuance of the war.

XIII. His Britannic majesty engages to conclude a definitive peace with his Catholic majesty on the footing of the state of possession before the war, with the exception of which shall remain in full sovereignty to his Britannic majesty.

XIV. His Britannic majesty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian republic on the same footing of the state of possession before the war, with the exception of which shall remain to his Britannic majesty in full sovereignty, and of which shall be ceded to his majesty in exchange for

In consideration of these restitutions, to be hereby made by his Britannic majesty, all property belonging to the prince of Orange, in the month of December, 1794, and which has been seized and confiscated since that period, shall be restored to him, or a full equivalent in money given him for the same. And the French republic further engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compensation for the loss of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the persons who have been imprisoned or banished, or whose property has been sequestered or confiscated in the said republic, on account of their attachment to the interests of the House of Orange, or to the former government of the United Provinces, shall be released, and shall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reside therein, and to enjoy their property there, conforming themselves to the laws and constitution there established.

XV. The French republic engages to conclude a definitive peace with her most Faithful majesty on the same footing, of the state of possession before the war, and without any further demand or burdensome condition being made on either side.

XVI. All the stipulations contained in this treaty, respecting the time and manner of making the restitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reserved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the islands or territories restored or ceded, shall apply in like manner to the restitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three last articles, viz. the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth, except in those instances where the same may be derogated

from by the mutual consent of the parties concerned.

XVII. All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent; and the articles of this treaty for the restoration of prisoners, the cessation of hostilities, and the decision relative to prizes and seizures, shall equally apply to the respective parties to whom the said three articles relate, and shall be held to be in full force between them, as soon as they shall respectively and in due form have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts of individuals belonging to any other of the said parties, shall be taken off, and the property of whatever kind shall be restored in the fullest manner to the lawful owner; or just compensation be made for it: and all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the usual practice and rules of war, and all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals at the periods of the commencement of hostilities respectively, between the said parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on one side, and France, Spain, and Holland, on the other; and which ought, according to the usual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, shall be received, heard, and decided, in the respective courts of justice of the different parties; and full justice there-

in shall be done by each of the said parties to the subjects and people of the other, in the same manner as to their own subjects or people.

And if any complaint should arise respecting the execution of this article, which complaints shall not be settled by mutual agreement between the respective governments within twelve months after the same shall have been preferred to them, the same shall be determined by sworn commissioners to be appointed on each side, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation; and the decision of the said commissioners shall be binding, and without appeal.

XIX. His Britannic majesty and the French republic promise to observe sincerely, and *bonâ fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XX. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in between the contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

(No. 14. B.)—*Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has the honour of presenting to the ministers plenipotentiary of the French re-

public, in consequence of the wish expressed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note: which he requests them at the same time to consider, not so much in the light of an official paper as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readiness to facilitate the progress of the negotiation, by giving them, on the very outset, all the explanations in his power on the projet of the treaty which he has delivered to them.

If, as the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have assured him, it is contrary to their most positive instructions to enter into any discussion relative to the cession of those possessions which belonged to France before the war, it is useless to dwell on the VIII. article: since the compensations which his Britannic majesty might have demanded by that article, in return for the restitutions which he is disposed to make for the re-establishment of peace, must, in consequence of this declaration, be sought for in the cessions to be made by his Catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic.

Lord Malmesbury therefore proposes to insert in the thirteenth article, after the words *status ante bellum*, the following words; "With the exception of the island of Trinidad, which shall remain in full possession to his Britannic majesty."

Lord Malmesbury imagines that it is unnecessary for him to repeat the reasons which induce him to insist upon the retaining of this conquest, unless compensation should be made for it by some other cession which shall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France, from the acquisition of the Spanish part of St. Domingo.

With regard to the fourteenth article,

article, lord Malmesbury proposes, that after the words *status ante bellum*, should be added, "With the exception of the town, fort, and establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the possessions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the island of Ceylon, and of the town and fort of Cochin, which shall be ceded to his Britannic majesty in exchange for the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmesbury repeats to the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic the assurance of his readiness to concur with them, in every thing which shall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy issue; and requests of them, at the same time, to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Lisle, July 8, 1797.

(No. 15. C.)—*Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have received the note which the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty did them the honour of addressing to them yesterday. They will give to it, as well as to the projet of a treaty to which it relates, the most serious attention. In the mean time, though they are not yet enabled to communicate to lord Malmesbury the remarks to which these two papers appear to them liable, they think it their duty to propose to him a conference to-morrow, at one o'clock, if that hour is agreeable to him, in order to treat with him on distinct points, the discussion of which may be entered upon separately, and which may be proceeded in without delay.

They request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY,
HUGHES B. MARET.

Lisle, 21 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic.

(July 9th, 1797.)
COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the
Legation.

(No. 16. D.)—*Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury. Dated Lisle.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic lose no time in complying with the wish expressed to them by the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, by transmitting to him a note on the three points which were the subject of their conference of this day.

They have positive orders to require the renunciation of the title of King of France borne by his Britannic majesty.

Lord Malmesbury is requested to observe that the question is not only of a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but further and formally of the title itself. The establishment of the French republic, and the acknowledgment of this form of government by the king of England, will not allow of his retaining a title which would imply the existence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

2. The ministers plenipotentiary of the republic are ordered to demand the restitution of the vessels taken or destroyed at Toulon.

Great Britain has publicly and formally declared that these vessels were taken in trust for the king of France.

France. This trust is sacred. It incontestably belongs to the republic, which exercises the rights and the sovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannic majesty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French republic, deny its right to the restitution required, or refuse either to make the restitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

3. The ministers plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic majesty, of the mortgage on Belgium.

That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French republic, and cannot remain burdened with such a mortgage.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARET.

Liste, le 22 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic.

(July 10, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 17)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 13, 1797.*

With respect to the demands contained in the note transmitted to your lordship by the French ministers, they have been naturally received here with great surprise. On the subject of the Netherlands as connected with the Austrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between his majesty and the French government is wholly
1797.

unnecessary. The loans raised in England for the service of the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by act of parliament here, rest, as your lordship will perceive, by the annexed copy of the convention on that subject, upon the security of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of his imperial majesty. They do not seem in any manner to come under the description contained in the sixth article of the preliminaries between Austria and France, respecting mortgages upon the soil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the business. Nor is this subject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of discussion between his majesty and the republic; the king neither forms, nor has any intention of forming, any demand on the French government for the payment of any part either of the interest or capital of those loans. It is to the emperor alone that his majesty looks for the performance of his imperial majesty's engagements to him, and it is upon the Austrian government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in those loans have claims of private right, and means of personal demand secured to them by the convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the observations which your lordship has already made upon them: and we can therefore only wait with impatience for the answer to the projet delivered by your lordship, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 18.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord*
(R) *Grenville,*

Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July, 1797.

It was at the express invitation of the French plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; one of them stated their motive for wishing to confer with me, not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the projet, which he observed could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the projet, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue before we entered on the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned from various reasons; first, that many, and even most of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; secondly, that they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgment that a portion of the regal authority is still existing; thirdly, that they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations, in direct contradiction to their present form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when another of them interposed by saying, that their sincere and only desire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed, as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well

with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he assured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted most certainly all he said, and that it was with this view, and on this principle solely, that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by his majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgment of the tenure by which almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French republic, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

He replied, that our object was evidently the same, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing these treaties *in toto* would be the best contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the interests of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to attain this desirable object. The French minister again repeated, that their first wish was, that the treaty we were now making should

should be clear, distinct, solid, and lasting, and such a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifest violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be so consonant to my orders, or the intentions of my royal master.

One of the plenipotentiaries was disposed to dwell on his objections, which were, that these treaties were signed when France was a monarchy, and that any retrospect to those times implied a sort of censure on their present form of government; but this was arguing on such weak ground, and so incapable of being seriously maintained, that I, to avoid superfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it pass unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable discussion, in which, however, neither party gave much way to the other, it was proposed by them that we should return home, to meet again as soon as was convenient after an attentive and deliberate perusal of these treaties, in order to state respectively our ideas on this subject. I observed, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almost bold enough to affirm, that no measure could be devised which would so completely meet our intentions as an unreserved renewal of the treaties they hesitated about, yet I was very willing to acquiesce in their proposal, with this simple observation, that if any delay arose from it, such delay was imputable to them, and not to me. My words were, "Je ne me rends pas responsable des longueurs dans lesquelles cette discussion pourrait nous entraîner." The French minister's answer was, "Si des longueurs servent à déterminer des objets qui pourraient donner

"lieu à des querelles à l'avenir, ce sera du tems bien employé." It was not my wish to contest this assertion, and our conference ended with it.

(No. 19.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 16, 1797.*

My Lord,

Yesterday, at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller discussions on the litigated subject of the renewal of the treaties mentioned in the second article of the projet, I received from the French legation the enclosed paper (A). In about an hour I returned the enclosed answer (B), to which I received the enclosed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in consequence of it.

I began by saying, that I had solicited this interview from the same motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wished to make my reports not only correct but conciliatory as far as depended on me, and I was now come in order, if possible, to obtain from them such comments and explanations on the note they sent to me yesterday, as would enable me, when I transmitted it to my court, to secure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the perusal of it. If I understood it right, it meant that the directory requires as a *sine quâ non preliminary*, that every thing the king has conquered from all and each of his enemies should be restored, and that till this restoration was consented to the negotiation was not even to begin. I said, if

I was correct in this statement, and the plain sense of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I must add that it would not only most certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, since it deprived his majesty of every means of negotiation; for I could not suppose that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to his majesty, was to be one of all cession and no compensation, and yet that was precisely the position in which his majesty was placed by their note.

One of the French plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here stopt me, and said, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expressed a wish to see them before I dispatched my messenger; that they wished to assure me, that they had thought it dealing fairly and honourably to state what they had received from the directory in the very words in which it came to them; that they should be sorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, should be of a nature to interrupt, much less to break off, the negotiation; that it was the sincere wish of the directory that the negotiation should proceed and end successfully; and that, far from shutting the door to further discussions, they were perfectly ready to hear any proposals we had to make, and only wished that these proposals should be, if possible, such as were compatible with their most sacred engagements. I repeated what I had said, that no door was left open if his majesty was *in limine* to restore every thing; and that a peace on these conditions would not be heard of by the country. I observed, that immediately

on leaving them, I should dispatch a messenger; but what that messenger carried would most materially affect the progress and issue of the negotiation; I therefore desired to know whether, in consequence of what I had heard from them, I might consider the strict and literal meaning of the declaration not to be a decided negative (which it certainly seemed to imply) on all compensation whatever to be made to his majesty, but that proposals tending to this effect would still be listened to. One of them answered, "Certainly, and if they should be found such as it will be impossible for us to admit, we will on our side bring forward others for your court to deliberate on." Under this assurance, which at least, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration of yesterday, I broke up the conference.

(No. 20. A.)—*Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have transmitted to their government the projet of the treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them on the 20th of the present month, by the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty.

They have just received fresh communications and orders, which require that they should make the following declaration to Lord Malmesbury.

There exist in the public and secret treaties, by which the French republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, articles by which the three powers respectively guarantee the territories possessed by each of them before the war.

The

The French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it has contracted by these treaties, establishes, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the consent of his Britannic majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, not only from the French republic, but further and formally of those of Spain and the Batavian republic.

In consequence, the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary request lord Malmesbury to explain himself with regard to this restitution, and to consent to it, if he is sufficiently authorized to do so; if not, and in the contrary case, to send a messenger to his court, in order to procure the necessary powers.

The object of the conference which was to have taken place to-day being necessarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned declaration, the ministers plenipotentiary of the republic have to express to lord Malmesbury the regret that they feel in losing this opportunity of conversing together, which they had themselves solicited: — but in case lord Malmesbury should have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe that they will always be happy to receive him, and to listen to him, whenever he may think it proper.

They request him, at the same time, to accept anew the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARET.

*Lisle, 27 Messidor,
5th year of the Republic.*

(July 15, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 21. B.)—*Note from Lord*

Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has given the most serious attention to the note dated this morning, which he has received from the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic.

He has no hesitation in declaring to them, that his instructions by no means authorise him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration seems intended to establish: nevertheless, being persuaded that it is his first duty not to give up the hopes of conciliation until he shall have exhausted every means of obtaining it, and being anxious to avoid, in the report which he shall have to make to his court, the possibility of misunderstanding on a subject of such importance, he proposes to them a conference for to-morrow, at the hour most convenient to them, after which it is his intention to dispatch a messenger to his court.

He requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, 15th July, 1797.

(No. 22. C.)—*Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic lose no time in acceding to the desire expressed by the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, of conferring with them on the subject of the note which they addressed to him this day.

They have, in consequence, the honour of proposing to him to meet to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock,

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o'clock, at the usual place of conference.

They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE I. E. PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARET.

Lisle, the 27th Messidor, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

(July 15, 1797.)

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

(No. 23.)—*Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-Street, July 20, 1797.*

My Lord,

Your lordship's dispatches by the messenger Dressins were received here on the 17th instant, at night, and I lost no time in receiving his majesty's commands on the very important subject of your letter, No. 9.

I am much concerned to be under the necessity of remarking, that the claim brought forward in the note transmitted to your lordship by the French plenipotentiaries, is in itself so extravagant, and so little to be reconciled either with the former professions of those ministers, or with their conduct in the previous stages of the negotiation, that it affords the strongest presumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If such is really the determination of the directory, nothing can remain for this country, but to persevere in opposing, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a system which must tend to perpetuate a state of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural step upon the present occasion would therefore have been, to direct your lordship to terminate at once a negotiation, which, on the footing now proposed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable conclusion. Nothing being left for treaty, where, as a preliminary step, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compensation from the other is absolutely and at once precluded. His majesty's servants have, however, observed, that in the conclusion of your lordship's conference with the French plenipotentiaries on the subject of the note in question, the president of that mission informed your lordship, that it was not intended to resist all compensation for the immense extent of restitution demanded from his majesty, and for the other obvious circumstances of disadvantage to this country in the situation of Europe, as resulting from the war; and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward proposals on this head for the deliberation of the king's government. It appeared possible that some advantage might perhaps arise to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a further proceeding, such as might afford to the directory (if they are so disposed) the means of replacing the negotiation on a more practicable footing. With the view therefore of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to restore peace on any suitable terms, his majesty has been pleased to direct that your lordship should for that purpose ask another conference with the French plenipotentiaries. In this conference your lordship will remark in such terms as the occasion must naturally suggest to you

you upon the indefensible spirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will observe that France, treating in conjunction with her allies, and in their name, cannot, with any pretence of justice and fairness, oppose her treaties with them as an obstacle in the way of any reasonable proposal of peace in which they are to be included. In a separate negotiation, to which they were not parties, such a plea might, perhaps, have been urged; but in that case France would have been bound to offer, from her own means, that compensation which she did not think herself at liberty to engage to obtain from her allies. And such was, in fact, as your lordship must remember, the principle on which his majesty offered to treat last year, when he was really bound by engagements to Austria similar to those which are now alleged by France. But it never can be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, negotiating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can set up, as a bar to our just demands, the treaties between themselves, from which they are at once able to release each other whenever they think fit.

You will further remark, that even if, contrary to all reason, such a principle could for a moment have been admitted on our part, still even that principle, inadmissible as it is, could only apply to public treaties, known to those who agreed to be governed by them, and not to secret articles, unknown even to the French plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in explicit, though not offensive terms, that the whole of this pretence now set up by France is intently frivolum

and illusory; being grounded on a supposition of a state of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exist. It being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, so far from wishing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly against their own wishes; and to undertake, without the means of supporting it, a contest in which they had nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. It never, therefore, can be allowed to be a question of any possible doubt, but that the directory, if they really wish it, must already have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the consent of those powers to such terms of peace as have been proposed by his majesty. If, however, France, from any motive of interest or engagement, is in truth desirous to procure for them the restitution of possessions which they were unable to defend, and have no means to re-conquer, the project delivered by your lordship afforded an opening for this; those articles having been so drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compensation to his majesty, either out of her colonies, or out of those of her allies, respectively conquered by his majesty's arms. The choice between these alternatives may be left to the directory; but to refuse both is, in other words, to refuse all compensation. This is nevertheless expressly declared not to be the intention of those with whom you treat. It is therefore necessary that your lordship should demand from them a statement of the proposals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the king's servants are wholly unable to reconcile by any suggestions of

theirs, even if it were fitting and reasonable for them to bring forward any new proposals immediately after the detailed project which was delivered on the part of this country at the outset of the negotiation.

Since the project is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a counter project, equally full and explicit on the part of the enemy. You will therefore state to the French ministers distinctly, that the only hope of bringing this business to a favourable conclusion, is by their stating at once plainly, and without reserve, the whole of what they have to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of the negotiation proposed by themselves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the ministers themselves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refusing a compliance with this demand, if the plenipotentiaries of France are disposed to forward the object of peace: and the obtaining such a statement from them is, as I have before stated to your lordship, a point of so much importance, in any course which this negotiation may take, that it is the king's pleasure that your lordship should use every possible endeavour to prevent their eluding so just a demand.

After what has passed it is, I fear, very doubtful whether such a counter project would be framed on principles such as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the business on its real issue, and bring distinctly into question the several points on which the conclusion of peace, or the pro-

longation of war, will really depend.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 24.)—*Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, July 20, 1797.*

My Lord,

There are two separate points on which it is necessary for me to say a few words to your lordship, in addition to the instructions in my other dispatch, on the general subject of negotiation.

The first relates to the assertion of one of the French ministers, that the Portuguese ships and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any conclusion that could be drawn from it, to affect the situation or just claims of the court of Lisbon; because your lordship well knows, that it is a principle universally recognized in the public law of Europe, that when one of the parties in a defensive alliance furnishes to his ally the stipulated succours, those succours remain entirely at the disposal of the requiring party, to be employed wherever he shall judge proper, subject only to the limitations of the treaty which before existed; and if the amount of those succours is not increased beyond that engaged for, nor the means of using them extended by new facilities, the party furnishing the stipulated assistance is not understood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this case, would not bear out the assertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more conclusive; the troops of her most Faithful majesty having

ing been, as I apprehend, no otherwise employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land upon the southern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was said to your lordship about the treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of several treaties enumerated by name and date, and the latest of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another treaty supposed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the present case is, that your lordship should take this opportunity to explain, in the most distinct and unequivocal terms, that if any secret treaty was in fact concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late emperor and the king of Prussia (which is, to say the least, very doubtful in point of fact), this at least is certain, that his majesty was no party to such treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never since adhered to it, nor even been apprised of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview shews, on the face of it, that his majesty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious, that it applied to circumstances which were done away long before the war broke out between Austria and France, and that the subsequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between those powers turned on points wholly distinct from those supposed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the present negotiation, seems to be called for by the allusion made to you upon the subject; and, indeed, on a point on which so much misrepresentation

has prevailed, it is useful not to omit the opportunity of stating the facts as they really are.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 25.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 25th July, 1797.*

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's dispatches, Nos. 19 and 20, of the 20th inst. which were delivered to me on Saturday the 22d inst. by the messenger Major.

It was impossible that the claim brought forward in the note inclosed in my No. 9, could have produced on your lordship's mind any impression different from that which you describe, and I am happy to find that the conduct I observed, when it was first delivered to me, was such as put it in my power to execute with great consistency the spirited instructions your lordship now sends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the messenger, I proposed an interview with the French plenipotentiaries, and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey his majesty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impress those who heard me with a just sense of the mixture of firmness and moderation with which his majesty was pleased to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the substance, but, as far as was practicable in conversation, the very words of your lordship's dispatch, No. 19; and if I should attempt to relate minutely what I myself said in this conference,

conference, it would in fact be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by observing, that I was certain the French plenipotentiaries must be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to say: I reminded them that I had taken upon me to affirm, when we were last assembled, and immediately before I dispatched my messenger, that the requiring such a preliminary as that proposed in the note, was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was sure peace on such terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this assertion lightly, or in consequence of any hasty opinion of my own, at the same time that it would also appear that my royal master was as anxiously and as sincerely inclined to listen to all reasonable and admissible conditions, as he was determined to repel and reject all such as were of an opposite description. I then, my lord, took up my arguments on the precise grounds set forth in your lordship's No. 19. I neither omitted any thing, nor inserted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its spirit; and I only varied from the letter in as much as was necessary to make it applicable to a conference.

My first object was to state, in as forcible a way as possible, the utter inadmissibility of the pretension set forth in the note, the frivolous and illusory reasons alleged for bringing it forward; and I observed that, if it was preserved in, it must lead to this necessary conclusion, that there did exist, when it was framed, an intention on the part of the directory to break off the negotiation in the outset. My second object in point of reasoning, though a very primary one in point of import-

ance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or, if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be so clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line so distinctly between such sacrifices as his majesty might be inclined to make in order to restore so great a blessing as peace, and those to which the dignity of his crown and interest of his subjects would never allow him to attend, as to make it impossible that by any future cavil or subterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it should be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cause than the exorbitant demands of the French government; and the better to insure this purpose, I explained to them that his majesty having already in a detailed *projet* stated freely and fully his conditions, and these conditions having been at once rejected by a sweeping claim on the part of the French government, it was not fitting or reasonable, neither could it be expected, that any new proposals should originate with his majesty: and that on every ground the king had a right to expect a *contre-projet* from them, stating at once plainly and without reserve, the whole of what they had to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being insulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progress.

On the first point, on the inadmissibility of the preliminary conditions as proposed by the French government, one of the French plenipotentiaries said, it was impossible for them to do more than to take it for reference; that the instructions they had received when the

the directory sent them the note, were precise and positive, and that they had received none since. He therefore had on that point simply to request of me, that I would state in writing the several grounds on which his majesty rejected this proposition, in order that the report transmitted by them to the directory might be correct; and he assured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had used to them in the conference, they would have no scruple of employing those I omitted in such a way as was the best calculated to give them weight, and, to use the French minister's own expression, to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the second point, he had no hesitation in agreeing with me, that the best method, and indeed the only one, which could accelerate the whole of the business, was for them to give in a *contre-projet*; neither did he attempt to disprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new proposals. But he said, that it was not necessary for him to observe, that as long as they were bound by their instructions not to give way on the proposition I had now so decidedly rejected, that it was impossible for them to move a step without new orders from the directory; that they would ask for these orders immediately, and lose no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I observed, that in our last conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to some explanation with me on the subject of compensation to be made to his majesty for the great cessions he was disposed to make; that, at the time, I conceived these explanations were of a nature to qualify

the wide claim stated in the note, and that if I had abstained from pressing him further at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward; — that, however, if they really had such proposals to make me, and if they were of a nature to meet in substance and effect the basis laid down in the projet I had given, I should be well disposed to listen to them.

One of the French ministers, after some hesitation and a sort of silent reference to one of his colleagues, said he thought, as matters now stood, it would be much better to wait their answer from Paris; — that it was a very important period, a crisis in the negotiation, the result of which probably would be conclusive as to its fate, and that it seemed to be of more consequence to make this result, as conformable to what he hoped I was convinced were as much their wishes as mine, than to waste our time in discussions which were useless, not to say more, till this was ascertained.

I confined myself in my reply to saying, I had no objection whatever to giving to the French plenipotentiaries a paper, stating the strong motives on which his majesty rejected the proposition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had considered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was consistent with truth and correctness, so I heard with great pleasure the assurances he gave me of their intending to observe the same line of conduct.

That as we seemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a *contre-projet*, I had nothing to say on that point, except to express my most sincere wish that it would soon appear, and when

when it did appear, be such a one as would lead to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negotiation.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 26.)—*Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has transmitted to his court the note which was delivered to him the 15th of this month, by the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic; and having received the orders of the king his master, on this subject, he hastens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the desire which they have expressed to him, the following reflections, which he had already stated to them verbally, in consequence of his most positive instructions.

He observes, in the first place, that to require "As an indispensable preliminary of negotiation for peace with England, the consent of his Britannic majesty to the formal restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, as well those of the French republic, as further and formally those of Spain and the Batavian republic," is to wish to establish a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity, refuses to the king all compensation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French republic, formally authorized by its allies to negotiate the articles of peace in their name, cannot fairly set up its partial treaties with them, in opposition to reasonable proposals of peace, since it is universally understood that the contracting parties always preserve the power to modify, by mutual consent, the conditions by which they may be en-

gaged to each other, whenever their common interests may require it:—consequently, the proposition made to the king of a general and gratuitous restitution as an indispensable preliminary, would necessarily impute to his Catholic majesty, and to the Batavian republic, dispositions far less pacific than those which animate the French republic.

That moreover, in consequence of what passed in the first conferences, lord Malmesbury has always thought himself entitled to expect that the king his master would find a compensation for the sacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conquests; and he was the less able to foresee any obstacle, on account of the secret articles of the treaties which bind the French republic, as the principle of compensation was acknowledged by a formal and positive declaration, made in the name of the executive directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November, 1796; a declaration posterior to the completion of those treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much as possible, every difficulty, that, in the projet of a treaty, which lord Malmesbury has delivered to the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, the alternative was left to France to settle this compensation on its own possessions, or on those of its allies: but the absolute refusal of this alternative appears to do away the only possible means of conciliating every interest, and of arriving at an honourable, just, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmesbury, persuaded that such cannot be the intention of the French government, hopes, that in consequence of the reasons herein stated,

stated, a condition will not be insisted upon, to which his Britannic majesty can by no means consent.

He again requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Liste, 24th July, 1797.

(No. 27.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liste, Sunday, August 6th, 1797.*

My Lord,

I fully expected, when I received the inclosed note on Friday, that the conference proposed was to acquaint me with the instructions the French plenipotentiaries had received from the directory; on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an answer to that in which the restitution of the whole of his majesty's conquests from each of his enemies is required as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation.

I was therefore surprised and disappointed, when I had taken my place at the conference, to hear from the French plenipotentiaries that the letters they had received that morning from Paris did not bring any specific reply to my last note, but only went to inform them that the directory had taken the subject into their most serious consideration, and would acquaint them as soon as possible with the result.

I could not avoid expressing my concern and surprise that there existed any hesitation whatever in the mind of the directory on a point, which, although a very important, was certainly a very simple one:—that to allow it to remain in doubt whether his majesty was to have any compensation or not, was in

other words to leave it in doubt whether the directory sincerely meant peace or not:—and that, although I was very far from wishing for any improper haste, or not to move in a matter of such magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapsed without our having advanced a single step, notwithstanding his majesty had, in the very outset of the negotiation, manifested a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under similar circumstances:—that anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any representations of mine, I must say, this delay placed me in a very awkward position, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all satisfactory, at the same time that it was quite impossible for me to suffer a longer space of time to pass over without writing to my court.

One of the French plenipotentiaries expressed his earnest wish that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be seen in its true light; and added, “Si nous n'avancions pas à pas de géant, j'espère que nous marchons d'un pas sur.”—And another of them repeated this phrase.

I expressed my sincere hope this might be the case, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the counter project they had in a manner pledged themselves to procure, than by any vague and indeterminate assurances of what might possibly be the result of the present suspension of all business. They observed to me, that the counter project would of course be (virtually) contained in their next instructions, and that their only motive for wishing to see me was, to convince me that
this

this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occasioned at Paris by any want of attention to this important business, or from any cause not immediately and closely connected with it.

I desired to know from them when they thought it probable they should receive positive and explicit instructions, whether in three, four, or five days? — They said, it would be probably eight or ten. — And one of them observed, that as our not meeting more frequently gave rise to many idle rumours and false reports, he would propose to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other day at two o'clock; that it was very possible that in our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to say, but that we should get better acquainted with each other, and in our conversations mutually suggest ideas which might be of use. — I readily consented to this.

I had a conference again this morning. As I was very desirous of being able to transmit to your lordship some more satisfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again pressed the French plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had said before; and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impossible it was that his majesty should not be hurt at this demur on so very simple a point, one of them said, You ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refusal to agree to what was stated by the directory in their instructions to us as a *sine quâ non*: — if the directory were determined to persist in this *sine quâ non*, they would have said so at once — “Je vous assure qu'ils nous auroient promptement renvoyé le courrier,” were his words: — The time they take to delibe-

rate indicates beyond a doubt that they are looking for some temperment, and it scarce can be doubted that one will be found. — I said I was well pleased to hear him say this; but that still he must be aware that it would not be an easy task for me to make my dispatches to-day either interesting or satisfactory.

Another of the French ministers said, that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we should have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and smoothly, and that I must admit the present to be a very important and difficult point in the negotiation. I agreed with him entirely as to its importance, but could not acquiesce as to its difficulty.

I am very sorry, my lord, that in such a moment, and after waiting so long, I should not be able to send you more explicit and decisive assurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French negotiators to move on faster. All I can do is by my conduct and language to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay should attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held, always declared my readiness to proceed, and I shall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 28.) — *Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic will be happy to have an opportunity of conversing for a few minutes with lord Malmesbury; and they have in consequence the honour of proposing to him to meet them at two o'clock to-day, or at any other hour which may be more convenient to him, and

and which he will have the goodness to appoint.

They renew, with pleasure, to lord Malmesbury, the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

LE TOURNEUR.

HUGUES B. MARET.

COLCHEN, Sec. Gen. of
the Legation of the
Republic, August 4,
1797.

*Lisle, 17 Thermidor,
5th year of the Republic.
(Aug 4, 1797.)*

(No. 29.)—*Extract of a Dispatch
from Lord Malmesbury to Lord
Grenville, dated Lisle, August 14th,
1797.*

My Lord,

In consequence of the resolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the post from Paris, our conferences for this last week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thursday the 10th of August, which, being the anniversary of one of their national festivals, the French legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No. 17, given your lordship an account of every thing which passed in these conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th nothing was said at all worth transmitting, except an intimation flung out by one of the French plenipotentiaries, that it would be necessary to take into consideration the rights of neutral nations on this occasion. But as he spoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not choose to press him for an explanation, as I consider it more judicious to avoid discussions on separate and collate-

ral points, and not to enter into negotiation till the whole can be brought under deliberation at once.

What passed on the 12th was rather more interesting. The return of Mr. Wesley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expressing the impatience with which an answer to my last note was expected by my court; that three weeks had now elapsed since its transmission, and that, although I by no means wished to insinuate that due attention had not been paid to so very important a subject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day should be allowed to pass away without our proceeding at all in the great business for which we were met. One of the French ministers said, that it was impossible I could lament this delay more than they did; that they had already declared to me that it was occasioned by a wish not to create but remove difficulties; and they could assure me positively, that the French government had no other object in view, and that I should find, when once we began fairly to negotiate, we should proceed very rapidly.

I replied, it was indeed very material to make good the time we had lost. The French minister answered, You would not call it time lost if you knew how it was employed. On my expressing, by my manner, a wish to be informed, he went on, by saying, We will not scruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are consulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has passed here; we have stated that, unless they mean to continue the war, they must release us from our engagements,

ments, and enable us, to a certain degree, to meet your proposals.

The conference of to-day is this moment over. One of the French plenipotentiaries informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the president of the directory, assuring him that in four or five days they would receive their final instructions; and he added of himself, that he trusted these would be such as would enable us to continue our work without any further interruption. I said, I hoped these instructions would be in substance a counter project, as I did not see how any thing short of one could enable us to proceed so rapidly as he described. He agreed with me entirely, and assured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly stated the necessity of a counter project being sent them; and he observed, that he really thought the French government might have foreseen every thing which had passed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have saved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myself have said more, I readily gave a full assent to what I heard.

(No. 30.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, August 19, 1797.*

An expression mentioned in one of your lordship's last dispatches to have fallen from one of the French plenipotentiaries, leads to the presumption that it is intended, on the part of France, to bring forward some proposal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your lordship will best judge of the proper opportunity of expressing his majesty's decided and

unalterable resolution on this point, not to admit of any proposal for treating with his enemies on the subject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your lordship by this messenger, relates to an expression in the late message of the directory to the council of five hundred, which, if literally taken, conveys an accusation against his majesty's government, that some delay has arisen on the part of this country in the negotiations at Lille. This is so avowedly contrary to the fact, that it must be considered as impossible that such a charge could be intended to be made by a government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any answer to his majesty's distinct and liberal proposals of peace, and whose plenipotentiaries were daily apologising to your lordship for this unbecoming, and, as they almost confess, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the king's pleasure that your lordship should present a note, remarking upon the sense to which these words are liable, expressing your persuasion that such cannot be the intention with which they were used, but asking on the part of your court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refused without a violation of every thing which truth and justice require on such an occasion.

(No. 31.)—*Extract from the Message of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Aug. 9th, 1797.*

In short, this cause is in the same dependency in which all
good

good citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country, are, at seeing deferred at the very moment when its conclusion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with so much blood and so much suffering — a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquished coalition at length solicited in good earnest, when its conclusion was expected, and which a government, friendly to humanity, were still more earnest to conclude: when, all on a sudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general dissolution of the government by the failing of its finances, upon its destruction, upon the death or banishment of its bravest generals, and upon the dispersion and loss of its armies, these very same coalesced powers have thrown as much delay into the negotiations, as they had shewn anxiety to bring them to an end.

(No. 32.)—*Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 22, 1797.*

My Lord,

In my conference of this morning I took an opportunity of remarking to the French plenipotentiaries on the very unfair and extraordinary assertion which had appeared in the message of the 9th instant, from the directory to the council of five hundred, viz. "*Que les puissances coalisées ont mis autant de lenteur dans les négociations, qu'elles avoient montré de l'ardeur pour les terminer.*" I observed to them, that I had orders from my court to ask a precise explanation, whether this accusation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which his majesty had conducted the nego-

1797.

tiation at Lisle, and if it was so meant, to declare that no accusation was ever more destitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I said I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impossible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay) rested with the French government, and not with his majesty. The French plenipotentiaries admitted this to be most strictly true; that the phrase I had quoted was an ill-judged one, and *mal redigée*; but that it could not in any point of view whatever be construed as applying to England; and they were ready to say, that when it was written, the directory alluded solely to the court of Vienna; that they could assure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and that when they said this it was saying in other words that I had carried on the negotiation with as much expedition as possible, and that if it had proceeded slowly for this last month, the slowness arose on their side and not on mine.

I said I could not for an instant call in question their feelings on this point; it was the insinuation conveyed in the message, and which had gone over Europe, that it was necessary for me to clear up, and to know whether the directory thought and felt as they did. One of the French ministers, with very strong expressions, assured me the directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair or insidious allusion was meant, and added; "*Que ce message étoit fait pour stimuler les conseils.*" I went on by observing it was very essential for me to have this fully explained,

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plained, and that I should give them in a note to this effect; they requested I would not, it would lead to disagreeable discussions, and would not answer the end I proposed. They would take upon themselves now to assure me in the name of the directory, that nothing at all similar to the construction I put on the phrase was intended, and that as soon as they could receive an answer to the report they should make of to-day's conversation, they would say the same from the directory itself.

I hope, my lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very precise and formal disavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on his majesty's government, fulfilled the object of my instructions on this particular point. If, when the French plenipotentiaries speak from the directory, the disavowal should not be equally satisfactory and complete, I then will not fail, according to your lordship's order, to give in a note.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 33.)—*Extract of a Letter from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 22, 1797.*

The four conferences I have held with the French plenipotentiaries, since I wrote to your lordship on the 4th instant, will not, I fear, furnish very interesting materials for a dispatch.

Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other dispatch; but the French plenipotentiaries assured me, that by Thurs-

day, or at the latest by Saturday, they expected to receive their long-expected messenger.

(No. 34.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Aug. 29, 1797.*

I am extremely sorry to be forced, to announce to your lordship, that fresh delays occur in the progress of the negotiation.

The French plenipotentiaries informed me at our conference yesterday, that the last answer from Holland was so unsatisfactory, that the directory had ordered the minister for foreign affairs to return it to the Dutch ministers at Paris; that the Dutch ministers could not take upon themselves to alter it in the way the directory proposed, but had been obliged to refer to their government for new orders; and that therefore, supposing no time to be lost in the deliberation on this subject at the Hague, it would be at least a week from to-day before any farther account could be received here.

After lamenting this unexpected procrastination of our business, I expressed a wish to know what the Dutch answer had been, what objections the directory had made to it, and the alteration they were desirous it should undergo.

One of the French plenipotentiaries said, it had not been communicated to them, but that he understood it was *complexe, louche, et peu satisfaisante*.—That the directory expected it should be clear and distinct, and such an one as would enable them to send such instructions here, as would allow us to go on with the negotiation in a way to recover the time we had lost.

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(No. 35.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sept. 5, 1797.*

My Lord,

I should have considered what has passed in our conferences since I last had the honour of writing to your lordship by Mr. Wesley, as in itself too unimportant to authorise me to dispatch a messenger, but that in general I think it my duty never to leave your lordship more than a week without hearing from me; and I was also glad of an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's dispatch, No. 23, which was delivered to me by the messenger Shaw, on the 31st August, at 10 P. M.

Nothing but common conversation passed in our conferences of the 30th August and of the 1st September. In that of the 3d the French plenipotentiaries confirmed what they had taken upon themselves to assure me on the 22d August, in consequence of the representation I had your lordship's orders to make on the expressions employed by the directory in their message of the 9th August to the councils, and which expressions appeared to fix an imputation of delay on his majesty's government in the progress of the negotiation. They said that they had reported to the directory what I observed on this subject, and that they were now charged to repeat what I had already heard from them, and to declare that no intention similar to that I supposed ever existed on the part of the directory.

In our conference of this morning, although I had reason to expect that the answer from the Hague was arrived at Paris, yet it

was not admitted by the French plenipotentiaries.

(No. 36.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 9th Sept. 1797.*

I need not say that the two conferences which have been held since I dispatched the messenger Brooks, were not likely, under the present circumstances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or interesting.

In that of Thursday the 7th, one of the French plenipotentiaries began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wish that the great event which had taken place at Paris, should not interrupt for a long time our negotiation, or destroy the pleasing prospect we had of its soon terminating successfully; and from his manner I clearly saw he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to discover whether he spoke in consequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or simply from his own private judgment, and I found it was entirely from the latter.

In our conference of this morning, he said they were still without any letters from M. Tallérand (which rather surprised him); but he could assure me, with certainty, that by Monday they should be empowered to go on with the negotiation, and that I might safely say so to my court.

(No. 37.) *Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing Street, September 11, 1797.*

Your lordship's dispatches by the
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messenger, Shaw, were received here this morning.

It would be premature in the present moment, to enter into any reasoning on the effect which the extraordinary events at Paris may be expected to have on the important negotiation with which your lordship is charged. A very few days must now probably shew, in the most unequivocal manner, what are the views which are entertained by the now predominant party at Paris, respecting the question of peace or war with Great Britain: and it becomes his majesty's government to wait the event with the same desire for accommodation on reasonable terms, and the same firmness, with respect to undue and insulting demands, which has actuated every part of the conduct held by your lordship.

(No. 38.) *Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Monday, September 11, 1797.*

My Lord,

On my going to the conference this morning, the French plenipotentiaries informed me that the whole French legation was recalled, and that Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco were appointed in their room. They said, their orders were to communicate this event to me immediately, and at the same time to add, in the name of the French government, that this alteration, in the choice of the negotiators, would not produce any whatever in the disposition of the directory, to bring the negotiation to a happy issue.

I assured them I was extremely sorry to hear that they were recalled. That we had hitherto acted to-

gether so cordially, that it was to be lamented any circumstances had arisen which made the French government think it advisable to put the negotiation into other hands.

That I received with satisfaction what they told me as to the sentiments manifested by the directory, relative to the negotiation, and that I could assure them, they were such as certainly existed in the breast of my royal master.

I then suggested to them, whether it would not be proper to give me an official note on this occasion, since it made a very marked period in the negotiation: and as they perfectly agreed with me on the propriety of this, they sent me that I now enclose.

I consider this event as so material, that I do not lose a moment in dispatching one of my servants to England, as I have at present no messenger with me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 39.) — *Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have the honour to inform lord Malmesbury that they have received, by this day's post, a décret of the executive directory, signifying their recall, and the nomination of citizens Treilhard and Bonnier to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations entered upon with England.

The minister for foreign affairs, in sending to the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary this decree of the directory, of the 22d of this month, orders them to wait the arrival of their successors. It also directs

rects them to inform the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, that the change of the negotiators does not carry with it any change in the disposition of the directory, with regard to the negotiation.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have the honour to renew to lord Malmesbury the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

HUGUES B. MARET.

*Lisle, 25th Fructidor,
5th Year of the Republic.*

(September 11, 1797.)

COLCHEN, secretary-general of the Legation.

(No. 40.)—*Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have addressed him, communicating the decree of the executive directory, which signifies their recall and the nomination of the ministers destined to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations already commenced. He receives at the same time with satisfaction, and will transmit without delay to his court, the assurance, that this change of the negotiators does not bring with it any change in the disposition of the directory as to the negotiation.

Lord Malmesbury, in thanking the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic for this communication, begs them to be persuaded of his personal regret on account of their departure, and to accept the

assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, September 12, 1797.

(No. 41.)—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th September, 1797.*

My Lord,

The new French plenipotentiaries, Messrs. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco, with their principal secretary, M. Derché, and two private secretaries, arrived here at five o'clock, A. M. on Wednesday the 13th instant. At eleven, A. M. they sent M. Derché to acquaint me with their arrival, and to enquire at what hour I would receive their visit. In consequence of my saying whenever it was convenient to them, they came immediately, attended by Messrs. Le Tourneur, Maret, and Colchen.

On taking leave, M. Le Tourneur came forward and said to me, in his name and that of his colleagues, that they could not terminate their mission without expressing the satisfaction they had felt from the openness and candour (*loyauté et franchise*) with which I had acted during the whole of the negotiation, or take leave of me, without expressing their sincere personal regrets; that the recollection of my conduct would always be agreeable to them, and that it had given me the strongest title to their esteem and good wishes.

After giving the new plenipotentiaries as much time as was necessary to return to their own house, I sent Mr. Ross to ask at what hour I might return their visit; and in consequence of their answer, I went to them, attended by lord Morpeth and Mr. Ellis.

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I took an opportunity of returning the compliment M. Le Tourneur had made me; and I must in justice repeat, my lord, what I have already said, that his conduct and that of his colleagues has, in every point which has depended on them, been perfectly fair and honourable, and in no instance contrary to the principles they announced, and the professions they made. It is therefore impossible for me not to regret them, and not to consider the change of negotiators at least as a very unpleasant, if not a very unfortunate incident.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

(No. 42.)—*Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th Sept. 1797.*

My Lord,

I shall endeavour in this dispatch to give your lordship as circumstantial an account as my memory will allow me to do, of what has passed in the two conferences I have held with the new French plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the *arrêt* of the directory appointing them to succeed Messrs. Le Tourneur and Maret, and empowering them to continue the negotiation with me, one of them began by making the strongest assurances of the sincere desire entertained by the directory for peace. He observed, that if this desire had manifested itself so strongly at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it must naturally become stronger and be exerted with more effect when all spirit of division was suppressed, and when the government was strengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches:

that the first and most material point to be ascertained in every negotiation was the extent of the full powers with which the negotiators are vested; that I should find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was necessary to the success of our discussions that mine should be equally so, they had it in command to present a note, the object of which was to inquire, whether I was authorised to treat on the principle of a general restitution of every possession remaining in his majesty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their allies; that I was not unacquainted with their laws and with their treaties; that a great country could not on any occasion act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I must be of this, I could not but expect the question contained in the note, neither could I consider the requisition of an explicit answer, previous to entering upon the negotiation, as arising from any other motive than that of the most perfect wish, on the part of the directory, to bring it to a successful, and, above all, to a speedy conclusion.

I replied, that if, after what I heard, I could allow myself to hope for such an event as he seemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacific dispositions he announced on the part of the French government, such hope must arise solely from the confidence I might place in his assurances; since the measure itself now adopted by the directory was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impression on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that, far from expecting such a question, its being now put surprised me beyond measure, and still more so, when from his comment upon it I was to infer, that he wished me to consider it as tending

to promote a speedy pacification; that the question expressed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his speech) was word for word the same as that put to me by his predecessors so long ago as the 14th July; that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an answer, and that this answer I confirmed fully and distinctly by order of my court on the 24th July; that these notes had to the present hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reasons assigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided resolution on the part of the French government to listen to the reasonable proposals made by his majesty; but that being bound by their engagements with the court of Madrid and the Batavian republic, and wishing to treat their allies with due consideration, they were desirous of consulting with them previous to any positive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary release from those engagements sufficient to enable the French plenipotentiaries here to admit the basis his majesty had established, and to ground on it all future discussions which might arise in the course of the negotiation; that if he had read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his possession by his predecessors, he would find what I stated to be strictly true; and that of course it could not be difficult to account for my surprise, when, after being told that he and his colleague were to take up the negotiation precisely where they found it, it now became evident that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we started, and flung back in a way which seemed to threaten a conclusion

very different from that he foretold.

I shall not attempt to follow the French minister through the very elaborate and certainly able speech he made in reply, with a view to convince me that the enquiry into the extent of my full powers was the strongest proof the directory could furnish of their pacific intention, and the shortest road they could take to accomplish the desired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation (*activer* was his word), and to prevent its stagnating, that this demand was made so specifically; and he intimated to me, that it was impossible for the directory to proceed till a full and satisfactory answer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by saying, their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the negotiation at once, not to give it activity, since it must be known, I could not have powers of the description he alluded to; and even supposing I had, the admitting it would be in fact neither more or less than a complete avowal of the principle itself, which once agreed on, nothing would be left to negotiate about. The other French plenipotentiary interposed here, by saying, "that would not be the case; many articles would still remain to be proposed, and many points for important discussion." I said, every word I heard seemed to present fresh difficulties. Without replying to me, the first-mentioned minister went on by endeavouring to prove, that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent, did not imply the necessity of exercising them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take; that the note, and the

time prescribed in it, were in consequence of the most positive orders from the directory; and that if I drew from it a conclusion different from the assurances they had made me in the name of the directory, I did not make the true inference. I replied, that, although the prescribing the day on which the question was put to me as the term within which I was to give my answer to it, was both a very unusual and abrupt mode of proceeding, yet as a day was much more than sufficient for the purpose, I should forbear making any particular remark on this circumstance: that as to the inference to be drawn from the positive manner in which they appeared to maintain the question put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expressed: that the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a question already answered, and which question involved the fate of the negotiation, certainly could not be considered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance: that in regard to my answer, it could not be different from that I had given before: that my full powers, which were in their hands, were as extensive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or less latitude; but that in fact their question went not to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my instructions; and on this point they certainly would forgive me if I did not speak out till such time as the circumstances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French minister strove to prove to me, what he had before attempted, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the discretionary authority confided in a minister, by no means implied

an intention of requiring of him to act up to its utmost limits. I observed, if no such intention existed, why institute the enquiry? and if it did exist, why not say so at once? — He said, what we now ask is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your answer, we shall follow it up by another step, which we are ordered to take. I said, my answer was given two months ago; that, although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not see why they should not proceed immediately to the other step, by which I was told the question was to be followed up. It would be premature, said the French minister; but in drawing up your answer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have used, or in your report to your court, the assurances we have given of the earnest wish of the directory to terminate the war.

I replied, that I still must maintain, that, from the manner in which they thought proper to define full powers, I could see no distinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle; and that the question itself could not be put with any other intention. — (Your lordship will observe, from the subsequent notes which passed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this assertion.) That in my reports, they might be fully assured I should act up to that conciliatory spirit, which from the earliest period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inauspicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look hostile. At the word hostile, both the French plenipotentiaries were most warm in their protestations, that

that nothing could be less so; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as from their wishes. I said, that although I heard this with pleasure, yet I could not avoid advertg to facts, and that when, instead of an answer, and the favourable answer which I had every reason to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand which had been already satisfied two months ago; I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the treaty, it assuredly did not announce a near and successful termination of it. The above-mentioned minister persisted I was mistaken; that the business would end speedily; that speed was their wish, and speed with peace for its object.

On breaking up our conference, I said, that I took it for granted we should meet again at the usual hour, on Sunday. He said, that perhaps it might not be necessary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the first idea of what has since taken place.

I inclose your lordship the note A, I received in this conference from the French plenipotentiaries, and the answer B, which I made to it yesterday morning at 10 A. M.

At 6 P. M. the note C was transmitted to me; to which at 8 P. M. I returned the answer D, by Mr. Rofs, whom I sent in order that he might bring me the passports I asked for; but at quarter before 10 P. M. M. Derché, secretary of the French legation, delivered to me the paper marked E; and this morning at 9 A. M. I replied by the note F, which immediately produced that marked G.

The notes sent me by the French

plenipotentiaries speak for themselves: and it is unnecessary to enter into any reflections on them. I am willing to hope that the answers I have made were such as became the situation in which I stand, the importance of the cause entrusted to me, and the steady but temperate conduct which the spirit of my instructions injoin me to hold.

It was my wish to give every opening to the French plenipotentiaries to recall the violent step they had taken; and, if possible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it was with this view, and with a most anxious desire not to exclude all hope of the restoration of peace, that I determined on suggesting the idea of our meeting once more before I left Lisle.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by observing, that the several notes they had received from me since the preceding evening, had been too expressive of the surprize I felt at the measure the directory had thought proper to adopt, to make it necessary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference; and indeed my sole motive for suggesting that it might be for our mutual satisfaction that it should be held, was, because this measure appeared to me to be in such direct contradiction to the very strong assurances I had so constantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacific intentions with which they declared they were sent, that it was my earnest wish (before I considered their conduct as forcing me to a step which must so materially affect the success of the negotiation) to be perfectly certain that I understood clearly and distinctly the precise meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing could be more reasonable than that I should, on so important a point,

a point, require explanation, or more satisfactory to them than to give it to me (as far as lay in their power), I proceeded by saying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my instructions (for however different these were in themselves, in their demand they seemed constantly blended); and that if either I refused to consent to this, or if on consenting to it, it was found that I was not authorised to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the space of twenty-four hours to leave Lisle, and return to my court; and that I was required to obtain full authority to admit this principle, if it was wished the negotiation should proceed. This I said appeared to me to be the evident sense of the notes, and I begged to know whether I had mistaken it or not. One of the French plenipotentiaries said, "You have understood it exactly; I hope you equally understand the intention of the French government, which is to accelerate peace by removing every obstacle which stands in its way."

I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite sure notwithstanding the observation they had made, *que j'avais saisi la véritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be a very unprofitable employment of our time to argue either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *sine qua non*, to even a preliminary discussion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory demand with which they opened their mission, to the pacific professions that accompanied it; that if they were determined to persist in this demand, it was much better to avoid all useless altercation; and nothing

in that case remained for me to do, but to ask for my passports, and to signify to them my intention of leaving France at an early hour the next morning. They said, they had their hands tied by an *arrêt* of the directory, and were bound to observe the conduct they had followed by the most positive orders; and although we remained together some time longer, not a hint dropped from them expressive of a wish that, instead of going myself for new instructions, I should either write for them by a messenger, or obtain them by sending to England one of the gentlemen who are with me. I endeavoured by every indirect means to suggest to them the necessity of adopting some such modification, if they meant that their wishes for peace, in the expression of which they were this morning more eager than ever, should meet with the slightest degree of credit: I again brought to their recollection that I was authorised to receive any proposal, any *contre projet* they tendered me, but that they must be aware that it was not possible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to assume an authority with which I was not invested. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they said for reference; but this availed nothing, except drawing from one of them a remark, that the full powers which authorised a minister to hear proposals, were widely different from those which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was such full powers that the directory required me to solicit.

An easy answer presented itself to this mode of reasoning; but I saw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a conversation, which, after the positive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing;

nothing: I therefore ended the conference, by declaring my resolution to begin my journey at a very early hour the next morning, and by saying, that immediately on my arrival in England I would make an exact report of every thing that had passed since their arrival.

I trust, my lord, I shall not incur censure for having declined to offer in distinct terms to wait at Lisle till I could know his majesty's pleasure on the peremptory proposal made to me: but when I considered the nature of the proposal itself, the avowal that this would not be the last, nor perhaps the most humiliating condition required of us, and the imperious style with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impossible for me to assume a language, or affect a manner, that could be interpreted into solicitation or entreaty. I felt myself called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary proceeding with calmness and temper; and, notwithstanding the deep and poignant concern I must feel at an event which I fear will remove all probability of an immediate pacification, I trust that in the expression of this sentiment I have not used a language unbecoming the character with which I am invested, or the greatness of the sovereign and country whose dignity and interests it is my primary duty to consult and to maintain.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect, my lord,
your lordship's most obedient
humble servant,

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 43. A.) *Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to assure lord Malmesbury, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, that the French government wishes as sincerely, as strongly as ever, a peace, desired by the two nations; but, unable to conclude any other peace than such an one as is founded on the laws and on the treaties which bind the French republic; persuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is necessary to explain itself with entire frankness, and desirous of giving to the negotiation the greatest rapidity, the executive directory has expressly charged the undersigned to demand of lord Malmesbury, whether he has sufficient powers for restoring, in the treaty which may be concluded, to the French republic and to its allies, all the possessions, which, since the beginning of the war, have passed into the hands of the English.

The undersigned are equally charged by the executive directory to demand of lord Malmesbury an answer in the course of the day. They request him to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Lisle, 29 Fructidor,
5th Year of the Republic,
(Sept. 15, 1797)*

By the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, the sec. gen.
DERCHE.

(No. 44. B.) *Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary

potentiary of his Britannic majesty receives, with great satisfaction, the expression of the sincere desire for peace, which the ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic announced to him yesterday in the name of their government. He has the honour to assure them, that the king, his master, is animated with the same desire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the question which the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic addressed to lord Malmesbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he considers himself as having already given the most unequivocal answer upon this subject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predecessors on the 15th and 24th of July.

However, to avoid all misunderstanding, he renews the declaration which he made yesterday; that is to say, that he neither can nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensations; a principle which has been formally recognised as the basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers.

Lord Malmesbury requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, Saturday, 16th Sept.

1797. 10 A. M.

(No. 45. C.) *Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the re-

ceipt of the answer of lord Malmesbury to the note which was presented to him in the conference of yesterday.

It appears from this answer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 24th of July, to which it refers, that lord Malmesbury has not powers for agreeing to the restitution of all the possessions which his Britannic majesty occupies, whether from the French republic, or from its allies.

In consequence, while they reiterate to lord Malmesbury the most positive assurance of the sentiments of the French government, the undersigned apprise him of a decree of the executive directory, which signifies that, in case lord Malmesbury shall declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French republic make indispensable, he shall be to return, in four-and-twenty hours, to his court, to ask for sufficient powers. Lord Malmesbury can see in this determination of the executive directory, nothing else than an intention to hasten the moment when the negotiation may be followed up with the certainty of a speedy conclusion.

The ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Lisle, 30 Fructidor,
5th Year of the Republic.
(Sept. 16, 1797.)*

By the ministers plenipotentiaries, the sec. gen.
of the legation.

DERCHE,
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(No. 46. D.) *Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been sent him by the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic.

Whatever regret he may experience at seeing the hope of a speedy conciliation thus destroyed, he can return no other answer to a refusal so absolute, to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite, in order that they may set off within the four-and-twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Lisle, Saturday, 16th Sept. 8 P. M.

(No. 47. E.) *Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of lord Malmesbury's answer to the note which they addressed to him this day.

They think it right to observe to him, that he does not appear to have seized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains refusal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity,

and for following them up with a success, no less desirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the ministers charged with the conduct of them.

The French government is so far from entertaining the intentions which the note of lord Malmesbury appears to impute to them, that the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic have received no order to quit Lisle, after the departure of the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD:
BONNIER.

By the ministers plenipotentiary, the sec. gen. of the legation.

DERCHE.
Lisle, 30 Fructidor,
5th Year of the French Republic.
(Sept. 16, 1797.)

(No. 48. F.) *Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic transmitted to him yesterday, through the hands of the secretary general of their legation. He thinks he cannot answer it better than by submitting to them in his turn the following observations.

That having already by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the express orders of his court, given an answer to the question, which is now so unexpectedly renewed; a question that, in appearance, relates solely to the limits of his

his full powers (which are in the most ample form), but which does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his instructions; and not being authorised to quit the place of his destination without the express orders of the king his master, in any case except that of the rupture of the negotiation; he could not help considering a note enjoining him, in consequence of a decree of the executive directory, to return to his court in the space of four-and-twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the conclusion of peace; nevertheless, to answer the assurances of the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, and to testify his desire to seize their real meaning, with respect to which he should be very sorry to deceive himself, he thinks that it would be more satisfactory to meet once more; and if the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic should be of the same opinion, lord Malmesbury would propose that this meeting should take place at an earlier hour than usual, in order that he may have time to take such steps as the result of their conferences may render necessary. He desires the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Liste, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1797.

(No. 49. G.) *Note from the Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has transmitted to them this morning. Re-

ferring to the notes addressed to lord Malmesbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and especially to the first of yesterday, they agree to the meeting which lord Malmesbury appears to desire, and propose the hour of noon.

They request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Liste, 1st complimentary Day,
5th Year of the French Republic.
(17 Sept. 1797.)*

By the ministers plenipotentiary, the sec. gen.
of the legation.

DERCHE.

(No. 50.) *Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, Sept. 22, 1797.*

My Lord,

I have had the honour of laying before his majesty your lordship's dispatches, in which you have given an account of the extraordinary conduct of the new plenipotentiaries of the French republic, of the answers given by your lordship to their unjustifiable demand, and of your consequent departure from Lisle.

I have the satisfaction to be able to assure your lordship, that his majesty has been pleased to express his entire approbation of your lordship's judicious and temperate conduct in the unprecedented situation in which you were placed, and of the manner in which you expressed yourself, both in your official notes, and in your conversations with the French plenipotentiaries, as well as of that in which you have conducted yourself during the whole course of the negotiation, which seems too likely to be now brought to its close.

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As it appears, however, that some further answer will probably be expected by the French government to their late extraordinary demand, notwithstanding the full and conclusive reply given in your lordship's notes, I have received the king's commands to transmit to you the inclosed draft of a note, which it is his majesty's pleasure that your lordship should transmit to the plenipotentiaries at Lisle, by a messenger whom I shall direct to be in readiness for that purpose.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.
Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 51.) *Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty has rendered to his court a faithful account of the circumstances that have interrupted the exercise of those important functions which his majesty had been pleased to intrust to him. His majesty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation the answers which the undersigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demands which the new plenipotentiaries of the French republic addressed to him immediately upon their arrival at Lisle.

But in order to leave no doubt respecting the nature and object of this demand, the undersigned has been expressly ordered to declare, in the name of his court,

1. That the full powers with which his majesty had thought proper to furnish him for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace, are conceived and expressed in the most ample form, authorising the undersigned fully, and without reserve, to sign any treaty upon which he might agree with the

French plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be, conforming himself, in all cases, to the instructions which he might receive from his court.

2. That these full powers have been received and recognised as sufficient, as well by the plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the directory themselves, and that there is, consequently, no room for any new discussion upon a subject which has already been closed by common agreement, and which, moreover, is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this subject being entirely conformable to customs long established and recognised by all the nations of Europe.

3. That the demand of the directory, therefore, in reality, refers not to the full powers of the undersigned but to the extent of his instructions, of which the directory could not, under any circumstances, require any communication, further than as the undersigned himself might judge such a communication conducive to the success of the negotiation; and that very far from being in a situation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the undersigned had every reason to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French plenipotentiaries, that he should immediately receive a *contre projet*, of a nature to facilitate the further progress of the negotiation which had been suspended for more than two months.

4. That the court of London had good reason to be still more astonished at the substance of the new demand made to the undersigned, a demand relating to preliminary

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conditions which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the negotiation, and from which the French plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the measures which the directory were, in consequence, taking, for the purpose of coming to some arrangement with their allies.

5. That it is, therefore, only by consenting to treat upon the basis of the projet, detailed with so much openness, which was presented by the undersigned a few days after his arrival at Lille, or by returning a *contre projet* of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the assurances which he received so long ago, that it appears possible to continue the negotiation, which the plenipotentiaries have so strongly assured him that the directory did not wish to break off, notwithstanding the measures lately adopted with respect to him: a measure which the undersigned forbears to characterise, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impression of a disposition by no means pacific on the part of the directory.

The undersigned is directed to add, that his majesty would see with real regret the certainty of the existence of such a disposition, so little compatible with the ardent desire with which he is animated to restore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himself contributed to it on his part, he should again find himself under the necessity of continuing the war, he will conduct himself upon every occasion agreeably to the same principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-establishment of peace, but persisting to defend, with an unshaken firmness, the dignity of his crown, and the interests of his people.

The minister plenipotentiary of

his Britannic majesty requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London, the 22d of September, 1797.

(No. 52.) *Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary messenger, from lord Malmesbury. They have the honour to answer to him, that their note of the 20th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double assurance of the settled intention of the French government to continue the negotiations for peace, and of its constant determination not to agree to any other conditions than such as are compatible with the dignity of the French republic.

A peace, of which the basis should be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its allies, would never satisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the executive directory has never departed, and upon which its sentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmesbury having formally declared in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the last instance in that of the 17th September, that he had not the powers necessary for restoring the Dutch and Spanish possessions, occupied by the troops of his Britannic majesty, the executive directory has given a new proof of its openness, and of its desire to accelerate the conclusion of peace, in requiring
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lord Malmesbury to return to his court, for the purpose of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude; a measure rendered necessary by the declaration of the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty, and upon which it is impossible to give a wrong impression to any thinking and impartial mind.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic request lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Lisle, 4th Vendemiaire,
5th Year of the Republic.*
(Sept. 25, 1797.)

DERCHE.

(No. 53.) *Note from the French
Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.*

The ministers plenipotentiaries of the French republic, charged to treat for peace with England, have the honour to inform lord Malmesbury, that having sent a copy of his last note to their government, the executive directory has directed them to declare in its name, that it has never ceased to wish for peace; that it gave an unequivocal proof of the sentiment which animates it, when it ordered the ministers plenipotentiary of the republic to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the English government to its minister plenipotentiary; that this demand had, and could have, no other object but to bring the negotiation to a speedy and successful issue.

That the order given to the plenipotentiaries of the republic to remain at Lisle after the departure of lord Malmesbury, is another proof that the directory had desired and

foreseen his return with powers that should not be illusory, and the limitation of which should no longer be a pretext for delaying the conclusion of peace:

That such are still the hopes and intentions of the executive directory, which enjoins the ministers plenipotentiary of the republic not to quit Lisle till the continued absence of the negotiator shall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic majesty to break off all negotiation:

That consequently the 25th Vendemiaire (16th of October, old style) is the period fixed for the recall of the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, supposing that at that time the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty shall not have arrived at Lisle.

The executive directory will feel the greatest regret that a reconciliation, already twice attempted, should not be perfected; but its conscience, and the whole of Europe, will bear it testimony, that it is the English government alone that will have inflicted the scourge of war upon the two nations.

The ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic entreat the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Lisle, 10th Vendemiaire,
6th Year of the French Republic.*
(October 1, 1797.)

The sec. of the legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 54.) *Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.*

The undersigned having laid before the king's ministry the note of
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the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, is directed to observe to them,

That it is only in consequence of the formal and positive injunction of the directory that he quitted Lisle; that his powers were neither illusory nor limited; and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has been only retarded by the delays of the directory, and which at this moment is only suspended by its act.

With regard to the renewal of the conferences, the undersigned can only refer to his last note, where he has explained with frankness and precision the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation; observing at the same time that the king could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the customs established amongst all civilized nations, with regard to public ministers, and especially to those charged to negotiate for the re-establishment of peace, would be respected for the future in the person of his plenipotentiary.

The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty requests the ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
London, 5th Oct. 1797.

Declaration of the King of Great Britain to the People, respecting the Rupture of the late Negotiation.

His majesty's benevolent endeavours to restore to his people the blessings of secure and honourable peace, again repeated without success, have again demonstrated, beyond the possibility of doubt, the determined and persevering hostility

of the government of France, in whose unprovoked aggression the war originated, and by whose boundless and destructive ambition it is still prolonged. And while by the course of these transactions, continued proofs have been afforded to all his majesty's faithful subjects, of his anxious and unremitting solicitude for their welfare, they cannot, at the same time, have failed to recognize, in the uniform conduct of the enemy, the spirit by which the councils of France are still actuated, and the objects to which they are directed.

His majesty could not but feel how much the means of peace had been obstructed by the many additional difficulties which his enemies had so repeatedly thrown in the way of every negotiation. Nevertheless, on the very first appearance of circumstances in some degree more favourable to the interests of humanity, the same ardent desire for the ease and happiness of his subjects induced his majesty to renew his overtures for terminating the calamities of war: thus availing himself of every opening which could in any manner lead to secure an honourable peace, and consulting equally the wishes of his own heart and the principles by which his conduct has invariably been guided.

New obstacles were immediately interposed by those who still directed the councils of France, and who, amidst the general desire for peace, which they could not at that time openly disclaim, still retained the power of frustrating the wishes of their own country, of counteracting his majesty's benevolent intentions, and of obstructing that result which was so necessary for the happiness of both nations. Difficulties of form were studiously created; modes of negotiation were insisted

insisted upon, the most inconsistent with their own conduct in every other instance; the same spirit appeared in every step which was taken by them; and while the most unwarranted insinuations were thrown out, and the most unfounded reproaches brought forward, the established customs and usages, which have long prevailed in Europe, were purposely departed from, even in the simple acts which were to be done on their part for the renewal of the negotiations. All these things his majesty determined to disregard; not as being insensible of their purport and tendency, nor unmindful of the importance of these points, in the public intercourse of great and independent nations, but resolving to defeat the object of these artifices, and to suffer no subordinate or inferior consideration to impede, on his part, the discussion of the weighty and extensive interests on which the termination of the war must necessarily depend.

He directed his minister to repair to France, furnished with the most ample powers, and instructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace, reduced into the shape of a regular treaty, just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every subject connected with the restoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very first conference, was accompanied by such explanations as fully stated and detailed the utmost extent of his majesty's views, and at the same time gave ample room for the examination of every disputed point, for mutual arrangement and concession, and for reciprocal facilities arising out of the progress of fair discussion.

To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of his majesty's enemies opposes the most striking contrast. From them no counter-project has ever yet been obtained: no statement of the extent or nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with these kingdoms. Their pretensions have always been brought forward either as detached or as preliminary points, distinct from the main object of negotiation, and accompanied, in every instance, with an express reserve of farther and unexplained demands.

The points which, in pursuance of this system, the plenipotentiaries of the enemy proposed for separate discussion in their first conferences with his majesty's minister, were at once frivolous and offensive; none of them productive of any solid advantage to France, but all calculated to raise new obstacles in the way of peace. And to these demands was soon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its substance extravagant, and such as could originate only in the most determined and inveterate hostility. The principle of mutual compensation, before expressly admitted by common consent, as the just and equitable basis of negotiation, was now disclaimed; every idea of moderation or reason, every appearance of justice, was disregarded; and a concession was required from his majesty's plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indispensable condition of negotiation, which must at once have superseded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions so large a portion of her conquests, and affecting to have deprived herself, by her own in-

ternal regulations, of the power of alienating these valuable additions of territory, did not scruple to demand from his majesty the absolute and unconditional surrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies, have conquered in the present war, either from France, or from her allies. She required that the power of Great Britain should be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almost unparalleled in history. She insisted, that in proportion to the increase of danger, the means of resistance should be diminished; and that his majesty should give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the necessary defences of his possessions, and the future safeguards of his empire. Nor was even this demand brought forward as constituting the terms of peace, but as the price of negotiation; as the condition on which alone his majesty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were still reserved, and to what greater sacrifices these unprecedented concessions of honour and safety were to lead.

Whatever were the impressions which such a proceeding created, they did not induce the king abruptly to preclude the means of negotiation. In rejecting without a moment's hesitation a demand, which could have been made for no other reason than because it was inadmissible, his majesty, from the fixed resolution to avail himself of every chance of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, directed that an opening should still be left, for treating on reasonable and equal grounds, such as might become the dignity of his crown, and the rank and station in Europe in

which it has pleased the divine providence to place the British nation.

This temperate and conciliatory conduct was strongly expressive of the benevolence of his majesty's intentions; and it appeared for some time to have prepared the way for that result which has been the uniform object of all his measures. Two months elapsed after his majesty had unequivocally and definitively refused to comply with the unreasonable and extravagant preliminary which had been demanded by his enemies. During all that time the negotiation was continued open, the conferences were regularly held, and the demand thus explicitly rejected by one party was never once renewed by the other. It was not only abandoned, it was openly disclaimed; assurances were given in direct contradiction to it. Promises were continually repeated, that his majesty's explicit and detailed proposals should at length be answered by that which could alone evince a real disposition to negotiate with sincerity, by the delivery of a counter-project, of a nature tending to facilitate the conclusion of peace; and the long delays of the French government in executing these promises were excused and accounted for by an unequivocal declaration, that France was concerting with her allies for those sacrifices on their part, which might afford the means of proceeding in the negotiation. Week after week passed over in the repetition of these solemn engagements on the part of his majesty's enemies. His desire for peace induced him to wait for their completion, with an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the object; nor was it much to expect that his minister should at length be informed what was the extent and nature of the conditions

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on which his enemies were disposed to terminate the war.

In was in this stage of the business that, on the 11th of September, the appointment of new plenipotentiaries was announced on the part of France, under a formal promise that their arrival should facilitate and expedite the work of peace.

To renew, in a shape still more offensive than before, the inadmissible demand so long before brought forward, and so long abandoned, was the first act of these new messengers of peace. And such was now the undisguised impatience of the king's enemies to terminate all treaty, and to exclude all prospect of accommodation, that even the continuance of the king's plenipotentiary at the appointed place of negotiation was made by them to depend on his immediate compliance with a condition which his court had, two months before, explicitly refused, and concerning which no further discussion had since occurred. His reply was such as the occasion required; and he immediately received a positive and written order to depart from France.

The subsequent conduct of his majesty's enemies has aggravated even this proceeding, and added fresh insult to this unexampled outrage. The insurmountable obstacles which they threw in the way of peace were accompanied with an ostentatious profession of the most pacific dispositions. In cutting off the means of negotiation they still pretended to retain the strongest desire to negotiate: in ordering the king's minister to quit their country, they professed the hope of his immediate return to it: and in renewing their former inadmissible and rejected demand, they declared their confident expectation of a speedy and

favourable answer. Yet before any answer could arrive, they published a declaration, announcing to their country the departure of the king's messenger, and attempting, as in every former instance, to ascribe to the conduct of Great Britain the disappointment of the general wish for peace, and the renewal of all the calamities of war. The same attempt has been prolonged in subsequent communications, equally insidious and illusory, by which they have obviously intended to furnish the colour and empty pretence of a wish for peace, while they have still studiously and obstinately persisted in evading every step which could lead to the success of any negotiation; have continued to insist on the same inadmissible and extravagant preliminary, and have uniformly withheld all explanation either on the particulars of the proposals of peace, so long since delivered by his majesty's minister, or on any other terms on which they were themselves ready to conclude: and this in the vain hope that it could be possible by any artifice to disguise the truth of these transactions, or that any exercise of power, however despotic, could prevent such facts from being known, felt, and understood, even in France itself.

To France, to Europe, and to the world, it must be manifest that the French government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave his majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies the honour of his crown and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest that, instead of shewing, on their part, any inclination to meet his majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have ne-

ver brought themselves to state any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have asked as a preliminary (and in the form the most arrogant and offensive) concessions which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negotiation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated professions; and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outset: reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

On the other hand, the terms proposed by his majesty have been stated in the most clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others, which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his majesty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promised by the French plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotiation is not, therefore, to be ascribed to any pretensions (however inadmissible) urged as the price of peace; not to any ultimate difference on terms, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the contest, and to pursue, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the prosperity and safety of these kingdoms.

While this determination continues to prevail, his majesty's earnest wishes and endeavours to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. But his sentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may shew

a disposition and spirit in any degree corresponding to his own. And he renews, even now, and before all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been strengthened and confirmed by that fresh success, which, by the blessing of providence, has recently attended his arms, he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be closed) to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed: the rejection of such terms must now, more than ever, demonstrate the implacable animosity and insatiable ambition of those with whom he has to contend, and to them alone must the future consequences of the prolongation of the war be ascribed.

If such unhappily is the spirit by which they are still actuated, his majesty can neither hesitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the sentiments and determination of his people. He will not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themselves. He has an anxious, but a sacred and indispensable duty to fulfil: he will discharge it with resolution, constancy, and firmness. Deeply as he must regret the continuance of a war, so destructive in its progress, and so burthensome even in its success, he knows the character of the brave people whose interests and honour are entrusted to him. These it is the first object of his life to maintain; and he is convinced, that neither the resources nor the spirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous contest, or unequal to the importance and value of the objects which are at stake. He trusts that the favour of providence, by which they have

have always hitherto been supported against all their enemies, will be still extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful subjects, by a resolute and vigorous application of the means which they possess, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to resist, with just indignation, the assumed superiority of an enemy, against whom they have fought with the courage, and success, and glory of their ancestors, and who aims at nothing less than to destroy at once whatever has contributed to the prosperity and greatness of the British empire: all the channels of its industry, and all the sources of its power; its security from abroad; its tranquillity at home, and above all, that constitution on which alone depends the undisturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties.

Westminster, Oct. 25, 1797.

Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, presented Nov. 15, 1797.

We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration the papers which your majesty has been pleased to direct to be laid before us, on the subject of the negotiation into which your majesty had entered, with the view of restoring to your people a secure and honourable peace.—In every stage of that transaction we have recognised your majesty's invariable and unremitted solicitude for our prosperity and welfare, while we have seen, on the other hand, the most abundant proofs of the continu-

ance of that spirit of inveterate animosity and desperate ambition, on the part of our enemies, in which the present contest first originated. Your majesty's conduct, characterised by an unexampled moderation, openness, and consistency, has left to the enemy no means of evasion, no subterfuge of disguise or artifice. It can no longer be denied, that their conduct is actuated by a fixed determination of excluding all means of peace, and of pursuing, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the happiness and safety of these kingdoms; even the vain pretence of pacific dispositions is now abandoned, and the real purpose of all their councils, and of all their measures, at length openly and publicly avowed. It is to our laws and government that they have declared their irreconcilable hatred. No sacrifice will content them but that of our liberty; no concession but that of our envied and happy constitution.

Under such circumstances, we feel the duty which we owe in this great crisis to God and to our country. Animated by the same sentiments which your majesty has been pleased to declare to your people, and to the world—attached to your majesty by principles of duty and gratitude, and sensible that it is only from courage and firmness that we can look for present safety, or permanent peace, we are determined to defend, with unshaken resolution, your majesty's throne, the lives and property of our fellow-subjects, the government and constitution of our country, and the honour and independency of the British empire. We know that great exertions are necessary; we are prepared to make them; and, placing our firm reliance on that divine protection which has always

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hitherto

hitherto been extended to us, we will support your majesty to the utmost, and stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties.

ANSWER.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Nothing could be more satisfactory to me than this unanimous declaration of the sentiments of my two houses of parliament. They are such as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cause which is common to us all, and contending for every interest which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the blessing of Providence, I look with confidence to the issue of this great contest: but in every event my resolution is taken. It is such as I owe to God, to my country, and to myself; and it is confirmed by the sentiments which you have this day declared to me. I will not be wanting to my people, but will stand, or fall, with them, in the defence of our religion, and in the maintenance of the independence, laws, and liberties, of these kingdoms.

Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburg, Feb. 10-21, 1797.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity!

His majesty the king of Great Britain and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, already united by the ties of the most intimate alliance, and having it equally at heart to cement more and more the good correspondence which subsists between them and their re-

spective kingdoms; and, as much as it is in their power, to make the reciprocal commerce between their subjects prosper, have judged it proper to collect under one point of view, and to fix the reciprocal rights and duties, upon which they have agreed amongst themselves, in order to encourage and facilitate the mutual exchanges betwixt the two nations. In consequence of which, and in order without delay to proceed to the perfection of so salutary a work, their said majesties have chosen and nominated, for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his majesty the king of Great Britain, the sieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Russia, knight of the order of the Bath; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the sieur Alexander count of Besborodko, his actual privy councillor of the first class, senator minister of the council of state, director general of the posts, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, of St. Anne of the first class, and grand cross of St. Wladimir of the first class; the sieur Alexander prince of Kourakin, his vice-chancellor, actual privy councillor, minister of the council of state, actual chamberlain, and knight of the order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne of the first class, as also of the orders of Denmark, of Dannebrog, and of the perfect union; and the sieur Peter of Soimonow, his privy councillor, senator president of the college of commerce, and knight grand cross of the order of St. Wladimir of the second class; who, in virtue of their full powers, have agreed and concluded upon the following articles.

Article

Article I. The peace, friendship, and good intelligence, which have happily hitherto subsisted between their majesties the king of Great Britain and the emperor of all the Russias, shall be confirmed and established by this treaty, in such manner, that from the present and for the future there shall be between the crown of Great Britain on one side, and the crown of all the Russias on the other, as also betwixt the states, countries, kingdoms, domains and territories, under their dominion, a true, sincere, firm and perfect peace, friendship and good intelligence, which shall last for ever, and shall be inviolably observed equally by sea and by land, and upon the fresh waters; and the subjects, people, and inhabitants on each side, of whatever state or condition they may be, shall mutually treat each other with every possible kind of benevolence and assistance, without doing each other any wrong or damage whatsoever.

II. The subjects of the two high contracting powers shall have perfect freedom of navigation and of commerce in all their dominions situated in Europe, where navigation and commerce are permitted at present, or shall be so hereafter, by the high contracting parties, to any other nation.

III. It is agreed that the subjects of the two high contracting parties may enter, trade, and remain with their ships, vessels, and carriages, laden or empty, in all the ports, places, and cities, where the same is permitted to the subjects of any other nation whatsoever; and the sailors, passengers, and ships, whether British or Russian (although amongst their crews there should be found the subjects of some other foreign nation), shall be received

and treated as the most favoured nation; and neither the sailors, nor the passengers, shall be forced to enter, against their will, into the service of either of the two contracting powers, with the exception of such of their subjects whom they may require for their own service; and if a servant or sailor shall desert from his service or ship, he shall be restored. It is in like manner agreed that the subjects of the high contracting parties may purchase all sorts of things which they may be in want of at the current price; repair and refit their ships, vessels, and carriages; buy all the provisions necessary for their subsistence or voyage; stay or depart at their pleasure without molestation or hindrance, provided that they conform themselves to the laws and ordinances of the respective dominions of the high contracting parties, where they may be. In like manner, the Russian ships which shall be at sea for the purpose of navigation, and shall be met by English ships, shall not be hindered in their navigation, provided that in the British sea they conform themselves to custom; but every sort of assistance shall be given to them both in the ports subject to Great Britain and in the open sea.

IV. It is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain may carry, by water or by land, in their own ships and carriages, or in those which they shall have freighted or hired for that purpose, into any province whatever of Russia, all sorts of merchandise or effects, of which the trade or entry is not prohibited; that they shall be permitted to keep them in their houses or magazines, to sell or exchange them whole sale, freely and without molestation, without being obliged

to become citizens of such city or place where they shall reside or trade. By selling wholesale, is understood one or more bales of goods, chests, casks, barrels, also several dozens of small articles of merchandise of the same kind, collected in the same place, and in considerable lots or other sorts of package. It is further agreed, that the subjects of Russia may carry, in the same manner, into the ports of Great Britain and of Ireland, where they shall be established or reside, all sorts of merchandise or effects, of which the trade or the entry is not prohibited, which is understood equally of the manufactures and productions of the Asiatic provinces, provided that it be not actually prohibited by some law now in force in Great Britain; that they shall be permitted to keep them in their houses or magazines, to sell or exchange them wholesale, freely become citizens of such city or place where they shall reside or trade; and that they may buy and transport out of the dominions of Great Britain all sorts of merchandise and effects which the subjects of any other nation may there buy and transport elsewhere, particularly gold and silver, wrought or unwrought, except the coined money of Great Britain. It is agreed that British subjects trading in the dominions of Russia shall have the liberty, in case of death, of an extraordinary want, or of an absolute necessity, when there remains no other means of procuring money, or in case of bankruptcy, of disposing of their effects, either in Russian or foreign merchandise, in the manner in which the persons interested shall think most advantageous. The same thing shall be observed with regard to Russian subjects in the dominions of Great

Britain. All this is to be understood with the restriction, that every permission on either side, specified in this article, shall be in no wise contrary to the laws of the country, and that the Russian subjects, as well as the British subjects, and their clerks, conform themselves, on both sides, punctually to the rights, statutes, and ordinances of the country in which they shall trade, in order to obviate all sorts of frauds and pretexts. It is for this reason the decisions of the said cases happening to the British factories in Russia shall depend, at St. Petersburg, upon the college of commerce, and in the other cities, where there is no college of commerce, upon the tribunals which have cognizance of commercial affairs.

V. And in order to preserve a just equality between Russian and British subjects, both the one and the other shall pay the same duties of exportation and of importation, whether it be in Russia or in Great Britain and Ireland, whether it be in Russian or in British vessels; and no regulation shall be made by the high contracting parties in favour of its own subjects, which the subjects of the other high contracting party shall not enjoy, and that understood *bona fide*, under whatever name or form it may be, in such manner as that the subjects of one of the powers shall have no advantage over those of the other in the respective dominions.

VI. Every assistance and possible dispatch shall be given for the loading and unloading of vessels, as well as for the entry and departure of their merchandise, according to the regulations made for that purpose; and they shall not in any manner be detained, upon the penalties announced in the said regulations. In like manner,

ner, if the subjects of Great Britain make contracts with any chancery or college whatsoever, for delivering certain merchandise or effects, on the declaration that those merchandise are ready to be delivered, and after they shall have been actually delivered within the term fixed in those contracts, they shall be received, and the accounts shall be regulated and liquidated, in consequence, between the said college or chancery and the British merchants, within the time which shall have been fixed in the said contracts. The same rule shall be observed in the dominions of Great Britain towards Russian merchants.

VII. It is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain may, in all the cities and places of Russia where it is allowed to any other nation to trade, pay for merchandise bought in the same current money of Russia which they have taken for their merchandise sold, unless the contrary should be stipulated in their contracts. The same is to be understood equally respecting Russian merchandise in the dominions of Great Britain.

VIII. In the places where embarkations are usually made, it shall be permitted to the subjects of the high contracting parties to load their ships or carriages with, and to transport by water and by land, all sorts of merchandise which they may have bought (with the exception of those of which the exportation is prohibited), on paying the custom-house duties, providing that those ships and carriages conform themselves to the laws.

IX. The subjects of the high contracting parties shall not pay more duties upon the entry or departure of their merchandise than are paid by the subjects of other

nations. — Nevertheless, in order to prevent, on both sides, the custom-house from being defrauded, in the case of the discovery of merchandise imported clandestinely, and without paying the custom-house duty, they shall be confiscated, and the merchants convicted of contrabanding shall be subjected to the fine established by the law in such cases.

X. It shall be permitted to the high contracting parties to go, come, and trade freely in the states with which the one or the other of those parties shall be, in present or in future, at war, provided that they do not carry ammunition to the enemy: With the exception, nevertheless, of places actually blockaded or besieged, whether by sea or land; but at all other times, and with the exception of warlike ammunition, the subjects aforesaid may transport into those places every other sort of merchandise, as well as passengers, without the smallest hindrance. With respect to the searching of merchant ships, ships of war and privateers shall conduct themselves as favourable as the course of the war then existing may possibly permit it towards the most friendly powers which shall remain neuter, observing, as much as possible, the acknowledged principles and rules of the law of nations.

XI. All cannons, mortars, firearms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, musquets, flints, matches, powder, salt-petre, sulphur, cutlasses, pikes, swords, belts, cartouch-boxes, saddles and bridles, beyond the quantity which may be necessary for the use of the ship, or beyond that which each man serving on board the vessel, or passenger shall have, shall be esteemed warlike provisions or ammunition,

munition; and if any are found, they shall be confiscated, according to the laws, as contraband or prohibited effects; but neither the ships, passengers, nor the other merchandise found at the same time, shall be detained or prevented from continuing their voyage.

XII. If, which God forbid, peace should be broken between the two high contracting parties, neither persons, ships, nor merchandise, shall be detained or confiscated; but the term of a year at least shall be granted, for the purpose of selling, disposing of, or carrying away their effects, and withdrawing themselves wherever they shall please, which is to be understood equally respecting all those who shall be in the sea and land service, and they shall be permitted, previous to, or at their departure, to consign the effects of which they shall not have disposed, as well as the debts to which they may have a claim, to such person as they shall judge proper, to be disposed of according to their will and profit; which debts the debtor shall equally be obliged to pay as if the rupture had not taken place.

XIII. In the event of a shipwreck happening in a place belonging to one or other of the high contracting parties, not only every assistance shall be given to the unfortunate persons, and no violence done to them, but also the effects which they shall have thrown out of the ship into the sea shall not be concealed, detained, nor damaged, under any pretext whatever; on the contrary, the above-mentioned effects and merchandise shall be preserved and restored to them, upon a suitable recompence being given to those who shall have assisted in saving their persons, vessels, and effects.

XIV. It shall be permitted to

British merchants to build, buy, sell, and hire houses in all states and cities of Russia, excepting only the permission of building, buying, selling, and hiring houses in those cities of the empire which have particular rights of citizenship, and privileges contrary thereto; and it is expressly stipulated that at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Archangel, Riga, and Narva, as well as in all ports of the Black Sea, the houses which British merchants shall have purchased or built, shall, as long as they shall continue to belong to them, and reside therein, be exempted from having soldiers quartered in them; but such houses as they shall let or hire, shall be subjected to all city taxes, the tenant and proprietor agreeing with each other on that subject. As to every other city in Russia, the houses which they shall purchase or build, as well as those which they shall hire or let, shall not be exempt from having soldiers quartered in them. It is, in like manner, permitted to Russian merchants to build, buy, sell, and hire houses in Great Britain and Ireland, and to dispose of them as it is allowed to the subjects of the most favoured nations. They shall have the free exercise of the Greek religion in their own houses or in the places allotted for that purpose. In like manner British merchants shall have the free exercise of the protestant religion. The subjects of both the one and the other power established in Russia or Great Britain, shall have the disposal of their property, and the power of leaving it by will to whom they shall judge proper, according to the custom and the laws of their own country.

XV. Passports shall be granted to all British subjects who shall de-
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fire to quit Russia, after having published their names and places of abode in the gazettes, according to the custom of the present day, without obliging them to give security; and if at the time there does not appear any just cause for detaining them, they shall be permitted to depart, after providing themselves, however, with passports from the tribunals established for that purpose. The same facility shall be granted, on the like occasion, according to the custom of the country, to Russian subjects, who shall desire to quit the dominions of Great Britain.

XVI. British merchants, who shall hire or keep servants, shall be obliged to conform themselves to the laws of that empire upon this subject; which Russian merchants shall be equally obliged to do in Great Britain.

XVII. In all lawsuits and other affairs, British merchants shall not be under any other jurisdiction than that of the college of commerce, or that which shall be hereafter established for the administration of justice between merchants. If it should happen, however, that British merchants were to have lawsuits in any cities at a distance from the above mentioned college of commerce, both they and the other party shall carry their complaint before the magistrates of the said cities. Russian merchants in Great Britain shall have reciprocally the same protection and justice, according to the laws of that kingdom, which other foreign merchants have there, and shall be treated in the same manner as the subjects of the most favoured nation.

XVIII. Russian merchants residing in Great Britain, and British merchants residing in Russia, shall

not be obliged to shew their books or papers to any person whatsoever, unless it be to afford evidence in courts of justice; neither shall the said books or papers be taken nor detained. If it should happen, however, that a British merchant becomes a bankrupt, the affair shall be under the jurisdiction, at St. Petersburg, of the college of commerce, or of that which shall hereafter be established for the purpose of administering justice in commercial affairs, and, in the other cities at a distance, under that of the magistrate of the city: and the business shall be carried on according to the laws which are, or shall hereafter be made upon that subject. If, however, British merchants, obstinately resolved not to become bankrupts, should refuse to pay their debts either into the banks of his imperial majesty or to individuals, it shall be permitted to arrest a part of their effects, equivalent to their debts; and in case those effects should prove inadequate to that purpose, they may arrest their persons, and detain them until the majority of their creditors both as to the number and value of their respective demands, consent to liberate them: with respect to their effects which shall have been arrested, they shall remain in the custody of those who shall be appointed and duly authorised for that purpose by the majority of the creditors as aforesaid; and the persons so appointed shall be obliged to appraise the effects as soon as possible, and to make a just and equitable distribution to all the creditors, according to their respective claims. The same course shall be pursued, in similar cases, with regard to Russian merchants in the dominions of Great Britain, and they shall be protected therein in the manner regu-

regulated in the preceding article.

XIX. In case of complaints and of law-suits, three persons of irreproachable character, from amongst the foreign merchants, shall be, according to the circumstances of the case, appointed by the college of commerce, and in such places where there is none, by the magistrate, to examine the books and papers of the complainants, and the report which they shall make to the college of commerce, or to the magistrate, of what they shall have found in the said books and papers, shall be considered as good proof.

XX. The custom-houses shall take care to examine the servants or the clerks of Russian merchants, at the time of their enregistering their purchases, if they are furnished, for that purpose, with the orders or full powers of their masters, and if they are not, they shall not be credited. The same measures shall be adopted with the servants of British merchants; and when the said servants, having orders or full powers from their masters, shall have enregistered the merchandise on account of their masters, the latter shall be responsible therefore in the same manner as if they had themselves enregistered them. With respect to Russian servants employed in shops, they shall, in like manner, be enregistered by the tribunals established for that purpose, in the cities where those shops shall be; and their masters shall be responsible for them, in matters of trade, and in the purchases which they shall have made in their name.

XXI. In the case of Russian merchants who are in debt to British merchants upon bills of exchange, or who have made contracts for the delivery of merchandise, not paying their bills of exchange, or not

delivering their merchandise at the place, or at the time agreed upon and mentioned in the said bills or contracts, the college of commerce, after complaints to that effect shall have been made, and proofs given, shall summons them three times, granting them a sufficient time to appear in person, and if they allow it to elapse without appearing, the said college shall condemn them, and shall send an express, at the expence of the plaintiff, to the governors and to the tribunals of government, enjoining them to put the sentence into execution, and thereby compel the debtors to fulfil their engagements. And if the demands should be found frivolous or unjust, then the British merchants shall be obliged to pay the damage which they shall have occasioned, either by the loss of time, or by the expences of the voyage.

XXII. The brack shall be established with justice; and the brackers shall be answerable for the quality of the merchandise and for fraudulent packages, and obliged, upon sufficient proofs against them, to pay for the losses which they have occasioned.

XXIII. A regulation shall be made in order to prevent the abuses which may be practised in the packing of leather, hemp, and lints, and if any disputes should happen between the purchaser and the seller respecting the weight or the tare of any merchandise, the custom-house shall decide it according to equity.

XXIV. In every thing which relates to taxes and duties upon the importation and exportation of merchandise in general, the subjects of the two high contracting parties shall always be considered and treated as the most favoured nation.

XXV. The subjects of the two

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contracting powers shall be at liberty, in the respective dominions, to assemble together with their consul, in body, as a factory, and make amongst themselves, for the common interest of the factory, such arrangements as they shall judge proper, provided they are in no respect contrary to the laws, statutes, and regulations of the country or place where they shall be established.

XXVI. Peace, friendship, and good intelligence shall continue for ever between the high contracting parties; and, as it is customary to fix a certain period to treaties of commerce, the above-mentioned high contracting parties have agreed that the present shall last eight years, reckoning from the expiration of the convention concluded between them on the 25th of March, 1793; and this treaty shall have effect immediately after its ratification: this term being elapsed, they may agree together to renew or prolong it.

XXVII. The present treaty of navigation and commerce shall be approved and ratified by his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty of all the Russias, and the ratifications in good and due form, shall be exchanged in the space of three months, or sooner if it can be done, reckoning from the day of the signature.

In faith of which, the respective plenipotentiaries have caused two copies of it to be made perfectly conformable to each other, signed with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the 10-21st of February, 1797.

(L. S.) ALEXANDER count of Beshorodko.

(L. S.) Prince ALEXANDER of Kourakin.

(L. S.) PETER of Soimonow.

(L. S.) C. WHITWORTH.

DECLARATION.

We, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain on one side, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias on the other, having, in virtue of those full powers, concluded and signed, at St. Petersburg, on February the 10-21st, 1797, a treaty of navigation and commerce, of which the 9th article states, "The subjects of the high contracting parties shall not pay higher duties, on the importation and exportation of their merchandise, than are paid by the subjects of another nation, &c." declare by these presents, in virtue of those same full powers, that by the words other nations, European nations alone are to be understood.

The present declaration shall be considered as making part of the above-mentioned treaty of navigation and commerce, signed February 10-21, of the present year, and this day ratified.

In faith of which, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have caused two copies of it perfectly conformable to each other, to be made, have signed them with our own hand, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at Moscow, on the 30th April, 11th May, 1797.

(L. S.) ALEXANDER count of Beshorodko.

(L. S.) Prince ALEXANDER of Kourakin.

(L. S.) C. WHITWORTH.

Proceedings of a Meeting held in Palace-Yard, Westminster, April 3.

At a meeting of the inhabitants, householders of the city and liberty of Westminster, held this day, pursuant to advertisement signed by seven

seven householders for that purpose,

PETER MOORE, esq. in the chair,

It was resolved unanimously, That the following address and petition be presented to his majesty.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

We your majesty's most dutiful subjects, the inhabitants, householders of the city and liberty of Westminster, humbly beg leave to approach your majesty in a crisis of the greatest danger to our country, that it has experienced since the revolution.

Your majesty's ministers have involved us in a war, in the prosecution of which they have already squandered upwards of one hundred and thirty millions of money. They have already laid taxes upon the people to the amount of six millions and a half annually; and the lives which they have sacrificed, and the sum which they have added to human misery, exceeds all calculation or belief.

We humbly represent to your majesty, that in the hands of those ministers nothing has succeeded.

Instead of restoring monarchy in France, they have been compelled to recognise the republic there established, and to offer proposals of peace to it. Instead of dismembering the territories of that republic, they have suffered it to add to them the Netherlands, Holland, and a great part of Italy and Germany; and even a part of these kingdoms, which the fleets of that republic have insulted, have only been preserved from the calamities of an invasion, by the accidents of the seasons.

In their negotiations for peace, they have been equally unsuccessful. It was to be expected. When they asked peace, they were abject, but not sincere; they acknowledged

ed their impotence, but not their errors: they discovered their most hostile dispositions towards France, at the very time they proved their utter inability to contend with her.

When they wanted to obtain our consent to the war, they assured us that it was necessary for the safety of our commerce. — At this moment most of the ports of Europe are shut against us; goods to an immense amount are lying upon the hands of our merchants; and the manufacturing poor are starving by thousands.

They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of property and public credit. They have rendered every man's property subject to an order of the privy-council, and the bank of England has stopped payment.

They assured us, that the war was necessary for the preservation of the constitution. — They have destroyed its best part, which is its liberty, by oppressive restrictions upon the right of petitioning, and upon the freedom of the press; by prosecuting innocent men, under false pretences; by sending money to foreign princes, without consent of parliament; while by erecting barracks throughout the kingdom, they give us reason to suspect their intention of finally subjecting the people to military despotism.

They assured us that the war was necessary for the preservation of the unity of our empire. — But they have so conducted, and are still so conducting themselves in Ireland, as to alienate the affections of that brave, loyal, but oppressed and persecuted nation; and to expose the most flourishing of its provinces to all the horrors of lawless, military violence.

These are not common errors. They are great crimes: — and of these crimes, before God and our country, we accuse your ministers.

Our

Our affections to your majesty's person, our loyalty to your government, are unabated: your majesty's virtues are a pledge for the one; the constitution which makes you king, for the other. But duty to our fellow-countrymen, and to our posterity, which is but another name for that affection and loyalty, impels us to represent to your majesty, that your ministers are defrauding us of the benefit of those virtues, by destroying the channels through which they flow. They have tarnished the national honour and glory. They have oppressed the poor, with almost intolerable burthens. They have poisoned the intercourse of private life. They have given a fatal blow to public credit. They have divided the empire; and they have subverted the constitution.

We humbly pray your majesty, therefore, to dismiss them from your presence and councils for ever.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. Charles James Fox, one of the representatives of this city in parliament, for the firm and faithful discharge of his public duty, in the most trying times, and for his opposition to that calamitous system, of which he with prophetic sagacity foresaw and foretold the ruinous consequences.

That the said address and petition be presented by the chairman and by the several gentlemen who called this meeting, and the right hon. Charles James Fox.

That his grace the duke of Norfolk, his grace the duke of Bedford, his grace the duke of Northumberland, the earl of Derby, the earl of Thanet, the earl of Lauderdale, lord Robert Spencer, and the hon. Mr. Petre, be requested to accompany them.

1797.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to the seven independent inhabitants who called this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his able conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the morning and evening papers, signed by the chairman.

PETER MOORE, chairman.

Speech of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, July 3.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have the satisfaction of being at length enabled to relieve you from your laborious attendance in parliament; and am commanded by his majesty to express the just sense he entertains of that firm temper and vigorous determination which you have uniformly manifested in supporting his majesty's government, and protecting our happy constitution from the attempts of every foreign and domestic enemy.

I have much pleasure in announcing to you, that the British parliament has passed acts for abolishing the bounty on sail-cloth exported to Ireland, and for prohibiting the importation of cambric from all countries except this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am to thank you, in his majesty's name, for your unanimity in voting the extraordinary supplies which the public exigencies demanded. However unprecedented these supplies may have been in extent, and however difficult they

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may have been rendered from the state of public credit, you have wisely attended to the superior consideration of national safety. Such an exertion is the surest proof that you are truly sensible of the invaluable blessings which we are contending to preserve; and that the best means of effecting an honourable peace, and of restoring all the comforts of tranquillity, are by displaying at once your determination and your power, and by convincing your enemies of the extent of your resources as well as of the steadiness of your courage.

The ready assistance which has been received from the sister kingdom in facilitating the loan of the year, while it is a sure demonstration of her friendly cordiality, cannot fail to shew how inseparable are the mutual interests of the two kingdoms, and how necessary their connection is for their mutual prosperity.

Your humanity in directing your attention to the present distress among the manufacturers, does not less command my approbation than your prudence in the mode of conveying relief, by increasing the means of their employment.

My lords and gentlemen,

The powers with which you entrusted me by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, have enabled me to bring to light, and to discount the secret conspiracy which had been formed for the total overthrow of your establishments, the destruction of property, and the dissolution of government. This conspiracy has been so fully unfolded by your wisdom, that it can no longer spread itself under the insidious pretence which it had artfully assumed, of improving the constitution. In the measures, whether of vigilance or coercion,

which you have recommended for its extinction, I shall not relax. It will be my study to temper the necessary acts of severity and rigour by conciliatory offers of clemency and pardon, to exhort the insatuated and deluded to abandon their deceivers, and to summon the guilty to repentance; but, at the same time, it is, and will be my fixed purpose, to proceed with vigour against those who, regardless of every warning and admonition, shall continue their desperate efforts to involve this flourishing country in all the horrors of insurrection and invasion, of bloodshed and of anarchy.

I have already the satisfaction to acquaint you, that great numbers who had been unfortunately seduced, have returned to a sense of their duty, and have been admitted to his majesty's clemency; and I trust that, by perseverance and energy, every vestige of disaffection will be effaced, and universally give way to the return of that spirit of loyalty which has so long been the distinguished characteristic of this kingdom.

I cannot omit to congratulate with you on the unimpaired lustre of that spirit which so conspicuously shone forth when the enemy's fleet appeared on our coasts, nor can I too often repeat my full sense of your wisdom in the establishment of district corps: I have the most satisfactory accounts of their improvement in discipline, as well as of their exertions in quelling and preventing insurrection, and I have myself witnessed the unexampled exertions, good conduct, and military appearance of the corps of the metropolis, whose unceasing and unwearied vigilance, at a most important crisis, checked every attempt to produce confusion by riot and

and tumult, at the same time that it destroyed the hopes of our enemies, and restored confidence to the country in general.

Your judicious augmentation of pay to his majesty's regular and militia forces, which must render their situation so highly comfortable, is at once a seasonable and honourable acknowledgment of their steadiness and loyalty.

The traitorous efforts which have been made to entice them from their allegiance, have had a fatal effect in a few lamentable examples. I trust, however, that they have excited in the minds of others so timely a repentance, and in the rest such indignation and abhorrence, that no future danger can be apprehended.

Your wise institution of a sinking fund, in the midst of financial difficulties, cannot be too much applauded, and will prevent any ruinous depreciation of funded stock, and being established before the national debts had accumulated to any oppressive magnitude, will tend to prevent its becoming dangerous. A measure so truly calculated for preserving the resources of the state, and supporting public credit, must secure to you the gratitude of an enlightened people.

His majesty is exerting every proper effort to produce a speedy and secure peace. It will be our duty to assist those efforts by convincing our enemies, from the state of our preparation, and the unanimity of our spirit, that they can hope for no advantage by prolonging the calamities of war.

Wherever your abilities, your influence, and exertions, can be most advantageously employed on your return to the several counties, I

am confident they will be most conspicuously displayed. A constant intercourse with your immediate neighbourhoods, must give you the opportunity of affording to the people both assistance and example, of reclaiming thereby the deluded and ill-disposed, and confirming the well-affected in their fidelity and allegiance. A forward spirit of loyalty, which in most parts of the kingdom has successfully checked the progress of treason, will be strengthened and diffused by your presence and exertions. It will be my ambition to second your activity and zeal, and to co-operate with your efforts for restoring the tranquillity and prosperity of the kingdom.

We have a sacred cause to defend, the independence and constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, from which both kingdoms have derived innumerable blessings under his majesty's auspicious reign.— They were purchased by the dearest blood of your ancestors, in a crisis not less formidable than the present. I trust we shall not fail to imitate their great example, and that we shall be enabled, by similar courage and continued firmness, to transmit to our posterity, inviolate, that invaluable inheritance which their valour rescued, and their perseverance preserved.

After which the lord chancellor, by his excellency's command, said,

My lords and gentlemen,

It is his excellency the lord lieutenant's pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the 10th day of August next, to be then here holden: and the parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the 10th day of August next.

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Proclamation of General Lake, Commander in Chief of the Northern District in Ireland.

Belfast, March 13, 1797.

Whereas the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws and the administration of justice, by an organised system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree, as from their atrocity and extent to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's faithful subjects; And whereas the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons who have been enrolled under the authority of his majesty's commissions, and others, have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms; it is therefore become indispensably necessary, for the safety and protection of the well-disposed, to interpose the king's troops under my command; and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such a manner as the public safety may require. I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace officers, and those serving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their possession, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood. I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary. Let the people seriously reflect, before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are rushing; let them reflect upon their present prosperity, and the miseries into which they will inevitably be involved by persisting

in acts of positive rebellion; let them instantly, by restoring those traitorously taken from the king's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority.—Let all the loyal and well-intentioned act together with energy and spirit, in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me.—And I do hereby invite all persons who are enabled to give information touching arms or ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his majesty's forces in their respective districts; and for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage that strict and inviolable secrecy shall be observed, with respect to all persons who shall make such communications; and that every person who shall make it shall receive as a reward the full value of all such arms and ammunition as shall be seized in consequence thereof.

Signed by G. LAKE, lieutenant general commanding the northern district.

Message from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to the House of Commons.

CAMDEN,

The dangerous and the daring outrages committed in many parts of the province of Ulster, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the law and prevent the administration of justice by an organised system of murder and robbery, have lately increased to so alarming a degree in some parts of that province, as to bid defiance to the exertions

actions of the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects in that part of the kingdom.

These outrages are encouraged and supported by treasonable associations to overturn our happy constitution.

Threats have been held out against the lives of all persons who shall venture to discover such their treasonable intentions. — The frequent treasonable assemblage of persons, and their proceedings by threats and force to disarm the peaceable inhabitants, their endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in obscure hiding places, their assembling by night to exercise the practice of arms, their intimidations, accompanied by the most horrid murders, to prevent his majesty's faithful subjects from joining the yeomanry corps established by law, their having fired on some of his majesty's justices of the peace, and threatened with murder any who should have the spirit to stand forth in support of the laws, which threats have been recently exemplified, their attacks on the military, by firing on them in the execution of their duty, have so totally bid defiance to the ordinary exertions of civil power, that I found myself obliged by every tie of duty to his majesty, and of regard to the welfare of his faithful subjects, to provide for the public safety by the most effectual and immediate application of the military force entrusted to me.

I have accordingly ordered the general commanding in that province to dispose of and employ those troops under his command with the assistance and co-operation of the yeomanry, to suppress these outrages, and by seizing upon all arms and ammunition, to recover such as

had been traitorously taken from his majesty's troops and others, and more effectually to defeat the evil designs of those who had endangered the public safety.

I have the satisfaction of informing you, that by the firm and temperate conduct of the general and the troops under him, and the zealous co-operation of the yeomanry corps, a very considerable number of arms has been taken, and I am encouraged to hope that a continuance of the same vigorous measures will give confidence to the well-disposed, and restore to the civil power its constitutional authority, which it has ever been my wish and shall be my strenuous endeavour to support with energy and effect.

CAMDEN.

Rescript, published by Order of the King of Prussia respecting the Prussian Territories on the Left Bank of the Rhine.

Frederic William II. &c.

We having been informed, that an opinion has been propagated through a part of our state of Westphalia, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, to wit, the provinces of Cleves, Meurs, and Guelders, in the actual possession of the French troops, that sufficient remonstrances and protestations had not been made on our part against the various innovations and oppressions which the French commissaries and agents exercise over our faithful subjects; we have therefore thought it good to make this public declaration, by means of our regency, jointly with our chamber of war and of territory; and we do publicly declare, that we have never ceased, nor shall we ever cease, to interest ourselves

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in behalf of our said subjects, by the intervention of our envoy, to the French republic; and that it is far from our intention to depart from the basis of the treaty of Balle, respecting the civil or financial administration of those countries.

In concluding the treaty by which the war between our state and the French republic was put an end to, it was never our intention to grant them more than a mere military possession of our provinces on the left side of the Rhine, till peace should be concluded with the emperor; and this intention, which has been taken as a basis in the negotiations, is sufficiently manifest by the tenor of the 5th article, which expressly declares, "that the troops of the republic shall occupy these countries belonging to us."

The difference between provinces conquered from an enemy, and those which belong to a power in alliance, and which have been merely conceded for a temporary military occupation, is sufficiently evident, and it is obvious that they ought not to be treated in the same manner.

It is therefore impossible for us to believe that the French government, considering the amicable ties subsisting between us and it, will still oppose such evident reasoning. It cannot fail to conceive, that neither sequestration nor confiscation of the goods of the clergy, nor the projected sale of woods, nor the enormous contribution of three millions, imposed on the country between the Meuse and the Rhine, which would entirely ruin that country, can take place with any regard to appearance of justice.

It has already in effect given our envoy at Paris the most positive assurance, that the measures taken with respect to the clergy should be put an end to, and that the ecclesiastics should remain in quiet enjoyment of their goods and revenues. We therefore constantly expect the revocation of the order for the sale of woods, and, in general, a renunciation of all those destructive innovations relative to our dominions.

We shall not by any means recognise as valid the sale of woods, which have already taken place to our great astonishment; and we are positively determined to have recourse to the purchasers for restitution in kind, or for the value at which the property sold shall be estimated by our agents, and for the damages which shall result from the waste committed on these woods.

In those cases, where the purchasers cannot be found, we shall exercise our severity on all those who are employed by these last for cutting and carrying wood. We, in consequence, exhort our faithful subjects of the said provinces to remain assured of our lasting and efficacious protection, and to wait with confidence for the return of that ancient order of things, so highly to be desired.

At Wesel, in our chamber of war and territory, 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty.

BARON DE STEIN, first president.
Given at Emmeric, in our regency, the 29th December, 1796, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty.

ELBERS.

Letter

Letter of Convocation addressed to the Plenipotentiary Envoys of the Associated States of Northern Germany, by Von Dohm, the Prussian Minister.

The undersigned is charged, by the express command of the king of Prussia, his most gracious sovereign, to make the following overtures to all their excellencies, the plenipotentiaries of the associated states of Northern Germany, delegated to assemble in convention at Hildesheim: The general concerns of Germany, with regard to the continuance of the war, still remain in a most undecided condition, and the consolatory hope of a general peace, so devoutly to be wished, remains as yet uncertain and remote, to the last degree, since the negotiations entered upon for that purpose may, alas! produce a farther and more obstinate war, rather than bring about its final conclusion. In this perplexing situation, it certainly is a happiness which Northern Germany cannot sufficiently praise, to see itself entirely freed, not only from the miseries of this ravaging war, but also from all the inconveniencies connected with it, such as the requisitions of the belligerent powers, the passage and marches of troops, and many other similar burdens. It needs but a slight comparative glance at the most piteous state of the countries of Southern Germany, formerly flourishing, and now ruined for a long time to come, in order to feel, in its whole extent, the happiness of the northern parts, which have, for the two last campaigns, enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity.

The king is fully convinced, that it can be unknown to none of his co-states, who participate in

this blessing, that it is the mere result of the indefatigable exertions of his majesty, by which he has laid a safe foundation for the neutrality of Northern Germany, and must effectively protect it by a corps of his own troops, and of those of the two allied courts. His majesty has further consolidated this neutrality, by the formal accession of his serene highness the elector of Saxony, and the whole circle of Upper Saxony, in virtue of a supplementary article added to the convention of the 5th of August, 1796, by which a line of demarcation, extending from the utmost coasts of the North Sea, to the Lower Rhine, and from hence to Silesia, encompassed the whole north of Germany. The two associations in this vast extent of territory must remain separate, with respect to the maintenance of the troops, drawn out to cover their neutrality, which is done in Upper Saxony by a corps belonging to the elector himself; but with regard to their common design they join hands, and by this enlargement, effected by his majesty, the neutrality of Northern Germany receives a new and manifest importance.

The king is likewise firmly resolved to secure farther, and until the conclusion of the war, the full enjoyment of the neutrality to all the associated states, to protect them and their territories against every power, and to defend them in particular, at all times, and in the most effectual and powerful manner, against the incursions of the troops of the belligerent powers, against each and every demand of military requisitions, of whatever sort, and the levying of those requisitions which might be attempted by execution, and against all similar burdens of war; likewise to screen them by his most forcible interposition,

sition, during the period of this neutrality, from all the subsequent demands of supplies for the war of the empire.

The undersigned is expressly instructed to give once more these definite and most explicit assurances. It affords infinite pleasure to his majesty, to have thus secured the invaluable benefits of the neutrality to all his co-states, connected with his dominions by their topographical locality, in the same manner as it has been done to his own territories, and to have thus given them so strong a proof of his friendly sentiments. Besides the gratifying consciousness of having hitherto accomplished this happy end, his majesty requires no other proof of gratitude on the part of his co-states, than that they should continue as heretofore to co-operate in the maintenance of the troops. The king flatters himself the more to find the most perfect readiness on their part, since the burden which will arise from this measure to the countries thus protected, does not bear the most distant comparison with the manifold evils, and the probable and entire ruin averted from them, especially since the two courts allied with his majesty, and furnishing troops in a like manner, made the major part of the sacrifices required for that end. This latter circumstance must strike all the associated states with the most perfect conviction, that the continuance of those measures will not be prolonged a single moment beyond the period of their indispensable necessity. But the undersigned has his majesty's direct commands, to declare in the most positive manner, that his majesty deems the continuance of those measures absolutely necessary for the present, as he will only find himself enabled by

the corps of troops which is drawn out, covering the line of demarcation, maintaining farther, in the most efficacious manner, the neutrality of the countries situate within their precincts, to fulfil the promises previously given. Yet in this he will not compromise himself respecting those very possible events which accompany the vicissitudes of the fortune of war. But whereas the king is under the necessity of setting boundaries to the great sacrifices he has already made; and whereas the concurrence farther demanded of the protected countries for the maintenance of the troops who defend them, is so extremely just and equitable; the undersigned has also express orders, herewith to declare, that in the unexpected case of the majority of the states not displaying the necessary zeal and alacrity, his majesty will forthwith withdraw his troops, renounce entirely all the obligations which he has voluntarily taken upon him from motives of patriotism; suppress totally the convention made for that purpose with the French republic, and confine himself solely to the defence of his own dominions, abandoning all the rest to their own means and resources, and making known his intention to the belligerent powers. Should such a resolution once be taken, and the corps be withdrawn, no circumstances, of what complexion soever, shall induce his majesty to recur again to the adoption of similar measures; and the undersigned is obliged to announce beforehand, that his majesty will at no rate interest himself again in the fate of those of his co-states, who shall not now accept of the friendly proffer of protection, made with so much friendship, and so many personal sacrifices.

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The coldness which has for some time past been manifested from various quarters respecting the maintenance of the troops, has induced his majesty to authorize the undersigned to make this frank and explicit declaration, and to give the well-meant warning; not to suffer themselves to be deceived by the hope of a speedy peace, but rather to rely upon the sufficiently public-spirited and patriotic sentiments of the king, and his majesty's knowledge of the general situation of public affairs, and to entertain the firm confidence that his majesty would certainly, and with great pleasure to his co-states, save the burdens required by the maintenance of the troops, if there were the least possibility of securing to their territories the benefits of the neutrality, and all the advantages which have hitherto accrued from it, without such a measure.

That, however (the saving of the burdens occasioned by the maintenance of the troops), according to the general situation of affairs, being impossible, and his majesty deeming it absolutely necessary to preserve the corps of observation till the conclusion of peace. If the tranquillity and neutrality of Northern Germany are to be maintained, his majesty doubts not but all his associated co-states will shew their readiness for that purpose, in the maintenance of the troops, display proper zeal in a measure so closely connected with self-preservation, and render practicable the farther execution of the beneficent designs of his majesty.

With this confidence, the undersigned, by supreme command, has the honour to make known to you, &c. &c.

[Here follow two articles specifying the supplies to be granted, for

three months longer, in flour, oats, hay, and straw, for the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick troops, at two different periods, viz. the 15th instant and the 1st of April. In order to secure the subsistence of the troops in future, the States of Northern Germany are to meet in convention at Hildesheim on the 20th instant, or to send plenipotentiaries to regulate the quotas of supplies, in necessities or in money, for as long as the war may last.]

As those deliberations (in convention at Hildesheim) will preclude all the subjects not essentially and directly relating to the maintenance of the troops, the undersigned will lose no time to terminate them with the utmost speed, and not to detain the plenipotentiaries a moment longer than shall be necessary from following their other affairs. The flattering confidence with which the undersigned has hitherto been honoured in the late negotiations, makes him equally confident that his zeal and activity will be entirely depended upon in that business. He has only most urgently to request, that, for the sake of dispatch, the States may furnish their plenipotentiaries with full instructions for the purpose, which has been thus plainly notified, in order not to waste time in sending for new ones, but that the necessary resolutions may be taken, not only for the farther substantial regulation of the maintenance, but for the obligatory assent to the same to the end of the war.

The undersigned has it likewise in command to request, that their excellencies the plenipotentiaries may arrange matters in such a manner, as not to quit the convention, till the state of affairs shall permit its suspension or conclusion, since the gradual departure of many plenipotentiaries

nipotentiaries has formerly occasioned a precipitate suspension of the first convention, which has been highly prejudicial to the dispatching of business. His majesty will also consider the fulfilment of this wish, and the infallible meeting of the convention, according as it is expected to meet, as a gratifying proof that his serene co-states wish to do justice to his efforts and sacrifices. And the undersigned also looks forward for the desired answer, respecting the fourth sending of supplies, before the expiration of the present month, and hopes to have the honour and pleasure to see again their excellencies the plenipotentiaries at the second opening of the convention, on the 20th of February.

(Signed)

DOHM.

Halberstadt, Jan. 4th, 1797.

IMPERIAL UKASA, OR EDICT,
*Issued at Petersburg, respecting the
Importation of French and Dutch
Merchandise.*

PAUL I.

By the grace of God emperor and
sole governor of all the Russias,
&c.

We do most graciously ordain,

1. The importation of all French
wines, without exception, also sal-
lad oils of Provence, olives, capers,
anchovies, to be freely permitted
in all our harbours in neutral bot-
toms.

2. French and Spanish brandy is
only permitted to be imported by
neutral ships, in those harbours
which are specified in the Ukasa of
the 11th of December, 1784, and
to which we add the ports of Lie-
bau and Windau.

3. The duties on wine, oils, &c.
shall be taken from the Tariff of
September 27, 1782, till a new one

shall appear, and the duty on French
brandy shall be regulated agreeably
to the Ukasa of November 25,
1793.

4. The Ukasa of the 8th of Ap-
ril, 1793, shall be strictly observ-
ed, as far as it forbids the importa-
tion of various French goods, and
of others which are mere objects
of luxury; as likewise all commu-
nication with the French, until a
lawful government and order of
things shall have been introduced
in that country; the certificates of
consul or government ordained by
the said Ukasa shall also no longer
be demanded in the future importa-
tion of French goods, except for
such articles for which some duties
are to be remitted.

Done at St. Petersburg, Jan. 22,
1797.

SECOND UKASA.

PAUL I. &c.

We do hereby most graciously
permit the free importation, in all
our harbours, of such Dutch goods
as are not prohibited in the Tariff
or the Ukasa, provided such im-
portation takes place in ships be-
longing to neutral powers. Those
goods are to pay the duties pre-
scribed by the Tariff of September
27, 1782, till a new Tariff shall be
published.

Done at St. Petersburg, Jan.
22, 1797.

*Treaty of offensive and defensive Al-
liance between the French Repub-
lic and the King of Sardinia.*

Ratified by the Council of Five
Hundred on the 1st Brumaire
(Oct. 21), and in the Council of
Ancients on the 4th of the same
month (Oct. 24th).

The executive directory of the
French republic, and his majesty
the

the king of Sardinia, being desirous, by every means in their power, and by the most intimate union of their respective interests, to contribute as speedily as possible to the restoration of that peace which is the object of their wishes, and which will secure the repose and the tranquillity of Italy, have determined to enter into a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance; and have charged with full powers to that effect, viz. on the part of the executive directory of the French republic, citizen Henry James William Clarke, general of division in the armies of the republic; and on the part of his majesty the king of Sardinia, the chevalier D. Clement Damian de Priocia, knight of the grand cross of the order of Saint Maurice and Lazarus, first secretary of state in his majesty's department for foreign affairs, and president of the home department; who, after exchanging their respective powers, concluded as follows:

1. There shall be an offensive and defensive alliance between the French republic and the king of Sardinia, until the period of continental peace. This alliance shall then become purely defensive, and shall be established upon a basis agreeable to the reciprocal interests of both powers.

2. The present alliance having for its object to hasten the restoration of peace, and to secure the future tranquillity of Italy, its execution during the present war shall be directed solely against the emperor of Germany, he being the only continental power that presents obstacles to wishes so salutary. His majesty the king of Sardinia shall remain neuter with regard to England and to the other powers still at war with the French republic.

3. The French republic and his

Sardinian majesty guarantee reciprocally, by all the means in their power, their respective possessions which they now hold in Europe during the existence of the present alliance. The two powers shall unite their forces against the common enemy externally, and shall give no aid directly or indirectly, to the internal enemies of either.

4. The contingent of troops which his majesty the king of Sardinia shall furnish immediately in consequence of the present treaty, shall be 8000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, and 40 pieces of cannon. In case the two powers shall think it necessary to augment this contingent, such augmentation shall be concerted and regulated by commissioners invested with full powers to that effect by the executive directory, and his majesty the king of Sardinia.

5. The contingent of troops and artillery shall be ready and assembled at Novara, viz. 500 cavalry, 4000 infantry, and twelve field pieces, by the 30th of Germinal current (April 19), and the remainder in a fortnight after.

This contingent shall be maintained at the expence of his majesty the king of Sardinia, and shall receive orders from the commander in chief of the French army in Italy.

A separate convention, settled in concert with the commander in chief of the French army, shall regulate the nature of the service of this contingent.

6. The troops which form this contingent shall participate, in proportion to the number which may be under arms, in the contributions which shall be levied from the conquered countries; reckoning from the day of the union of the contingent, to the army of the republic.

7. The

7. The French republic promises to procure to his majesty the king of Sardinia, at the period of a general or continental peace, all the advantages which circumstances may permit him to obtain.

8. Neither of the contracting powers shall conclude a separate peace with the common enemy, and no armistice shall be agreed to by the French republic, in which his Sardinian majesty is not included.

9. All the contributions imposed on the states of his Sardinian majesty which are not yet paid up, shall cease to be demanded immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

10. The furnishings, which from the same period shall be made in the states of his majesty the king of Sardinia to the French troops, or to prisoners of war, and also those which may have already been made in virtue of private contracts, and which have not yet been paid for by the French republic, shall be returned in kind to the troops forming the contingent of his Sardinian majesty: and if the amount of the furnishings should exceed the wants of the contingent, the overplus shall be repaid in specie.

11. The two contracting parties shall immediately appoint commissioners charged to negotiate in their name a treaty of commerce agreeably to the basis stipulated in article 7, of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris between the French republic and the king of Sardinia. — Meanwhile the posts and all other commercial relations shall be re-established without delay in the same manner as they were before the war.

12. The ratifications of the present treaty of alliance shall be ex-

changed at Paris in the shortest delay possible.

Done and signed at Turin on the 16th of Germinal (April 5), 5th year of the French republic.

(Signed) H. CLARKE.

CLEMENT DAMIAN.

The executive directory ratify and sign the present treaty of alliance with his majesty the king of Sardinia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by Henry James Clarke, general of division, appointed by an order of the executive directory on the 13th Ventose last, and charged with instructions to the above effect.

Done at the national palace on the 22d Germinal, 5th year of the French republic.

Message from the President of the United States to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives,

I have received information from the commissioner appointed on the part of the United States, pursuant to the third article of our treaty with Spain, that the running and marking of the boundary line between the colonies of East and West Florida, and the territory of the United States, have been delayed by the officers of his catholic majesty, and that they have declared their intention to maintain his jurisdiction, and to suspend the withdrawing his troops from the military posts they occupy with the territory of the United States, until the two governments shall, by negotiation, have settled the meaning of the second article respecting the withdrawing the troops, stores, or settlements of either party in the territory of the other; that is, whether when the Spanish gar-

risons

rifons withdraw, they are to leave the works standing or to demolish them; and until, by an additional article to the treaty, the real property of the inhabitants shall be secured, and likewise until the Spanish officers are sure the Indians will be pacific.

The two first questions, if to be determined by negotiation, might be made subjects of discussion for years; and as no limitation of time can be prescribed to the other, a certainty in the opinion of the Spanish officers, that the Indians will be pacific, it will be impossible to suffer it to remain an obstacle to the fulfilment of the treaty on the part of Spain.

To remove the first difficulty, I have determined to leave it to the discretion of the officers of his catholic majesty, when they withdraw his troops from the forts within the territory of the United States, either to leave the works standing or to demolish them. And to remove the second, I shall cause an assurance to be published, and to be particularly communicated to the minister of his catholic majesty, and to the governor of Louisiana, that the settlers or occupants of the lands in question shall not be disturbed in their possessions by the troops of the United States; but, on the contrary, that they shall be protected in all their lawful claims; and to prevent or remove every doubt on this point, it merits the consideration of congress, whether it will not be expedient immediately to pass a law, giving positive assurances to those inhabitants who by fair and regular grants, or by occupancy, have obtained legal titles, or equitable claims to lands in that country, prior to the final ratification of the treaty between

the United States and Spain, on the 25th April, 1796.

This country is rendered peculiarly valuable by its inhabitants, who are represented to amount to nearly four thousand, generally well affected and much attached to the United States, and zealous for the establishment of a government under their authority.

I therefore recommend to your consideration, the expediency of erecting a government in the district of the Natchez, similar to that established for the territory north-west of the river Ohio, but with certain modifications relative to titles or claims of lands, whether of individuals or companies, or to claims of jurisdiction of any individual state.

JOHN ADAMS.
United States, June 12, 1796.

Speech of the President of the United States in opening the Session of the Legislature.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

The personal inconveniencies to the members of the senate and of the house of representatives, in leaving their families and private affairs, at this season of the year, are so obvious, that I the more regret the extraordinary occasion which had rendered the convention of congress indispensable.

It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a restoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whose animosities have endangered our tranquillity. But we have still abundant cause of gratitude to the supreme dispenser

of national blessings, for general health and promising seasons; for domestic and social happiness; for the rapid progress and ample acquisitions of industry, through extensive territories, for civil, political and religious liberty; while other states are desolated with foreign war, or convulsed with intestine divisions, the United States present the pleasing prospect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws; generally satisfied with the possession of their rights; neither envying the advantages nor fearing the power of other nations; solicitous only for the maintenance of order and justice, and the preservation of liberty; increasing daily in the attachment to a system of government, in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from reason, and resting on the only solid foundation—the affection of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I shall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumstances, which admonish us that some of these felicities may not be lasting; but if the tide of our prosperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumspection becomes us, that we may meet our reverses with fortitude, and extricate ourselves from their consequences, with all the skill we possess, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to congress information of the state of the union, and recommending to their consideration such measures as appear to me to be expedient or necessary, according to my constitutional duty, the causes and the objects of the present extraordinary session will be explained.

After the president of the United States received information, that

the French government had expressed serious discontents, at some proceedings of the government of these States, said to affect the interests of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions, and to give such candid explanations, as might happily remove the discontents and suspicions of the French government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States. For this purpose he selected from among his fellow citizens a character whose integrity, talents, experience and services, had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French republic, being “to maintain that good understanding, which from the commencement of alliance had subsisted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality, which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union.” And his instructions were to the same effect, “faithfully to represent the disposition of the government and people of the United States, their disposition being one, to remove jealousies, and obviate complaints, by shewing that they were groundless, to restore that mutual confidence, which had been so unfortunately and injuriously impaired, and to explain the relative interests of both countries and the real sentiments of his own.”

A minister thus specially commissioned, it was expected, would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two republics: the first step of the French government corresponded with that expectation; a

few

few days before his arrival at Paris, the French minister of foreign relations informed the American minister, the president at Paris, of the formalities to be observed by himself in taking leave, and by his successor preparatory to his reception. These formalities they observed, and on the 9th of December presented officially to the minister of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letters of recall, the other a copy of his letters of credence. These were laid before the executive directory; two days afterwards, the minister of foreign relations informed the recalled American minister, that the executive directory had determined not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic had a right to expect from it. The American minister immediately endeavoured to ascertain whether by refusing to receive him, it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French republic; and verbal answers were given that such was the intention of the directory. For his own justification he desired a written answer, but obtained none until towards the last of January, when receiving notice in writing to quit the territories of the republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instruction from this government. During his residence at Paris, cards of hospitality were refused him, and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police—but with becoming firmness he insisted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minister of a foreign power. You will derive

further information from his dispatches which will be laid before you.

As it is often necessary that nations should treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and especially to accommodate and terminate differences, and as they can treat only by ministers, the right of embassy is well known and established by the law and usage of nations; the refusal on the part of France to receive and hear our minister is then the denial of a right; but the refusal to receive him, until we have acceded to their demands without discussion, and without investigation, is to treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a sovereign state.

With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view the public audience given to the late minister of the United States on his taking leave of the executive directory. The speech of the president discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union; and at the same time studiously marked with indignities towards the government of the United States. It evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the government; to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests, from those of their fellow citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns, and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled, with a decision which shall convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence,

fluence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions, if it had been possible to conceal them; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world in the face of all Europe and America, and with such circumstances of publicity and solemnity, that they cannot be disguised, and will not soon be forgotten; they have inflicted a wound in the American breast; it is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed; it is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you, and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations; and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation, and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation;—if we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them; if we have done injuries, we shall be willing on conviction to redress them, and equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France and every other nation.—The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France being at present suspended, the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country; nevertheless there is reason to believe, that the executive directory passed a decree on the second of March last, contravening in part the treaty of amity and commerce of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, injurious to our lawful

commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens.—A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavouring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources of the nation. With a sea coast of near two thousand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to these objects; any serious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders; to prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man, who considers the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens, and the description of the vessels by which these abuses have been practised; as the sufferings of our mercantile and seafaring citizens cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection—to resist the consequences of such impressions on the minds of foreign nations,

tions, and to guard against the degradation and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character, is an important duty of government.

A naval power, next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the last war would be sufficient to show that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the present abilities of the union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops, from one state to another, which were then practised; our sea-coasts, from their great extent, are more easily annoyed, and more easily defended by a naval force than any other; with all the materials our country abounds; in skill, our naval architects and navigators are equal to any; and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily and extensively as the present crisis demands. — Hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels, except on voyages to the East-Indies, where general usage, and the danger from pirates, appeared to render the permission proper; yet the restriction has originated solely from a wish to prevent collusions with the powers at war, contravening the act of congress of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence, while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our seafaring

citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations, and at the same time restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In addition to this voluntary provision for defence by individual citizens, it appears to be necessary to equip the frigates, and provide other vessels of inferior force to take under convoy such merchant vessels as shall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruisers whose depredations have been most injurious have been built, and some of them partially equipped, in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to present the subject generally to your consideration. If a mode can be devised by the wisdom of congress to prevent the resources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the same view I think it proper to mention, that some of our citizens resident abroad have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command or entered on board of them, and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States. Such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be restrained only by severe punishments.

But, besides protection of our commerce on the seas, I think it highly necessary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our most important ports. The distance of the United States from Europe, and the well known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people, in defence of their country, happily diminish the probability of invasion: nevertheless, to guard against sudden and predatory incursions the situation of some of our

principal sea-ports demands your consideration; and, as our country is vulnerable in other interests besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate, whether the means of general defence ought not to be increased by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a provisional army.

With the same view, and as a measure which even in time of universal peace ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defence of the country efficacious. Although it is very true, that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it if we can; yet to effect this separation, early, punctual, and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation, is no less necessary, than if we were directly concerned in them. It is necessary, in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparation against them: however we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial power of the world will consider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe at least if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale; it is a natural policy for a nation that studies to be neutral, to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits; at the same time that measures

might be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

It is particularly your province to consider the state of our public finances, and to adopt such measures respecting them as exigencies shall be found to require. The preservation of public credit, the regular extinguishment of the public debt, and a provision of funds to defray any extraordinary expences will, of course, call for your serious attention: although the imposition of new burthens cannot be in itself agreeable, yet there is not ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you such measures as their actual engagements, their present security, and future interest demand.

Gentlemen of the senate, and gentlemen of the house of representatives,

The present situation of our country imposes an obligation on all the departments of government to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my situation an exposition of the principles by which my administration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves or the world what has been before observed, that endeavours have been employed to foster and establish a division between the government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged this attempt is not necessary; but to repel by decided and united councils insinuations so derogatory to the honour, and aggressions so dangerous to the constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty.

It must not be permitted to be doubted whether the people of the United States will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether by surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own government, they will forfeit the honourable station they have hitherto maintained.

For myself, having never been indifferent to what concerned the interests of my country; having devoted the best part of my life to obtain and support its independence, and constantly witnessed the patriotism, fidelity, and perseverance of my fellow-citizens on the most trying occasions, it is not for me to hesitate or abandon a cause in which my heart has been so long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations; that those internal regulations which have been established by law for the preservation of peace, are in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed; nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements, to innovate upon principles which have been so deliberately and uprightly established; or to surrender in any manner the rights of the government: to enable me to maintain this declaration I rely under God with entire confidence on the firm and enlightened support of the national legislature, and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens.

JOHN ADAMS.

Having concluded his speech, after presenting a copy of it to the president of the senate, and another to the speaker of the house of representatives, the president retired,

as did also the members of the senate: and the speaker having resumed his chair, he read the speech: after which, on motion, it was ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole to-morrow.—
Adjourned.

Treaty of Definitive Peace concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

His majesty, the emperor of the Romans, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, wishing to consolidate the peace, the bases of which were laid down by the preliminaries signed at the castle of Eckenwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on 18th of April, 1797, have named for their plenipotentiaries, to wit:—his majesty (the emperor and king), the marquis di Gallo, count de Cobenzel, count de Meerfeldt, and baron de Degelmann; and the French republic, Buonaparte, commander in chief of the French army in Italy; who, after exchanging their full and respective powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

I. There shall be for the future and for ever a solid and inviolable peace between his majesty the emperor of the Romans, and king of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and successors, and the French republic. The contracting parties shall engage their utmost attention to maintain between them and their possessions a perfect good understanding, without permitting henceforth on either side, that any act of hostility be committed, by land or sea, through any cause, or under any pretext whatever; and every thing shall

shall be carefully avoided, that might impair for the future, the union happily established between them. No assistance or protection shall be given, directly or indirectly, to those who might desire to do any prejudice to either of the contracting parties.

II. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the contracting parties shall cause all the sequestrations which have been placed on the property, rights, and revenues of the individuals residing in the respective territories which are united to them, as well as of the public establishments which are situated in those territories, to be taken off. They bind themselves to discharge all they may owe which has been lent to them, as funds, by the said individuals or public establishments, and to pay or reimburse all engagements entered into for their advantage by each of them.

[The present article is declared common to the Cisalpine republic.]

III. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, relinquishes, on his own part, and on that of his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles on the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces, known by the name of the Austrian Low Countries. The French republic shall possess these countries for ever, in full sovereignty and propriety, and with all the territorial possessions which depend on them.

IV. All the mortgages entered into before the war on the land of the countries expressed in the preceding articles, and the contracts of which shall be drawn up with the usual formalities, shall become the charge of the French republic. The plenipotentiaries of his majesty the emperor shall furnish an account of

them in as speedy a manner as possible to the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and that before the exchange of the ratifications, that when the exchange takes place, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may be enabled to agree with respect to all the articles explanatory of, and additional to, the present article, and sign them.

V. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the French republic possess in full sovereignty, the former Venetian islands of the Levant, to wit, — Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Cerigo, and other islands depending on them, as well as Butrinto, Larta, Vonissia, and in general all the former Venetian establishments in Albania, which are situate lower than the gulf of Londrino.

VI. The French republic consents that his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, shall possess in full sovereignty and propriety the country hereafter expressed, to wit, Istria, Dalmatia, the former Venetian islands of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the canals, and the countries comprehended between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor and king, the Adriatic sea, and a line which shall be drawn from the county of Tyrol shall follow the torrent forward to Gardola, and cross the lake of Garda as far as Lacisa; from thence a military line as far as Sangiacomo, holding out an equal advantage to both parties, which shall be traced by engineers named on each side previous to the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The line to ascertain the limits shall cross the Adige at San Giacomo, follow the left bank of that river as far as the mouth of the White Canal, comprehend-

hending that part of Porto Legnago which is on the right bank of the Adige, with a circle drawn of 3,000 fathoms. The line shall be carried on by the left bank of the White Canal, the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the canal called the Polifella, until it discharges itself into the Po, and the left bank of the Great Po as far as the sea.

VII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, relinquishes for ever, for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights and titles arising out of those rights which his said majesty might pretend to have on the countries which he possessed before the war, and which now constitute a part of the Cisalpine republic, which shall possess them in full sovereignty and propriety, with all the territorial possessions that depend on them.

VIII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, acknowledges the Cisalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprehends the former Austrian Lombardy, the countries of Bergamo, of Brescia, and of Cremona, the city and fortress of Mantua, the Mantuan territory, Peschiera, that part of the former Venetian states to the west and south of the line, described in the 6th article, as the frontier of the states of his majesty the emperor in Italy, the country of Modena, the principality of Massa and Carrara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

IX. In all the countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the present treaty, the sequestration placed on the property, effects, and revenues of all the inhabitants and properties of every description, on account of the war which has been carried on between his imperial majesty

and the French republic, shall be taken off, without their being exposed in that respect to be molested in their property or persons. Those who for the future may not wish to continue their residence in these countries, shall be bound to make a declaration to that effect, three months after the publication of the treaty of definitive peace. They shall be allowed the term of three years to sell their moveable and immoveable possessions, or to dispose of them as they think proper.

X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the present treaty, shall incur those in whose possession they shall remain with the mortgages that have been incurred on the land.

XI. The navigation of the part of the rivers and canals, serving as limits between the possessions of his majesty the emperor, and those of the Cisalpine republic, shall be free, without either being able to establish any toll, or to keep any vessels armed for war; which however does not exclude the necessary precautions for the safety of the fortresses of Porto Legnago.

XII. All sales or alienations made, all engagements contracted, whether by the towns, or by the government, or the civil and administrative authorities of the countries formerly Venetian, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, until the date of signing the present treaty, shall be confirmed and considered as valid.

XIII. The titles of the domains, and the archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the present treaty, shall be given up in the space of three months, to date from the exchange of the ratifications to the powers which shall have acquired the propriety of them. The plans and maps of the fortresses,

treffes, towns, and countries which the contracting parties acquire by the present treaty, shall be faithfully given up to them. The military papers and registers taken in the actual war from the staffs of the respective armies shall be equally restored.

XIV. The two contracting powers, alike animated with the desire of doing away every thing that might tend to injure the good understanding which now happily subsists between them, bind themselves in the most solemn manner to contribute with all their power to the maintenance of internal tranquillity in their respective states.

XV. A treaty of commerce established on equitable grounds, and on such as may give to his majesty the emperor, and to the French republic, advantages equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured nations in their respective dominions, shall be forthwith concluded. In the mean time, all the communications and commercial relations shall be re-established in the state in which they were before the war.

XVI. No inhabitant of all the countries occupied by the Austrian and French armies, shall be liable to be prosecuted or affected, whether in his person or property, on account of his political opinions, or his civil, military, or commercial conduct during the war, which has been carried on between the two powers.

XVII. His majesty the emperor shall not, conformably to the principle of neutrality, receive into any of his ports during the course of the present war more than six vessels armed for war belonging to any one of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His majesty the emperor binds himself to cede to the duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the

countries which that prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Brisgau, which he shall possess on the same conditions as those in virtue of which he possessed the country of Modena.

XIX. The real and personal property, not alienated, of their royal highnesses the archduke Charles and the archduchess Christina, situate in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored to them under the condition of selling them within the space of three years.

The same measure shall be observed with respect to the real and personal property of his royal highness the archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

XX. A congress shall be held at Rastadt, solely composed of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and the French republic, for concluding peace between these two powers. This congress shall be opened one month after the signing of the present treaty, or sooner if possible.

XXI. All the prisoners of war made on either side, and the hostages carried off, or given, during the war, who may not have been yet restored, shall be so within forty days, to date from the signing of the present treaty.

XXII. The contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and whatever assistances of war have taken place in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXIII. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, shall preserve between them the same ceremony, with respect to rank, and other etiquettes, which was constantly observed before the war.

His

His said majesty and the Cisalpine republic shall have between them the same ceremony of etiquette as that which was customary between his said majesty and the republic of Venice.

XXIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, within the space of thirty days, to date from this day, or sooner if possible, and the acts of ratification in due form shall be exchanged at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, near Udine, on the 17th of October, 1797.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE;

Marquis di GALLO;

LOUIS, Count de COBENZEL;
Count de MEERFELDT, Major-General;

Baron de DEGELMANN.

The executive directory ratifies and signs the present treaty of peace with his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, negotiated in the name of the French republic by citizen Buonaparte, commander in chief of the army of Italy, invested with powers by the executive directory, and charged with its instructions to that effect.

Done at the national palace of the executive directory the 5th Brumaire (October 26th), in the 6th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

Public Acts passed in the First Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

November 2, 1796.

Land and malt bills.

Nov. 12.

Act for granting annuities to satisfy certain navy, victualling, transport, and exchequer bills.

Dec. 23.

Act for raising the sum of eighteen millions by way of annuities.

Act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments.

Act to continue several acts of the 35th and 36th of his present majesty, respecting the admission of certain articles of merchandise in neutral ships.

Dec. 28.

Act for additional duties on auctions, bricks, cocoa nuts, British and foreign spirits, and teas.

Act for granting certain duties of customs on goods, wares, and merchandise imported to, and exported from, or brought and carried coastwise within Great Britain, except wine and coal when brought or carried coastwise.

Act for additional duty on stage-coaches.

Act for additional duties on distilleries in Scotland.

Act for altering the rates of postage for conveyance of letters in England and Scotland.

Act for the more effectually securing the stamp duties on indentures, leases, bonds, and other deeds.

Act for extending the time limited by an act of this session, for delivering in navy, victualling, and transport and exchequer bills.

Dec. 30.

Act for allowing further time for the payment of instalments on the loan.

Act for the more speedy payment of

of navy, victualling, and transport bills.

Act to explain and amend the augmentation militia act.

Act to explain and amend the provisional cavalry act.

Act to explain and amend the act for raising men in the several counties for the army and navy.

March 3.

An act to remove doubts respecting promissory notes of the governor and company of the bank of England, for payment of sums of money under five pounds.

March 24.

Act for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore.

Act appointing commissioners of the land-tax.

March 27.

Act to continue the commercial acts with America.

Act for defraying the pay of the militia in England.

Act to explain an act for raising men for the army and navy in Scotland.

Act to allow the Scotch banks to issue notes for sums under a certain amount.

April 24.

Act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers, &c. on quartering soldiers.

May 3.

An act for confirming and continuing, for a limited time, the restriction contained in the minute of council of the 26th of February, 1797, on payments of cash by the bank.

Act for making certain annuities created by the parliament of Ireland transferable, and the dividends thereon payable at the bank of England.

May 9.

Act for increase of pay and provision to the seamen and marines.

May 11.

Act for raising the sum of fourteen millions five hundred pounds by way of annuities.

May 25.

Act for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of one million six hundred and twenty thousand pounds to the emperor of Germany.

Act to amend the act on stamp duties of attorneys' indentures.

Act to revive and amend the act to suspend, for a limited time, the operation of two acts of the 15th and 17th of his present majesty, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange.

Act to revive and continue the Scotch banking bill. See March 27.

Act for granting to foreign ships the privileges of prize ships, under certain regulations.

June 6.

Act for granting additional duties on the amount of certain taxes.

Act for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in the army or navy from their duty and allegiance.

June 19.

Act for allowing certain discounts to the contributors of eighteen millions, raised by annuities.

June 22.

Act for granting certain stamp duties, and securing the duties on certificates of solicitors, &c.

Act for continuing the act of restriction on payments in cash by the bank. See May 3.

July 4.

Act for carrying into execution the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with the United States of America.

Act to amend the act of the 31st of George II. for the due making of bread.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES

AND

CHARACTERS.

5
BIOGRAPHICAL

AND NOTES

AND

CHARACTERS

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

CHARACTER OF JAMES I. KING OF SCOTLAND.

[From the first Volume of Mr. PINKERTON'S History of SCOTLAND under the House of STUART.]

"AFTER two weak and inactive reigns, and two regencies of no superior character, a monarch is to succeed, whose government is to be distinguished for its novelty and vigour; and the house of Stuart is at last to know a sovereign. James had now attained his thirtieth year; and his prime of life was yet further recommended by every advantage which natural talents, and a complete education, could bestow. In person he was rather under the middle size, but endued with such firmness and agility as to excell in every manly exercise. In wrestling, in the management of the bow, or the spear, in throwing the quoit, in running, in horsemanship, he yielded to none. But his mental abilities were yet more conspicuous. A man of science and learning, an excellent poet, a master of music, the fame of his accomplishments reflected glory even on the throne. Illustrious in every personal virtue, free from any personal vice, his very amusements adorned

his character; his hours of leisure being frequently dedicated to elegant writing, and miniature painting, to mechanical arts, and to the cultivation of the garden and the orchard.

"The features of his government it is more difficult to discriminate. If we believe some writers, not less than three thousand men were put to death in the two first years of his reign; and after the inroad of Donald Balloch, three hundred highland banditti met with the same fate. Happily these matters are quite unknown to contemporary and authentic monuments of our history: the justice of James fell only on a few nobles, and some chiefs of clans; but the numerous dependants of those victims of equitable severity embraced every occasion to excite discontents, and propagate falsehoods against the government, falsehoods which have even past into the page of history, for one of the misfortunes of the house of Stuart has consisted in the prejudices of several Scottish historians.

rians. If any blame must fall, let it fall where it ought, upon the mis-rule of the house of Albany. To a people who had lived for half a century under a loose and delegated government, and who had been accustomed to regard licence as liberty, it is no wonder that the punishment of crimes seemed quite a new and strange cruelty: that a salutary strength of government appeared despotism: that a necessary and legal taxation assumed the shape of tyrannic extortion. The commons, led by the nobles, absurdly regarded the cause of the

latter as their own, and saw not that the king in crushing the aristocracy was doing the most essential service to his people. The plans of James were sagacious and profound, but sometimes incur the charge of temerity; and while they partake of the greatness of genius, they are limited by the want of a sufficient power in the Scottish monarchy for their complete execution. In a word James is fully entitled to the uncommon character of a great sovereign, in the arts of government and of peace."

The LIFE of POPE LEO X.

[From Mr. NOBLE's Memoirs of the ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE of MEDICI.]

"GIOVANNI, a younger son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, obtained by the care of his father a cardinal's hat, when only fourteen years of age, it having been conferred upon him by the favour of pope Innocent VIII. the friend of Lorenzo. From his high rank, and the youth of his brother Pietro's children, he was set, by the Medici, at the head of his family, to whom they looked up for protection in the grievous misfortunes that overwhelmed them.

"The cardinal had been included in the proscription which his brother's ill conduct had drawn upon the Medici, and he had undergone a series of extraordinary adventures; but he found in the courts of Guido and Francesco, dukes of Urbino, a friendly asylum.

"Florence, it must be remarked, after the death of Pietro, was

at the lowest ebb, and seemed sinking into ruin. The Pisans, having been joined by Genoa and Lucca, bid defiance to the Florentines; instead of acting only upon the defensive, they attacked and took Arezzo. Cortona fell a victim to Lodovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, duke of Milan, whose fears of France only kept him from laying siege to the capital; and when this perfidious monster was, in 1500, expelled his dominions by Lewis XII. it gave no advantage to Florence; and to fill up the measure of her misfortunes, Balione, her general, deserted to her enemies.

"From these misfortunes, and the unhappy divisions in the republic, Giovanni flattered himself he might be able to procure the return of himself and his family, especially as cardinal Sforza, as if united by similitude of fortunes, declared his

his interest to be inseparably the same with that of the Medici. But all these pleasing appearances vanished; cardinal Sforza died; Pisa was deserted by her allies; and cardinal de la Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV. became pope, Oct. 17, 1503, succeeding Pius III. who had survived his election only a month. The new pontiff took the name of Julius II. and one of his first acts of power was, to declare himself the ally of Florence, with whom he first signed a treaty, and then a peace. Florence, by this extraordinary alteration, regained her lost dominions, and civil discord subsiding, the Medici seemed for ever excluded her walls.

"Giovanni's drooping hopes, however, were soon raised again by the folly of Soderini, who had exasperated his new ally, the pope, by imprudently permitting a general council, called by Lewis XII. to sit at Pisa. In revenge for this insult, and to take from the French a power that was their great support, his holiness determined to restore the Medici, as it would necessarily destroy Soderini, who was at the head of the republic, and in his stead place Giovanni, who was, both from interest and inclination, the enemy of a nation that he could not endure.

"Several favourable circumstances occurred to promote this change. The Florentines, disgusted with Soderini's impolitic conduct, of having himself declared gonfalonier for life, in imitation of Caesar's perpetual dictatorship, were convinced that they were no more safe under him than they had been before the expulsion of the Medici, nor that they enjoyed more freedom under the government of Soderini than they had done under that of the exiled family; and

they perceived, that they were neither so rich nor so happy as before the expulsion of the latter.

"Soderini too was the ally of France, who had treated the commonwealth with an excess of haughtiness. Great numbers of the citizens were secretly attached to the Medici from friendship, interest, or gratitude, and not a few from fear and the love of change, which always has its charms with the populace.

"No person could be better adapted to profit by these favourable conjunctures than Giovanni; he possessed every requisite to please; was in the prime of his life, handsome, graceful, polite, affable, magnificent, and liberal. So many splendid qualities clothed with the cardinalate, and invested with both the legatine ships of Perugia and Bologna, with the recollection of his father's great merit, confirmed the wavering, and won new partizans. The religious looked upon him as the mediator between them and heaven, and the young nobility trusted to him to support them in their extravagancies.

"In this crisis nothing could be more opportune than the gonfalonier's joining the French in their attempts upon Milan; as it convinced Julius that he and France were not to be separated, and determined him no longer to defer the ruin of his interest in Florence by the recall of the Medici.

"Upon the eve, as Giovanni supposed, of this being accomplished, he saw himself, by the loss of the battle of Ravenna, a prisoner to Lewis XII. of which Julius was no sooner informed, than by a monitory addressed to the conqueror, he demanded his liberation.

"Giovanni at the same time received

ceived from his holiness a commission to absolve such of the victorious soldiers as applied for pardon, for having dared to withstand the arms of the vicar of Christ, and a power of granting funeral rites to the dead : it is impossible to express the effects this produced. The soldiers, respecting him as alone having true apostolic power, thronged to him, and not only the common men, but the ennobled persons of the illustrious families of Visconti, Palavicini, and Trivalzi ; perhaps too the opposition of Giovanni's character to San Severino, the legate of the council of Pisa, not a little contributed to this, for he was reserved, haughty, and severe ; and instead of the habit of peace, in which his rival appeared, he wore bright shining armour.

“ To prevent the desertion of the army, which looked up to him with reverence and love, it was resolved to send him into France, no place in Italy being judged proper to confine him. Giovanni finding the intention of his enemies, prudently threw every impediment in the way, prolonging his stay in the camp as long as possible ; and when obliged to commence his journey, he pursued the same plan, flattering himself that some favourable circumstance might offer to assist him in making his escape.

“ Early one morning, as Giovanni was preparing to take a boat to pass over the river Po, opposite to Bisignana, Rinaldo Zallo, a noble Venetian, observing the sacred dignity of the prisoner, resolved, if possible, to procure him his liberty ; for this purpose collecting with expedition his domestics, and some peasants of the village of Del Cairo, whom he ordered to advance shouting, and fall upon the guard. The project answered

the kind design of Zallo, for the guard affrighted, by supposing them a regular body of forces, deserted their prisoner, to seek their own safety in flight.

“ His escape gave new life to the hopes of the party ; Julius instantly renounced the treaty he had solemnly concluded with Florence, and at a congress of the holy league it was resolved, through the persuasion of the papal ambassador, seconded by the entreaties of Julian, the brother of Giovanni, to restore the Medici to their country. To carry this into effect, Giovanni was invested with legatine power throughout Tuscany, and put at the head of the pontifical army, which was joined by the troops of Naples, commanded by the viceroy of Ferdinand the Catholic.

“ It was to no purpose the Florentines urged the repeated treaties that had been concluded between them and the allies, and the exactness with which they had fulfilled the last. The confederates insisted upon Soderini's abdicating the gonfaloniership, and admitting the Medici into Florence ; this he absolutely refused.

“ The sordid avarice of Soderini defeated its own aim, and befriended the Medici to a great degree ; he had heretofore refused the assistance of the emperor Maximilian at a stipulated price, so now he refused to part with thirty thousand ducats, which the covetous viceroy asked as the terms of betraying the interest of the exiled family.

“ He foolishly relied upon the faith of the fickle multitude. Fatal security ! Prato was stormed, and Pistoia revolted, declaring for the Medici. These misfortunes filled Florence with discontent, and whilst a revolt was each moment

ment threatened, Julian, with three other young noblemen, accomplished the revolution. The names of these grandees were Bartolomeo Valori, Paulo Vettori, and Antonio Francesco Albizi; the scheme was planned in a conference held at a country seat not far from Florence.

"They carried their intentions into execution by secretly entering the city with their partizans, when seizing Soderini, they obliged him, by threatening instant death in case of refusal, to quit the magistracy. The unhappy man tremblingly complied with commands he durst not dispute, and fled immediately after to Ragusa by sea, with the money he could convey away; but the four youths who undertook the plot seized upon the public treasury, and then assembled the people, taking advantage of the universal panic to procure the repeal of the banishment of the Medici.

"The artful Julius, gratified that he had restored the exiled family, wished them only to be esteemed as private citizens of Florence, supposing them equal in that capacity to contend with the French faction; and flattered himself, that whilst he thus kept them, he might depend upon the fidelity of Giovanni. This however did not satisfy the cardinal; he was too penetrating to be long the dupe of the pontiff's ambition.

"To counteract his holiness's design, he used all those blandishments that seemed so natural to him, and which won, deservedly won, every heart. He protected the women of Prato from the brutality of the soldiers, and put a stop to the carnage of the men of that place. He acted with moderation to all; he interceded with his friends to spare the most violent enemies of his house. He gained

the young nobility by an excess of liberality.

"Having by these means prepared for the completion of his project, he excused himself from paying the viceroy of Naples, pretending that he could not procure the money, owing to the French faction in the city, who threw every obstacle to it in his way. The greedy vice-king fell into the snare so artfully laid for him; he, anxious to secure the stipulated sum, and disregarding the manner in which it was raised, told Giovanni that he might dispose of the city in what manner he chose, as most conducive to obtain the wished-for money.

"This was a moment not to be lost, he assembled the people in the great square, where he stationed his friends, many of whom were lately won by the money he had judiciously applied; these all voted for a change in the form of government, and placed none but such as he approved in the magistracy; few, except Baptisto Rodolphi, the new gonfalonier, and the other officers of justice, opposing it, but these were borne down, as prejudiced to their own interest; those who had the same sentiments finding themselves surrounded by the Neapolitan troops, lent for the present purpose by the viceroy, knowing how vain, how dangerous would be their opposition, appeared to acquiesce in what they could not prevent.

"This revolution at once surprised and alarmed Julius; knowing that the Catholic King paid no regard to the most solemn treaties, when it was his interest to break them, he imagined that Giovanni had won him over by some extraordinary temptation, never supposing that the young cardinal

could have dared to have acted with such determined courage, had not he depended upon the support of so powerful a prince. He feared the power of Spain equally with that of France, and felt himself ill at ease in supposing that two such powerful states should almost surround his dominions, who were allies, and could, with the assistance drawn from Spain, give laws to the patrimony of St. Peter. Entertaining these sentiments, it is not to be wondered at that his holiness determined to deprive Giovanni of that consequence he had dared to seize without his participation.

"Perhaps nothing could have saved the Medici from a cruel reverse to their newly renewed consequence, but the timely death of the violent Julius II. who was taken from his earthly grandeur, February 21, 1513.

"Though the Medici were solately reinstated in the government of Florence, yet Giovanni had the courage to leave the republic and repair to Rome, to assist in the conclave at the election of a successor to Julius. Whilst detained in this confinement he fell ill, scandal says of a complaint never occasioned by chastity, and the young and the old cardinals quarrelling which should appoint a future pope, both parties at length acquiesced in nominating Giovanni, though only thirty-seven years of age, from the supposition that his present malady would soon terminate fatally; and Giovanni, to the joint surprise of the world, and of himself, was saluted sovereign pontiff, March 10, in the preceding year, assuming the name of Leo X. upon the occasion, in conformity to the usage of the popes.

"Leo, in his coronation, displayed a magnificence that exceeded whatever had been seen in

Rome; the expences were more than one hundred thousand crowns. It was celebrated upon the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna; and his holiness rode the same horse he did when he had been captured. It is foreign to the design of these memoirs to write the history of the papacy during his pontificate, but only continue to represent him to the reader as the principal of the house of Medici.

"What a change was here in the fortune of the lately exiled cardinal! He was now sovereign of two considerable states, and, in right of one, the acknowledged head of Europe. Leo regarded his elevation in no other estimation, than as the means it afforded him to raise his family to permanent sovereignty.

"The most powerful monarchs vied with each other in offering him and his family their friendship; Ferdinand the Catholic, and Francis I. the successor of Lewis XII. strove who should most ingratiate themselves by their liberality to the Medici. The former proposed an advantageous marriage between Julian and a princess of Cordona, allied to the crown of Spain, but Francis outbid him by offering his aunt, Philiberta, daughter of Philibert, and sister of Charles, dukes of Savoy. In right of this lady he became duke of Nemours, and by the bounty of his brother he was impowered to settle upon his bride one hundred thousand ducats. Henry VIII. who also courted the friendship of the Medici, created the duke knight of the garter, and dedicated to his holiness his well known book written against the tenets of Luther, for which Leo gave him the title of Defender of the Faith.

"Leo, not content with the honours and titles he had procured Julian,

Julian, meditated to raise him to the sovereignty of Modena, Reggio, Parma, Placentia, and the Ferrareze. The four latter had been mortgaged to his holiness by the emperor Maximilian for forty thousand ducats, for which he was declared hereditary vicar, and had not Maximilian redeemed them, Leo would have conveyed them over to Julian.

"The ambitious pontiff aimed at still higher promotion for his brother; he meant to wrest the crown of Naples from Arragon, and place it upon his head, and there can be little doubt but that he would have attained some greater dignity for him, had not death snatched Julian away. His loss was greatly deplored both by his family and the public, because with a taste equal to Leo's he united many distinguished virtues. Julian was born in 1478, and died March 17, 1516, and was buried in the church of St. Lorenzo, in Florence. His monument was the work of Michael Angelo, whose much admired statues of Day and Night are a part of it. By Philiberta he had no child; but he left Hippolito, an illegitimate son, who became a cardinal.

"Leo accomplished his wish in providing for Julian, without giving uneasiness, or being guilty of injustice to any one; but his conduct was most reproachable in his advancement of Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Pietro. He had given him an excellent education, and placed him over the republic of Florence to govern under himself. To raise him to an independent sovereignty, however, was his aim, and he fixed upon Urbino, though its duke, Francisco-Maria, had shewed every kindness to him and his brother in the first years of their banishment. But

gratitude was of little avail when interest called; besides, the duke had been averse to the restoration of the Medicean power in Florence, which Leo thought abrogated all former obligation.

"The amiable Julian whilst he lived had constantly opposed Leo's intention, as inconsistent with decency and honour, but his death left his holiness at liberty to act as he pleased, without such a monitor to check his designs. The duke of Urbino's character was not irreproachable; an excuse for the intended violence was easily procured: he had in the heat of passion stabbed the cardinal of Pavia for his attachment to France; this was the crime principally insisted upon, though his having lost Bologna to the papacy, his opposing the restoration of the Medici, and possessing a fine principality, were the greatest in the eye of the greedy ambitious pontiff.

"Leo fulminated his thunder against him, and declared his duchy forfeited to the holy see, of which he held. Francisco-Maria did not pay implicit obedience, he remonstrated, he did more, he put himself in a posture of defence, but the treasury of Florence poured out her ample stores to obtain what rendered arms of little avail. The soldiers were bribed, and the duke was obliged to leave his dominions to the Medici, to whom he had formerly given asylum. This business cost eight hundred thousand ducats, but the annual revenue of Urbino was very great; even Pisaro, San Leo, and Singalunga, which were separate members of it, and conquered with the duchy, yielded a revenue of twenty-five thousand ducats.

"His holiness having provided Lorenzo, his nephew, with a principality, united him in marriage to

to *Madelaide de la Tour*, of *Auvergne*, of the house of *Bouillon*, allied to the blood royal of France. The lying *Sleidan*, to use the epithet of the emperor *Charles V.* calls this lady *Galla*, of the house of *Bolonois*, but she was the second daughter of *John de la Tour*, count of *Auvergne*, descended from a brother of *Godfrey*, the first Christian king of *Jerusalem*, by *Jane of Bourbon*, sister to the count of *Vendosme*. She brought *Lorenzo* a fortune of ten thousand ducats per annum, chiefly the gift of *Francis I.* who also presented him with fifty thousand ducats out of the money raised for the crusade against the sultan *Selim I.* and which *Leo* had given a brief to that monarch to apply to his own use.

"It is not easy to estimate the grief of this pontiff, when he saw this prince brought to an early grave, by a lingering illness contracted in France from youthful intemperance, and in a few days afterwards *Madelaide*, in bringing into the world *Catherine*, their only child. The little orphan became queen of France, and is so well known for the uncommon beauty, fine accomplishments, and the vast extent of abilities she possessed, but which were rendered dangerous in the extreme by the atrocious wickedness of her manners.

"*Lorenzo* had little to recommend him to *Leo*, except his relationship, as his character was chiefly formed of deceit, revenge, and cowardice. When he had shamefully deserted France, and dreaded her vengeance, he meanly threw the whole blame upon his uncle and benefactor. Instead of answering the challenge of the injured duke of *Urbino*, as military honour demanded, he basely hired

assassins to murder him, which they were near perpetrating. *Lorenzo* died May 4, 1519; his remains were deposited in the sacristy of *St. Lorenzo's church*, near those of the duke of *Nemours*. His monument is also the workmanship of *Michael Angelo*; his effigies, and the figure of *Aurora* and *Twilight*, are the admiration of connoisseurs.

"*Leo* did not confine his favours to the nearest of his name. He was the patron of every one of his family, whether of the male or female line, not forgetting the illegitimate branches. He even formed the project of leaving *Julio*, the posthumous natural son of the unfortunate *Julian*, who fell a victim to the malice of pope *Sixtus IV.* and the *Pazzi*, his successor in the papal see. *Lorenzo*, the Magnificent, had shewn his particular regard for his brother *Julian*, by an extreme tenderness for this his son, whom he educated with his own children, treated as his nephew, and loaded with every kindness.

"His fine parts, learning, and taste, still, if possible, more endeared all the *Medici* to him. His courage, assiduity, and the ease and dexterity with which he performed the most difficult and hazardous enterprizes, won him the favour of the discerning *Julius*, who created him a knight of *Rhodes*, and grand prior of *Capua*, and as such he carried the standard of the military order at the coronation of *Leo*.

"The pontiff was no sooner seated upon the papal throne, than he obliged *Julio* to go into the church, though his inclination led him most to the camp. Ecclesiastical honours crowded upon him. He received the archiepiscopate of *Florence*, and the following year

was

was presented with a cardinal's hat, and made chancellor of the Roman church, the next dignity to the pope. The emperor Charles V. granted him great pensions, and when Leo broke with Cæsar, Francis I. to make a recompence for the loss it would occasion to the cardinal, assigned him an annuity and preferments to the value of ten thousand ducats yearly, as he had before done to Lorenzo. His promotions in the church were beyond all decency, holding bishopricks in most of the kingdoms in Europe; and Leo, after Lorenzo's death, appointed him governor of Florence.

"In all these various situations, Julio acted with consummate prudence, and by the confidence Leo placed in him, he plainly pointed him out as heir to the Medicean grandeur. There was none of the elder branch of the family to contest it with him, and if there had, his vast advantages would have secured it to him against every opponent.

"In this situation was the house of Medici, when Leo, its head, was suddenly called away by excess of joy; for whilst he sat at supper, news was brought him that the French were beaten out of Italy; he cried out, 'God has been so merciful to me, as to let me see three things, which I desired from the bottom of my heart:—To return with honour into Florence, whence I was banished with shame; to have merit sufficient to advance me to the papacy; and to see the French beaten out of Italy.' In pronouncing of which last words, he fell dead with the glass he held in his hand.

"This event took place December 2, 1521, when he had within a few days completed his forty-eighth year, and sat in the papal

chair about eight. His remains were deposited in a brick grave in St. Peter's church, but were afterwards removed by Paul III. to the church of St. Maria-sopra-Minerva.

"Revenge, more than policy, made Leo the inveterate enemy of France; he remembered that the misfortunes of his house were in a great measure owing to that nation; but whenever his own or his family's interest demanded it, he altered his conduct. He professed the utmost affection for Francis I. at Bologna, where they had an interview, yet he took the first opportunity to break his engagements with that monarch.

"Leo's excess of magnificence charmed the Romans; a medal was struck with *Liberalitas Pontificia* upon the reverse, with a device suitable to the motto. He was the first pontiff that had a medal elegantly wrought; his predecessor began to strike them. Martin I. is the earliest who had one struck in honour of his memory.

"Leo's ambition and inclination to enlarge the patrimony of St. Peter was equal to that of his predecessor; but Julius left a full, Leo an empty treasury. 'Other pontificates,' it was said, 'expired at the death of a pope, but his continued long after.' His unbounded magnificence and liberality, which his revenue, immense as it was, could not support, by producing the sale of indulgencies, began the Reformation. Some of them the pope had given to be raised by sale, in particular provinces, to his relations and friends; Saxony was apportioned to his sister Maddelgne, the wife of Francisco Cibo, son of Innocent VIII. not more from affinity to her than in gratitude to him, whose family had treated

treated the Medici in the kindest manner after their expulsion from Florence. These were sold at so great and extravagant a price, that it called forth Luther, and Luther, freedom from papal tyranny.

"His affection to his family, by its excess, became highly criminal; because neither justice, honour, or gratitude, were any impediment to the promoting their interest, forgetting for that purpose every thing due to his sacred character. It is said he did not even pretend to believe in revelation. His mirth was

that of a Bacchanalian. With all these excessive defects, he will ever be remembered by the lovers of learning and taste with veneration. His reign was the golden age of literature, and the arts were not less obliged to him, owing in a great measure to his father having selected those of the highest celebrity in every science for his tutors and early companions. How much is it to be lamented, that he was not equally virtuous as learned and elegant."

MEMOIRS OF BARON BORN.

[FROM TRAVELS IN HUNGARY, &c. by ROBERT TOWNSON, LL.D. &c.]

"THE Baron was born at Carlsburg in Transylvania, of a noble family, and came early in life to Vienna, and studied under the Jesuits; who, no doubt, perceiving in him more than common abilities, and that he would one day be an honour to their order, prevailed on him to enter into it; but of this society he was a member only for about a year and a half. He then left Vienna and went to Prague, where, as it is the custom in Germany, he studied the law. As soon as he had completed his studies, he made a tour through a part of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, and France; and returning to Prague, he engaged in the studies of natural history, mining, and their connected branches; and in 1770 he was received into the department of the mines and mint at Prague. As we learn from his letters, this year he made a tour, and visited the principal mines of Hungary and Transylvania, and during it kept up a correspondence

with the celebrated Ferber, who in 1774 published his letters.—It was in this tour that he so nearly lost his life, and where he was struck with that disease which embittered the rest of his days, and which was only rendered supportable by a strong philosophic mind and active disposition.

"It was at Felső-Banya where he met with this misfortune, as appears from his eighteenth letter to Mr. Ferber. He descended here into a mine, where fire was used to detach the ore, to observe the efficacy of this means, too soon after the fire had been extinguished, and whilst the mine was full of arsenical vapours raised by the heat. 'My long silence,' says he to his friend Ferber, 'is the consequence of an unlucky accident, which had almost cost me my life. I descended the Great Mine to see the manner of applying the fire, and its effects on the mine, when the fire was hardly extinct, and the mine was still full of smoke.'

How

How greatly he suffered in his health by this accident appears from his letter which we mentioned when we spoke of Tokay; where it will be remembered he complained that he could hardly bear the motion of his carriage: upon this misfortune he hastened to Vienna. After this he was appointed at Prague counsellor of the mines. In 1771 he published a small work of the Jesuit Poda, on the machinery used about mines; and the next year his *Lithophylacium Borneanum*. This is the catalogue of his collection of fossils which he afterwards disposed of to the hon. Mr. Greville. This work drew on him the attention of mineralogists, and brought him into correspondence with the first men in this line. He was now made a member of the Royal Societies of Stockholm, Sienna and Padua; and in 1774, the same honour was conferred on him by the Royal Society of London.

"During his residence in Bohemia, he did not apply himself to the business of his charge alone; but his active disposition induced him to seek for opportunities of extending knowledge, and of being useful to the world.—He took a part in the work entitled 'Portraits of the Learned Men and Artists of Bohemia and Moravia.' He was likewise concerned in the 'Acta Literaria Bohemiarum et Moraviae;' and the editor of the latter publicly acknowledges in the preface to it, how much Bohemian literature is indebted to him. Prague and Vienna were both without a public cabinet for the use of the students: it was at his instigation that government was induced to form one, and he himself assisted by his contributions and his labours. In 1775 he laid the foundation of a literary society, which published several volumes under the title of

'Memoirs of a private Society in Bohemia.'

"His fame reaching the empress Mary Theresa, in 1776 she called him to Vienna to arrange and describe the imperial collection: and about two years after, he published the splendid work containing the 'Conchology:' in the execution of this, I believe, he had some assistance. The empress defrayed the expences for a certain number of copies. On the death of this patron the work was discontinued, her successor, the emperor Joseph, not favouring the undertaking. He had likewise the honour of instructing the arch-duchess Maria Anna in natural history, who was partial to this entertaining study; and he formed and arranged for her a neat museum. In 1779 he was raised to the office of Actual Counsellor of the court chamber (*Hof Kammer*) in the department of the mines and mint. This office detained him constantly in Vienna, and engaged the chief part of his time.

"The consequences of his misfortune at Felfo-Banya began now to be felt in the severest manner; he was attacked with the most excruciating colics, which rose to such a degree as to threaten a speedy termination of his life and miseries. In this depth of torment he had recourse to the usual calmer of bodily pain, opium; and a large portion of this being placed by the side of him, which he was ordered only to take in small doses; once brought to desperation through the intensity of his pain, he swallowed it at one draught. This brought on a lethargy, which lasted four-and-twenty hours; but when he awoke he was free of his pains. The disorder now attacked his legs and feet, particularly his right leg, and in this he was lame for the rest of

of his life; sometimes the lameness was accompanied by pain, sometimes not. But his feet by degrees withered, and he was obliged to sit, or lie, or lean upon a sofa; though sometimes he was so well as to be able to sit upon a stool, but not to move from one room to the other without assistance.

“ His free and active genius led him to interest himself in all the occurrences of the times, and to take an active part in all the institutions and plans for enlightening and reforming mankind. With these benevolent intentions he formed connections with the Free Masons, whose views in this part of the world were something more than eating and drinking, as may be conjectured by the laws and regulations made against masonry by the emperor Joseph. Under Theresa, this order was obliged to keep itself very secret in Austria; but Joseph, on his coming to the throne, tolerated it, and the baron founded in the Austrian metropolis a lodge called the ‘ True Concord.’ This was no card club, or association for eating and drinking, where the leading members were chosen by their capacity for taking in solids and liquids, and where a good song was considered as a first rate qualification; but a society of learned men, whose lodge was a place of rendezvous for the literati of the capital.

“ No doubt the obstacles these gentlemen would find, to the progress of science and useful knowledge, in the church hierarchy, and in the cabals of courtiers, would draw their attention to political subjects; and subjects were really discussed here which the church had forbid to be spoken of, and which the government must have wished not to be thought of. At

their meetings, dissertations on some subject of History, Ethics, or Moral Philosophy, were read by the members; and commonly something on the history of ancient and modern mysteries, and secret societies. These were afterwards published in the Diary for Freemasons, for the use of the initiated, and not for public sale.—In the winter they met occasionally, and held more public discourses, to which the members of the other lodges were allowed access. As most of the learned of Vienna belonged to this lodge, it was very natural to suppose, that many of the dissertations read here were not quite within the limits of the original plan of the society. It was these dissertations, I believe, which gave rise to another periodical work, entitled, ‘ *Physikalische Arbeiten der einträchtigen Freunde in Wien,*’ which was continued for some time by the Baron and his brother Masons. He was likewise active in extirpating superstitions of various kinds which had crept into the other lodges, and equally zealous in giving to these societies such an organization as might render them useful to the public.

“ The Baron, and many others of his lodge, belonged to the society of the ‘ Illuminated.’ This was no dishonour to him: the views of this order, at least at first, seem to have been commendable; they were the improvement of mankind, not the destruction of society. Such institutions are only useful or dangerous, and to be approved of or condemned, according to the state of society; and this was before the French revolution, and in a country less enlightened than almost any other part of Germany. So zealous a friend was he to them, that when the elector of Bavaria ordered

dered all those in his service to quit this order, he was so displeased that he returned the academy of Munich the diploma they had sent him on their receiving him amongst them, publicly avowed his attachment to the order, and thought it proper to break off all further connection with Bavaria as a member of its literary society. The Free Masons did not long retain the patronage of their sovereign; the emperor Joseph soon became jealous of their influence, and put them under such restrictions, and clogged them with such incumbrances, as to amount almost to a prohibition; and as such they acted, for the society found it necessary to dissolve.

“What raised the baron so high in the public opinion, was his knowledge of mineralogy, and his successful experiments in metallurgy, and principally in the process of amalgamation. The use of quicksilver in extracting the noble metals from their ores, was not a discovery of the baron's, nor of the century in which he lived; yet he extended so far its application in metallurgy as to form a brilliant epoch in this most important art. After he had at great expence made many private experiments, and was convinced of the utility of his method, he laid before the emperor an account of his discovery, who gave orders that a decisive experiment on a large quantity of ore should be made at Schemnitz in Hungary. To see this he invited many of the most celebrated chymists and metallurgists of Europe; and Ferber, Elhujer, Charpentier, Trebra, Poda, and many more were present, and approved of his invention. On this general approbation he published, by order of the emperor, his *Treatise on the Process of Amalgamation*, with a great many

engravings of the requisite instruments and machinery. To suppose that his success, whilst it brought him fame and emolument, did not draw upon him the envy and ill will of many of his brother metallurgists and associates in office, would show a great ignorance of what is daily passing in common life. Envy has its share even in maintaining order in society: it is this which tends to keep the great from rising higher, whilst a contrary passion lifts up the little, or prevents them from falling lower.

“Though great cabals were raised against him, and against the introduction of his method, yet the advantages of it in many cases were so evident, that the emperor ordered it to be used in his Hungarian mines; and as a recompense for his discovery, gave him for ten years the third part of the savings arising from its application, and four per cent. of this third part for the next twenty years. Even this did not defend him from being still harassed by his enemies; obstacles were still thrown in the way to prevent the introduction and success of his discovery, and to defraud him of his well-earned recompense.

“Though he suffered very much in the latter part of his life, yet this did not prevent him from continuing his literary pursuits. In 1790 he published his *Catalogue methodique raisonne* of the collection of fossils of Miss Raab, which had been chiefly formed by his donations. This work, elegantly printed in two volumes, was well received by the public, and he was writing the *Faust* Leopoldini, and a mineralogical work, when death put an end to his useful life and to his sufferings.

“Notwithstanding the varied advice of his physicians, his disease conti-

continued: in such a state quacks find easy access to the sick; who is not then ready to seize the nostrum of the bold pretender? One of these gave him a decoction which soon calmed his sufferings, and which he was assured would cure him in a few weeks. He continued the use of this for the last five months of his life: it really diminished his pains; but his friends observed that his cheerfulness which hitherto had not left him, diminished likewise, and that spasms often attacked his upper limbs. On the 21st of July, 1791, he was seized with spasms and cold; the former soon subsided on friction, but he lost his speech. On the subsequent days he had different attacks till the 28th, when he found himself better, but he was soon attacked again with spasms, and in these he expired.

"Born was of a middle size and delicate constitution, dark complexion, black hair, and large black eyebrows. Wit and satire, and a quick comprehension, were marked in his eyes, and his lively and penetrating genius appeared in his countenance. Besides being a good Latin classic, he was master of most European languages of note, and possessed a deal of general information no ways connected with those branches of science required in his profession. He was a great wit and satirist, and a good companion even under the sufferings of bodily pain. His too liberal and unguarded use of satire made him many enemies. In his youthful days he wrote the 'Staats Perücke' for the amusement of his friends: this was afterwards published without his knowledge. But nothing shows more his talent for satire than his 'Monachologia,' which he published in 1783, just when the

emperor Joseph was making his reforms in the church: indeed, at any other time such a severe satire on the monks would not have been permitted. They are characterised thus:

'Monachus.

'*Descriptio.* — Animal avarum, fœtidum, immundum, siticulosum, iners, inediā potius tolerans quam laborem; — vivunt e rapina et quæstu; mundum sui tantum causa creatum esse prædicant; coeunt claustrum destine, nuptias non celebrant, fœtus exponunt; in propriam speciem sæviunt, et hostem ex insidiis agrediuntur. *Ufus.* Terræ pondus inutile. Fruges consumere nati. And upon the order of Dominicans he says — 'Eximio olfactu pollet, vinum et hæresin e longinquo odorat. Esurit semper polyphagus. Juniores fame probaptur. Veterani, relegata omni cura et occupatione, gulæ indulgent, cibis succulentis nutriuntur, molliter cubant, tepide quiescunt, somnum protrahunt, et ex suis diætâ curant, ut esca omnis in adipem transcat, lædumque adipiscantur: hinc abdomen prolixum passim præseferunt; senes ventricosi maxime æstimantur. Virginitatis sacræ olores in venerem volgivagam proni ruunt. Generi humano et, sanæ rationi infestissima species, in cuius creatione non se jactavit auctor naturæ.'

"The archbishop of Vienna complained to the emperor against this work; who replied, that it was only the idle and useless part of the spiritual order which was attacked. This was seconded by his 'Defensio Physiophili;' and to this succeeded his 'Anatomia Monachi.' He wrote likewise a satire on Father Hell the astronomer, by publishing a long Latin advertisement, full of irony, announcing a book

book written against the Free-masons, in the name of this learned Jesuit.

"It must not be forgotten, that his house was always open to the travelling literati who visited Vienna; and that unprotected genius was always sure to find in him a friend and patron. He carried this perhaps too far, so far as to ruin his estate; probably the expectations of receiving a large income from the amalgamation, made him less

attentive to œconomy in his domestic concerns; though I believe his insolvency was chiefly owing to usurers and money-lenders, to whom he was obliged to have recourse to carry on his expensive projects. Through these, though his patrimony was very considerable, he died greatly in debt: this is the more to be lamented, as he left a wife and two daughters."

MEMOIRS of Dr. ZIMMERMAN.

[Extracted from the LIFE of M. ZIMMERMAN, Counsellor of State, Chief Physician to the KING of ENGLAND at HANOVER, &c. Translated from the French of S. A. D. TISSOT, M. D. F. R. S. &c.]

"JOHN George Zimmerman was born at Brug, a town in the German part of the Canton of Berne, on the 8th of Dec. 1728. He was the son of the senator J. Zimmerman, of one of those families, as there are many even in the smallest towns of Switzerland, and without doubt in other parts of Europe, which, without any of those titles of rank that are obtained in monarchies, sometimes by money, but often through favour or influence, have distinguished themselves for ages by the integrity with which they have filled the highest employments in their country for the advantage of their fellow-citizens. The mother of M. Zimmerman was a miss Pache of Morges, a town in the French part of the same canton, and daughter to a celebrated counsellor, who had formerly belonged to the parliament of Paris. This circumstance is mentioned because it serves to explain why, though born in a province where German only is spo-

ken, and though he followed his studies in German cities, and passed a very short time in France, he yet spoke and wrote the two languages with equal facility.

"He was brought up in his father's house under able masters till the age of fourteen, when he was sent to Berne, where he studied the belles lettres under M. Kirchberger, professor of eloquence and history, and M. Altman, professor of Greek; to both of whom he always acknowledged great obligations. At the end of three years he passed into the school of philosophy, the professor of which, a zealous disciple of Mr. Wolf, knew of philosophy only the metaphysics of his master, and employed the whole year in explaining a very small part even of them. It may easily be imagined how much such a method would tend to disgust an active mind with a science, which, well taught, is of infinite use to every person who wishes to study well; and which has even its al-

lurements, inasmuch as we feel our minds enlarged in proportion as we learn to generalize the ideas we have already acquired, and add to them others upon subjects, the very aspect of which had at first sight terrified us.

"Zimmerman, therefore, never thought himself indebted to M. Brunner for what he learned of true philosophy at Berne (and he certainly did learn a great deal there), but to Messrs. James Tribolet and J. Stapfer, both of them ministers, and distinguished by their genius and their learning.

"It was during his residence at Berne, that in 1746, a short time after my departure for Montpellier, he came to Morges to pass several months with his mother's relations; at my return, four years afterwards, his genius, his good sense, his amiable and cheerful disposition, were still spoken of with pleasure; and when in 1751 I read his fine Dissertation on Irritability, I already knew and loved the author; a partiality which contributes more than may be generally imagined to make one approve a man's doctrine, even when it is not invincibly demonstrated, as it certainly is in the work of M. Zimmerman.

"His father died a short time after he had been placed at Berne; and just before the year 1747, in which he was to have finished his studies in philosophy, he had the misfortune to lose his excellent mother. Thus was he left without a friend to consult upon the choice of a profession; a circumstance at all times to be lamented; but which has, in some cases, the advantage of allowing the inclination to follow its own bent, and thereby perhaps of insuring success. Without hesitation he determined in favour of physic; and

the name of Haller, in which Berne gloried, did not permit him to think of studying any where but at Goettingen. He arrived there on the 12th of September 1747, and took his degree on the 14th of August 1751. By Haller he was received as if he had been his own son; he took him into his house, he assisted him with his advice, directed his studies, and was to him a father, preceptor, and friend. Under MM. Haller, Richter, Segner, and Brendel, he cultivated with the same attention every branch of the medical art. He followed the practical lessons of Richter, a pupil of Boerhaave's and bred up in his system, the principles of which will always be safe guides at the bedside of the sick, notwithstanding the contempt which many physicians, desirous of becoming chiefs of sects, have affected to throw on them, in hopes to raise the reputation of their own by discrediting those of that great man.

"M. Zimmerman also attended the lectures of M. Brendel on the same subject. This gentleman joined to an excellent understanding a profound knowledge of physic, and visited a great many patients: he frequently conceived new and happy ideas; and his lessons became on that account useful and interesting, although a fondness for system has now and then led him astray.

"Zimmerman did not, however, confine himself to the study of physic: under M. Segner he studied mathematics and natural philosophy; he also learned the English language and studied English literature, which he loved and cultivated all his life. Pope and Thomson were as familiar to him as Homer and Virgil, and the best French poets. He acquired under M. Achenval

M. Achenval the knowledge of the states of Europe. It is doubtful whether the lessons he received from this master were lessons of politics properly so called, or of that science which now makes so much noise under the name of statistics; but from several passages in his letters I am inclined to think they comprized the principles of both.

"The four years which he passed at Goettingen were, as may be seen, well employed. He gave himself up to study with the greatest ardour; and was supported by that inward feeling which already told him what he should one day become. In taking possession for him of an estate left him in this country by an aunt, I found in one of his letters, dated from Goettingen in 1748, the following passage: 'I lead here the life of a man who wishes to live after his death.' This life, however, is not that which brings good health; and his began already to decay. He had at that time a slight attack of the hypochondria.

"Part of the last year that he spent at Goettingen was employed upon a work which afterward became the basis of his reputation. The continual action of the heart, which from the first moment of animation, until death, never ceases alternately to contract and dilate itself, with a regularity which is only deranged by certain passions and certain disorders, has been regarded by observers as one of the most curious phenomena of nature. Every physician who had studied the animal economy had endeavoured to explain it; a multitude of causes had been imagined, none of which were satisfactory, because neither was the true one; and the

glory of the discovery was reserved for M. Haller.

"Cliffon, a celebrated English anatomist, had remarked, in some parts of the human body, a singular property of contraction upon being touched, although there should be no feeling in the part, and he called that property irritability. M. Haller imagined, that if the fibres of the heart had the same property, as several operations appeared to indicate, it was without doubt the cause of its movements; and he assumed this postulatium in his 'Outlines of Physiology,' which appeared in 1747. Still, however, it was only a conjecture, which it was necessary to demonstrate or overturn; and M. Zimmerman undertook to make the requisite experiments. The general plan was, no doubt, given him by Haller; it was necessary that he should tell him what he wished to have discovered, and point out the means which he intended should be employed: several experiments he suggested, and saw them performed; but it is not less true, that the greatest part of the work, its reduction to a plan, the perspicuity of arrangement, and many of the conclusions, are by Zimmerman, who registered down his experiments, his researches, and his reflections, in a thesis which is the fundamental work upon this subject, and to which are fairly attributable all the changes that have since been made in the theory of physic. From the moment when that book was published, the name of Zimmerman resounded through all Europe."

"Upon quitting Goettingen, where he had for fellow-students the most distinguished characters (Messrs. Ash, Aurivilius, De Brun, Castell, Meckel, Schobinger, Fre-

delenbourg and Zinn), he went to pass some months in Holland, where he became extremely attached to M. Gaubius; and from thence to Paris, where he spent much of his time with M. Senac, in whom he found a great resemblance to his former instructor M. Brendel.

In 1752, M. Zimmerman returned to Berne, where he almost immediately enjoyed great confidence in his practice, and had the pleasure of again finding his early acquaintance, who received him with the utmost cordiality. It was then that he published in the Neuchatel Journal, without his name, a Letter to M. ****, a celebrated Physician, concerning M. Haller.

"While he resided at Berne, Haller came there to see his friends, and to re-establish his health. At the end of several weeks he determined to return no more to Goettingen, but to fix his abode at Berne; in consequence of which he expressed a wish that his pupil and friend would go to Goettingen to bring his family to him. Zimmerman undertook this journey with the more pleasure, as he, in common with all who had the happiness of that lady's acquaintance, had the most perfect esteem for madame Haller.

"Zimmerman's heart was susceptible of strong attachments, and he formed one for a lady in all respects worthy of him. She was related to Haller, and widow of a Mr. Stek. Her maiden name was Meley. She possessed good sense, a cultivated mind, elegant taste; and what is still more valuable, that sweetness of manner, that equability of temper, that soothing charm of voice, which so frequently recalled his sinking spirits during the time that it pleased heaven to continue their union.

"Shortly after his marriage, the post of physician to the town of Brug, the salary of which is very moderate considering the extent of the place, its revenue, and the duties attached to the situation, became vacant, and the principal citizens requested M. Zimmerman to undertake it. It is natural to love the places where we have passed our youth; and he had there relations, friends, and an excellent house, which, notwithstanding his agreeable situation at Berne, determined him to return to his natal soil.

"It was at this time that an acquaintance commenced between M. Zimmerman and myself; an acquaintance which has been endeared by reciprocal affection."

"His reputation in practice was established when he arrived at Brug, and he became immediately the physician not only of the town, but of all the country round, in which the patients were very numerous. But this was still not sufficient wholly to occupy his ardent mind or satisfy his thirst for knowledge; each fresh acquisition only served to increase the desire for more. M. Zimmerman read much, not only in physic, but in morality, philosophy, literature, history, travels, and periodical publications. Even novels he did not despise. It is indeed difficult to discover why good works of that sort should be lightly esteemed. There are no literary productions in which man is so well drawn, the resources of his mind so well disclosed, and the secret recesses of his heart so clearly developed. Good novels are the natural history of moral man, and ought on that account to be read with attention. English novels, and those of M. Wieland, with whom he was intimately acquainted, gave him the greatest pleasure."

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and he amused his mind by committing to paper the ideas which (as with every man who thinks) were produced by every perusal. These he afterwards formed into small pieces, and had them inserted in a journal intitled the *Moniteur*, which was printed at Zurich, and which I have heard commended by very good judges.

"What he wrote to me on this occasion explains the intention with which he composed his most considerable work, and that to which he was most attached, namely, his '*Treatise on Solitude*;' 'I love solitude, and I find pleasure no where but at home; I write to procure myself amusement.' It was natural for him to be happy at home; beside his wife, his mother-in-law, a very sensible woman, lived there with him; and in a twelve-month after his marriage he had become a father. Yet he had not always loved solitude, and he once knew how to be happy away from home. This sudden change was in a great measure owing to the place of his abode, and it had the greatest influence over every moment of his life. Ever since he had first quitted Brug to go to college, he had lived either at Berne or at Goettingen, and he had formed at both those places connexions with sensible, intelligent, and amiable young men, whose conversation he truly enjoyed, as they enabled him to acquire knowledge, to display his talents, and exercise his genius; a high gratification, no doubt, to those who are happily so endowed. He lived with associates of his own age, and he found among his patients persons worthy his regard. He had also within his reach every assistance necessary for the cultivation of letters and the sciences, which is a very strong inducement

whenever knowledge is properly estimated.

"The greater part of these enjoyments M. Zimmerman lost when he went to Brug: I do not mean to say that there are no persons of good sense, no enlightened or amiable people in small towns; perhaps, there are even more, proportionably, than in large ones; and I know, by the letters I had from him there, that there were such in Brug; but in a small town the number of such persons can be but few; they have their professions, their callings, and their family duties, to occupy their attention; they belong to society, and they do not like to separate from it in order to give themselves up wholly to one friend. In this there is much to commend. Beside, a man of letters wants a public library, booksellers, literary friends, and the newest publications, which an individual who is not rich cannot easily procure, and which lose their value if there is no one to converse with about them. A person who loves his profession is desirous of associating with others who like it also, with whom he may consult, and to whom he may impart his discoveries.

"M. Zimmerman felt too deeply all these wants; he complained of them, and his letters frequently recalled to my mind some of those spoiled children who, when they have not all the playthings they want, will not amuse themselves with those which they have; and whose enjoyment of what they have, is destroyed by reflections on what they have not."

"He found no allurements at Brug, because he thought there could be none there; having always had a very tender and delicate nervous system, the frequent sensation of discontent threw him in-

to the hypochondria, and the hypochondria increased his taste for solitude, which may also exist without any trouble of the mind."

"M. Zimmerman's taste for solitude did not, however, render him neglectful of the functions which his employment imposed upon him, and which he fulfilled with the greatest tenderness and most scrupulous exactness. It was a duty, and the discharge of it gave him pleasure; besides, he loved physic; an extraordinary, difficult, or dangerous disorder engaged his extreme attention, and he scarcely ever quitted his patient."

"Upon leaving his patients M. Zimmerman usually returned home; and when he went into company it was generally either to please Mad. Zimmerman, or upon some particular occasions, when he was rather compelled by necessity than courted by pleasure."

"When the fits of the hypochondria had left him, which sometimes happened, his gaiety returned, and for a few days he would, from choice, mix in society; the true spirit of which, and what can alone render it interesting, is, that every one brings his share of amusement according to his means; that those who are most able give most; that every one carries thither that good-humour which consists in the making himself agreeable to every body; and, above all, that nobody can think he has a right to receive more than he gives."

"In this situation Zimmerman passed fourteen years of his life, dividing his time between the study and the practice of physic, in reading good books on other subjects, in composing, and in corresponding with his friends. His letters

during that period presented me, weekly, and sometimes oftener, with an exact account of his occupation as a physician, of his studies, of his plans, of his manner of living, of his troubles, and of his pleasures.

"Without having ever seen him, I knew him intimately, because no man was ever more open and unreserved to his friends, and I had him always in my mind's eye."

"From the time of his going to Basle, he wrote for the Journal of Zurich. Two of the pieces he published in it, excited much conversation in every place where the Journal was read. 'The first of these was a dream that he had in the night of the 5th of November 1755, concerning the state of the soul after death, which he related without addition or abridgment: the second was a plan of a catechism for small towns; a satire upon several ridiculous customs; and, as the same customs are to be found in towns of great inequality, more than one thought itself the object of the raillery, and became extremely angry; and one of the authors of the Journal was very near being ill treated while passing through W*****."

"His first essay upon Solitude appeared toward the end of 1756. It is a very short work, and has been translated within these few years into Italian by M. Antoni, a very able physician of Vicenza."

"He formed also the plan of his treatise upon 'Experience in Physic,' of which he sent me a very detailed sketch; and it was in speaking to me about this work that he defined a quack to be, 'a wise man who profits from the folly of others;' although there cer-

certainly never was a man who disliked that sort of wisdom more than himself.

"The first volume did not appear till the end of 1763, and was not translated before 1774. It is the art of observing, illustrated by some excellent remarks, with the best rules for drawing advantage from observations."

"In 1758 M. Zimmerman published his work on 'National Pride,' four editions of which were rapidly printed, each under his own inspection; it was translated into French at Paris in 1769, and has just been reprinted there."

"From 1758 to 1763 he devoted to his treatise on 'Experience' all the leisure time which an extensive practice among not only the people of Brug, but those of the surrounding country to a great distance, and even strangers who came to consult him, afforded. In 1760 he was admitted a member of the society at Berlin; and since that time of several other literary bodies, who were eager to receive him. He belonged to the societies of Zurich, Berne, Basle, Munich, Palermo, Pezaro, Goettingen, and to those of physic of Paris, London, Edinburgh, Copenhagen, and lastly, in 1780, he was received into the academy of St. Petersburg."

"M. Zimmerman had some idea of writing a treatise on the 'Vapours and on Hypochondria,' disorders on which he had made some good observations; but he soon abandoned the project. His employments (as plainly appeared to his friends) did not prevent him from being extremely discontented with his situation. I was sorry for it, and felt that he was made for a more conspicuous scene of action. I neglected nothing that might interest in his favour the two persons who appeared to me most

likely to procure it for him. One was Haller, with whom he was no longer on such good terms as formerly; and the other was the Baron de Kl—, who was here for his health, and who, having been a long time minister at one of the courts of Germany, had a great deal of interest with the ministers of several others. These two gentlemen turned their thoughts toward the Electorate of Hanover; and M. Zimmerman was so well known, that he might have been presented any where with confidence. The Hanoverian minister wrote to the Baron de Kl—, to intreat that he would endeavour to procure for M. Zimmerman one of the first places in the king's gift, in some of the principal towns of the electorate. Zimmerman, however, would not accept of a place any where but at Hanover, in order that he might be near M. Werlhoff, for whom he had the greatest respect and attachment. He therefore obtained no appointment. Haller even advised him against it, and thought he would do much better to ascend the chair of practical Professor of Physic at Goettingen, which he was sure of procuring for him. Zimmerman neither much affected that sort of occupation, nor the air of Goettingen, which he was afraid would not agree either with his own health, or that of his wife or of his mother-in-law; he refused the place, as did also M. Tredelenbourg, and it was at last given to M. Schroeder. Some time after this it was in agitation to send for him to Berne, upon the death of his friend M. Ith; but this, though designed by the majority of the lords of the council of health, was overturned by those secret instigators, who, in republics as in monarchies, have often more influence over affairs than

than the persons publicly appointed to conduct them, who are sometimes utterly at a loss to conceive what it is that impedes the effects of their measures.

"After that time M. Zimmerman had many offers, which, without being objects of great importance, proved how much confidence was reposed in him. One of these was made him by Count Stadion, who, after having been prime minister to the elector of Mentz, had retired to Varrhausen, a fine seat in Suabia, where he desired to have his advice and his society, and for which he promised him an agreeable house and a considerable salary. Zimmerman did not like the idea of leaving a place which he found too small, for one still smaller, and refused the count's offer. He was the same year invited by the city of Orbe; and the wisdom of the members at the head of the municipality made the invitation as honourable as if it had come from some great court; for courts not unfrequently call upon a celebrated, in preference to a capable man; but the heads of a town, if they are men of enlightened understandings, will never make choice of a physician, unless he be one to whom the health of the citizens may be entrusted with safety.

"In November 1764, the counts of Mnizech, who were at Berne, having received a commission to find out a librarian for the king, to which post very agreeable and advantageous conditions were attached, thought, from several conversations they had had with M. Zimmerman, and from his work on National Pride, which evinced extensive knowledge, that the post would suit him, and they in consequence made him an offer of it. Zimmerman did not at first

refuse this offer; but in his answer he informed them of the great regret he should feel in embracing a profession that would oblige him to give up his own; the negotiation continued for some months, and at last, on the first of April 1765, he absolutely declined the engagement.

"In 1761 he became a member of the Patriotic Society of Schintznach, originally projected and arranged by M. Hirzel, at that time a physician, and now counsellor of state at Zurich, and by the late M. J. Iselin, secretary of state at Basle, two of those men in whose names Switzerland will for ever glory, and which had for its object to connect together the distinguished men of each Canton; to produce a general spirit of patriotism; to form an exact representation of Switzerland, according to such designs as the best informed men in each province could give; to persuade the whole country that it formed but one family, and that in whatever part of the Canton a Switzer should find himself, it should be to him as a home; in a word, 'to maintain a perpetual, an indissoluble friendship, love, union, and concord.' Zimmerman was the common friend of the two founders, and the first person to whom they communicated the plan. It met with his warmest approbation; and he became one of the nine members who met at Schintznach in May 1761, and never failed to attend the meetings during the time he remained in Switzerland.

"The meeting of 1764, when M. Hirzel was president, was the first that was very numerous; he was extremely well received, and very happy there. The first letter that he wrote to me after his return to Brug, wherein he speaks principally

pally of his conversations with M. Hirzel and Gefner the poet, as well as that which I received from him in 1775, soon after he had been with the famous Schonpach, breathe an air of the utmost gaiety, and are full of that kind of writing which the English call humour; of which other nations have so little knowledge, that they have not even a term of language by which to express it.

"In 1765 he was sent for to Soleure, to attend one of the principal women in that city; and no sooner was he known than he was earnestly requested to settle there. The late Advoyer Glutz, a man of great merit, with whom he became acquainted at Schintznach, and who was afterwards one of the chiefs of the state, made the proposition to the council, which was first to take cognizance of it; and it was agreed to. But this council was not absolute; and those whom the measure displeased artfully interposed religion as an obstacle in the way. They asked, 'Would a protestant physician inform the sick of their danger soon enough to enable them to attend to their spiritual affairs; and would they not run the risk of dying without confession, without the holy sacrament, and without the extreme unction?' This objection succeeded, as indeed it could not fail, and the proposal was rejected in the grand council.

"However agreeable to M. Zimmerman an establishment might have been, in a city where he had found many very distinguished men of genius and character, and an amiable and polite society, he laughed extremely on hearing, some time afterwards, that they had chosen a brother Jesuit apothecary."

"Though daily increasing his

celebrity, M. Zimmerman was not the less unhappy; and perhaps his celebrity made him feel the more sensibly, that the theatre on which he was placed was not capacious enough for the energies of his mind: to which may also be added another cause of melancholy. He began to feel the first attacks of that disorder which afterwards, in the year 1771, obliged him to go to Berlin. The confident of all his complaints, I was continually occupied with the means of procuring for him a situation that might be more agreeable to him, a task by no means easy. The same disposition of the nerves that makes us feel so quickly the least trouble, and produces a desire of change, causes also that irresolution and timidity which makes all change alarming. M. Zimmerman's health has been before mentioned, but I must speak of it again. It has so great an influence over the manner of seeing, of judging, and of determining, that in many cases man becomes inexplicable if he be not known. He would not permit me in 1766, when I wrote my letter of thanks to the king of Poland (who had done me the honour of naming me his chief physician), to mention him with M. Tralles as one of the two physicians in whom I had the greatest confidence, and whom I considered as most worthy of that monarch's regard. M. Tralles refused. M. Zimmerman was afterwards sorry; but it was too late; the post had been given away. The year following I was more fortunate, and was able at last to procure for him that place which he has so well filled during the last twenty-seven years of his life. I am sorry to mention myself so often; but I know not how entirely to separate myself from the history

tory of a friend, in the greater part of the incidents of whose life I have participated.

"Uncertain for some time whether I should accept the appointment of chief physician to the king of England at Hanover, which had become vacant by the death of M. Werlhoff, I had inquired of M. Zimmerman what he would do in case it should be offered him, and I understood by his answer that he would accept it with pleasure. When I had refused it notwithstanding the intreaties of Haller, who, charged with the commission of offering it to me, had used his utmost endeavours to induce my acceptance of it, I proposed to him to recommend M. Zimmerman, who was influenced by none of those reasons that had induced me to decline it; Haller refused. I believe I have before mentioned, that these two gentlemen were not such good friends as they ought always to have been; and all I could obtain of Haller was, to say that I had thought of M. Zimmerman; and that was not sufficient. By directly thanking M. de Munchausen, I thought I could mention him myself; it was easy to support my recommendation by strong reasons; and beside this, I did not recommend a person wholly unknown. I also addressed myself to the Baron de Walmoden, now field-marshal of the king's armies, who, though out of administration, and non-resident at the time, had over public affairs all that influence which ability, personal consideration, and connexions with capable ministers, will always produce; lastly, I interested in his favour the Baron de Hochstetten, with whom I had the honour of being acquainted, and who was himself very intimately connected with M. de Munchausen, from whom I re-

ceived the most polite and favourable answer possible. My friend was appointed to the post in the beginning of April 1768, and set out for Hanover on the 11th of July following.

"I fondly hoped that his departure would be the era of his entrance upon a more happy career, and felicitated myself as having contributed to his establishment; but I was soon sadly undeceived. The carriage in which himself and his family travelled was overturned at the gates of Hanover; his mother-in-law broke her leg; and this accident rendered unhappy the first moments of their abode. A few days after his arrival he lost the lord of the regency most attached to him. The disorder of which I have already mentioned that he had experienced the first attacks at Brug, continued to increase, and was accompanied with such acute pains as rendered the exercise of his duty sometimes painful to him. The jealousy of a colleague, now no more, brought upon him a multitude of those trifling irritations which if he had enjoyed good health he would not have felt, but which the state of his nerves rendered almost insupportable. Several persons vainly considered that he ought to do any thing to gain their good will, and wished to have him continually with them. 'Women who have drank coffee with king George the Second persuade themselves that I ought to be as much at their command as I should have been at his.'—They wished to make him their slave, and that was a part for which he was not at all calculated. He knew it was for the disorder, and not for the patient, to regulate the number and the hours of the physician's visits, and he always conducted himself upon this principle, but persons whose

whose caprices he thus thwarted did not (as may be supposed) take much pains to render his abode agreeable. The health of his wife, which always depended upon his own, broke rapidly; that of his children, which had never been strong, did not improve. He often wrote to me from Hanover, as he had done from Brügge, 'Save my wife, or rather save myself; save these children that are dearer to me than life;' and each of his letters caused me very sincerely to regret having contributed to his removal. Happily, the confidence of the public drove him into continual occupation, which is the surest protection against troubles of the mind. The patients of Hanover, the consultations of all the north, and the patients who came in person to consult him, drew him from his melancholy; all his hours were taken up; he passed whole months in full occupation. The greatest relaxations he knew were in some visits to princes who desired his advice in cases of great importance, and whom he never quitted without having inspired them with as much attachment as esteem; and in several journeys to Pyrmont, where he passed part of the water season, which was of service to him for the first and second year; but which afterwards acted as tonics so often do upon irritable persons: they caused spasms.

"Another reason, however, would have been sufficient to make him leave off his visits; he did not find there the repose that he wanted: all the patients wished to have his advice; many came there on his account only; and this was so well known, that in 1780 the hereditary prince, now landgrave, of Hesse Cassel, invited him, at the same time offering very agreeable

conditions, to come to pass the summer at the baths of Willemsbad near Hanau; which he refused, because he knew that he should not enjoy there, any more than at Pyrmont, the repose which his own state of health so strongly demanded.

"But if at Hanover M. Zimmerman found some persons ill inclined towards him, he found also friends of great merit and amiable conduct in both sexes. I think that at the head of these he always placed M. de Walmoden (who was constantly giving him proofs of his attachment), M. Stube, secretary of state, and Mad. de Doering his sister, whose mind and virtues he has so well described, and whose friendship performed for him in the end every thing that could be expected of it. His correspondence with his absent friends, who were numerous, continued to be one of the pleasures of his life."

"The pleasure which I received from his letters was perpetually damped, as I have already said, by expressions of his uneasiness, and especially from the end of 1769 by the melancholy occasioned by the declining health of his wife, whom he had the misfortune to lose on the 23d of June, 1770. The portrait he has drawn of her is extremely interesting: 'Leave me to myself! I exclaimed a thousand times to my surrounding friends,' &c. This loss overcame him, and his disorders increased every day; he described most minutely the seat and the progress of his pains, and requested of me, as of his other friends in whom he placed any confidence, means of cure, which I was far from being able to give him. I saw clearly a local disorder, but I could not imagine what it was: I referred him to some skilful surgeon; but there was

was not one in his neighbourhood in whom he had any confidence; I should have said to him, 'Come to me;' but how could I propose a journey of two hundred leagues to a man to whom the least motion of a carriage was a torment? At last, however, I advised, I pressed him to go to Berlin, to M. Meckel, who would be able to judge of his complaint, would superintend it, and would choose a skilful surgeon to perform the operation, if it should be judged necessary; and I conceived it to be so. My solicitations prevailed, and he arrived at Berlin on the 11th of June, 1771. M. Meckel received him as the best of brothers, and insisted on his living with him, where for five months he enjoyed every thing that could be agreeable in a most amiable family.

"The operation was performed on the 24th of June by M. Smucker, and M. Meckel found the case so interesting as to be induced to make it the subject of a small work which is full of new and useful remarks.

"As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to bear company, he profited of the society of the most enlightened persons of Berlin, not only of men of letters, but of the most distinguished personages of every description, and of the highest rank. This was one of the happiest times of his life. He enjoyed the inexpressible pleasure of a cure after a long and painful disorder, the charms of a delightful private society, the happiness of being received with the utmost satisfaction, and of becoming acquainted and connecting himself with the most distinguished men of letters in Germany. His most intimate connexion was with M. Sulger, whom he had long admired,

and whom it was impossible to know without esteeming.

"The reception he met with on his return to Hanover was also a sensible pleasure for him, and he hoped to enjoy at last a good state of health; but the application that a crowd of consultations required soon deranged his nerves again; pains were felt in the part where the operation had been performed, and the hypochondria returned; besides, the education of his daughter, deprived of the care of her grandmother, who had not long survived her daughter, gave him some uneasiness: he sent her to me in 1773, desiring me to superintend her progress; and she remained here two years, in the same house with myself, under the care of two ladies of great merit.

"It was when he came here in 1775 to take her away, on which occasion he passed five weeks with me, that I had for the first time the pleasure of seeing him, I will not say of beginning to know him, for I found I knew him already; the friend speaking, recalled to me every instant the friend writing, and perfectly resembled the portrait in my 'mind's eye.' I saw the man of genius, who instantly perceives an object under every point of view, and whose imagination enables him to present it under the most agreeable. His conversation was instructive, brilliant, and interspersed with a multitude of interesting facts and pleasant stories: his physiognomy was always animated and expressive: he spoke with great precision on every subject; when he conversed upon medicine, which was frequently the case, I observed in him the most profound principles and the clearest understanding. When he accompanied me in my visits to patients

tients whose cases were dangerous, or when I read to him the consultations I received on the most difficult cases, I always found in him the greatest sagacity in discovering the causes and explaining the symptoms, great accuracy in forming the indications, and exquisite judgment in the choice of remedies; he prescribed very few, but made use only of such as were efficacious. In short, I soon perceived him to be an upright, virtuous, honest man; and his stay here was much shorter than I could have wished it. He took away with him his daughter, who was possessed of all the qualities necessary to justify the extreme tenderness of a father, whose happiness she would have been, had not her health received a stroke from extreme grief a short time after she left Lausanne, from which it never recovered, which threw her into a decline for five years, and was during all that time the occasion of the keenest sensations of grief to M. Zimmerman, who had at that epoch another subject of uneasiness, perhaps still more distressing, the state into which his son had fallen.

"This young gentleman had been subject from early youth to a species of eruption called the tetter or ringworm, which chiefly affected the head, the face, and behind the ears. While it was out, the child was very well, gay, and sensible; but no sooner did it strike in again, than he became weak, his talents disappeared, and he fell into a melancholic apathy, rare at that age. This alternation of health and illness continued till his father sent him to Goettingen at the close of the year 1772, when he had the satisfaction to learn that his whole system was absolutely changed; he recovered his gaiety and displayed great talents. From

Goettingen he went to Strasburg, where, incited by a friend, who like himself was full of genius and emulation, but who enjoyed an excellent state of health, he gave himself up to a study too laborious for nerves naturally weak, and which were at that time affected with regret at leaving Goettingen: he again fell into the most profound melancholy, and wrote to his father, intreating him more earnestly to dispense with his travels to France, Holland, and England, than another would have done for permission to make such a tour. A short time afterwards, about the end of December 1777, he entirely lost his senses."

"For near twenty years he has been a perfect imbecile, happily exempt from all pain and grief, in a good air, and with an excellent man, where M. Hotze placed him, and where he wants for nothing.

"M. Zimmerman, already wounded by this misfortune, had the additional misery of seeing the fatal stroke approach that was to snatch his amiable daughter from him. She died in the summer of 1781. Mrs. de Doering, indeed, remained, but even she was going to leave him; a new employment called her husband elsewhere, and she saw clearly that the only means of saving M. Zimmerman would be to unite him to a companion who should be worthy of him. This companion was the daughter of M. de Berger, physician to the king at Luneburg, and brother of Baron de Berger, of whom I have already spoken. The marriage did not take place till the beginning of October 1782. 'It is Mrs. Doering that has made this choice for me, and I bless God for it every day of my life.' I should wound the modesty of Mrs. Zimmermann if I were to insert here the character he

he sent me of her, several years after they had been married."

"It was at this period that he resumed his great work on 'Solitude,' which was his favourite performance, near thirty years after he published his first essay. It is in four volumes; the two first of which appeared in 1784, and the two last in 1786. There is a translation of it, or rather of part of it, in French, in one small volume 8vo."

"His work upon Solitude was received with great *éclat*, not only in Germany, but wherever German is read, and procured him a correspondence which gratified him extremely; I mean that of the empress of Russia, to whom the book had been sent without his knowledge: it was not indeed to be expected that he should think of offering to such a sovereign a work which so well paints the happiness to be enjoyed in retirement from the world. That princess, however, was so well pleased with it, that she determined herself to send her thanks to the author. The 26th of January 1786, a courier from M. de Grosse, envoy from Russia to Hamburgh, brought M. Zimmerman a small box containing a ring set with diamonds of extraordinary size and beauty, with a golden medal, bearing on side the figure of the empress, and on the other the happy reform of the Russian monarchy. That princess had also added a note in her own handwriting, containing these remarkable words: 'To M. Zimmerman, Counsellor of State, and Physician of his Britannic Majesty, to thank him for the excellent precepts he has given mankind in his book upon Solitude.' This note was accompanied by a letter from M. de Grosse, who proposed to him, by desire of the empress, to

come and pass a few months in the summer at St. Petersburg, because she wished to be personally acquainted with him. His letter to the empress was full of expressions of gratitude; but he wrote to M. de Grosse that he feared he could not undertake the journey without endangering his health, though if her majesty continued to desire it, he would undertake it. The empress dispensed with it in the most gracious manner by writing to him, 'that she did not wish his health should suffer on account of the pleasure she should experience from the journey.' This correspondence lasted six years, till the commencement of 1791, when the empress dropped it all at once. The ordinary subjects of their letters were politics, literature, and philosophy. 'All those of the empress contain the most elevated sentiments, and every mark of an amiable mind.' Physic was never once mentioned; but she often said to him, and seemed to wish him to say in public, that her health was good, and did not cost her thirty sols a year. She, however, caused it be proposed to him, without appearing in it herself, to establish himself at St. Petersburg as her first physician; and he was offered a salary of 10,000 roubles. When he had refused the offer, she desired him to procure young physicians and surgeons for her armies, and for those towns of the empire that were in want of them; several of those he sent have become rich and happy; and, in gratitude for the service he had rendered the state, she sent to him the cross of the order of Wladimir; another time she sent him two elegant golden medals, struck in honour of M. Morloff, upon account of the plague at Moscow, and the destruction of the Turkish fleet.

"In

"In the journey which Zimmerman made to Berlin he had a long audience with the king at Potsdam; of which audience he narrated the principal circumstances to a friend, who seems to have communicated his letter to some inconsiderate person, and it was published mutilated and falsified, without the knowledge of the author; who, however, had it printed again after his journey to Potsdam in 1786."

"M. Zimmerman arrived at Potsdam on the 23d June, and remained there till the 11th July; he immediately perceived that there were no hopes of restoring the king; and he took care not to fatigue an irritable and weakened body by active remedies, that would have augmented its weakness, and occasioned violent symptoms, without producing any possible good effect. Upon his return to Hanover he gave a history of his journey, which is replete with interesting facts, and is still read with pleasure. Of this performance there are two French translations."

"In 1788, when the king of England was ill, the Hanoverian ministry sent him to Holland, that he might be nearer London, in case his presence should become necessary there. He remained at the Hague ten days, and did not leave it till all danger was over. To be invited by one king who knew mankind so well; to be sent by a ministry, who for twenty years had witnessed his ability, into Holland, to be there ready to succour another king attended by physicians of the first reputation, afforded new and striking testimonies to his reputation as a medical man; flattered him extremely, and made him feel that delightful sensation which is naturally consequent on public esteem. He was beloved, and enjoyed the confidence of the prince

and town to which he had devoted himself, as well as of all the north of Europe."

"It was precisely at this epoch that a train of troubles began which had two different causes, and which embittered the latter years of this excellent man's life."

"His letter upon his presentation to the king in 1771 had been criticised with the greatest severity, and the gentleman who caused it to be printed without the author's consent certainly did wrong. His account of his journey in 1786, which it was natural enough to publish, but which contained several episodes, and among them one upon the Irreligion of the People of Berlin, which irritated, or served as a pretext to persons who wished to be irritated, was still more severely scrutinized. Fickle minds are displeased when they can only smile and shut the book. This was a cause of trouble to him; but did not prevent him from employing himself upon other works, of which the same hero was the object. He forgot that to write the history of a king during the life of his contemporaries is to write it too soon, and that those only who never knew, are permitted to praise him."

"The second cause of his vexations at this time was his love for religion, humanity, and good order; and it was this that inflicted the mortal stroke."

[Dr. Tissot, in this part of his work, details Dr. Zimmerman's account of the secret order of the Illuminated: a sect, the object of which, he had persuaded himself, was to destroy the Christian religion, and to overthrow every throne and every government.]

"A correspondence soon commenced between M. Zimmerman and a great number of persons who

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saw and thought as he did; but, although this correspondence gave him infinite satisfaction, it nevertheless impaired his force.

"Among these correspondents he met with one of whom he no more thought while writing the 'Memoirs of Frederic,' than he had thought of the empress of Russia when writing his treatise on 'Solitude.' In 1791 he received some very pressing letters from M. Hoffman, a man of great learning, and professor of eloquence at Vienna, who appeared very zealous for the cause of good order, proposed establishing a journal for its defence, and requested directions, advice, and materials. M. Zimmerman was very punctual in answering him; and in several letters hinted at means to be employed by the princes for suppressing these new revolutionists. In a short time M. Hoffman informed him that the emperor (Leopold II.) patronised his journal, and was determined to exert his utmost authority to crush the league. Thus informed of the sentiments of this prince, M. Zimmerman thought it proper to address to him a memorial, in which he explained all he knew of the principles of the sect, and the danger of it, with the best methods of preventing its fatal consequences. This memorial was presented the beginning of February, and on the 28th he received a letter in which the emperor testified his approbation of the work, and presented him with a mark of his gratitude: it was a box set in diamonds, with his cypher. A letter from the person whom he had employed to present his work, and with whom the emperor had conversed concerning it, entered into very minute details relative to the intentions of that prince, and declared that Leopold was resolved immediately to em-

ploy the measures which he (M. Zimmerman) had recommended; and farther, that in order to extend their influence the affair should be represented to the diet of Ratisbon as an object which demanded the most serious deliberation."

"M. Zimmerman was, without doubt, much flattered by receiving marks of approbation from so enlightened a judge; but this circumstance constituted but a small portion of the pleasure which he experienced from the emperor's letter. To form a just idea of this pleasure, it is necessary to imagine that we behold a man very industriously and almost solely employed for several years past, in discovering the sources, exposing the danger, and endeavouring to point out expedients to prevent the dreadful consequences of a scourge fallen on the earth, of which he had already seen millions of victims, and the ravages of which extended with astonishing rapidity; who had not till then had the least success, who had made a multitude of enemies by his courage and perseverance, but who at last sees the greatest monarch in Europe adopt his ideas, thank him for his zeal, approve his measures, and put his own hand to the execution of the work. But after having participated with M. Zimmerman in his gratification, let us conceive what he felt when, a few days after, he was informed of the unexpected death of the emperor, accompanied with very mysterious circumstances. It is easy to imagine what a severe stroke this sudden death of his patron must have inflicted upon his susceptible mind.

"M. Hoffman, having lost his protector, was persecuted by his enemies, who compelled him to abandon his journal, the first work of the kind that had opposed the
torrent."

torrent: they succeeded in depriving him of his professorship, and obliged him to quit Vienna; but they could not prevent his continuing to write with the same courage and zeal.

"M. Zimmerman soon recovered from the dejection into which this event had thrown him, and redoubled his activity: he extended his correspondence; and published fresh pamphlets; to some of these he affixed his name, but thought it unnecessary to do so to all: many were known by the energy of his thoughts, and the lustre of his style, the characters of which are equivalent to a signature with such readers as know what style is: but unfortunately these characters are not admitted as evidence before tribunals; and M. Zimmerman had a very vexatious lawsuit, in consequence of not having remembered that a man may disavow his writings at his pleasure, if he does not put his name at full length to his works. In 1792 he inserted in M. Hoffman's journal some sheets entitled 'Baron de Knigge unveiled as an Illuminate, Democrat, and Seducer of the People;' and proved his assertions by the baron's own writings.

"Among the works which he quoted, one was anonymous, which rendered it very difficult to prove the author: the baron availed himself of this circumstance to represent M. Zimmerman's memoir as a scandalous libel, and commenced an action for damages against him. The cause was delayed for a long time, and was not tried till February 1795, a period when my friend was not only too weak to defend it, but even to interest himself about it. It was decided, that he had certainly proved the baron to be a dangerous man, &c. but that nevertheless he should apologise for

having publicly insulted him, unless he could prove that the anonymous pamphlet came from him, though his name was not affixed."

"Deeply impressed with the importance of his cause, Zimmerman gave himself up to labours that rapidly destroyed his health; not only in as much as an unremitting occupation of the mind hurts it more than any thing else, but also because when he was employed in any work his manner of living was changed in a very prejudicial manner: he rose very early in the morning, and wrote a long while before he began visits, and in the evening, after having finished the professional business of the day, instead of easing and diverting his mind in society, he again went to work, and remained at it frequently till a very late hour. His mind was thus in continual action, and his body had not the repose it required; he bore up, however, very well for several years; and, on the 4th October 1794, he wrote me a letter in which there is the same strength of expression, the same justness of thought, and the same precision of arrangement, as in those preceding: he there clearly pointed out the progress of the society, which became daily more dangerous: 'She is mistress of almost every press, of every bookseller, of every German journal, and of all the courts. The causes of the disasters of this last campaign are the same as those of the events at Châlons in 1762.' This letter also contained the most lively expressions of his joy at hearing of my cure; yet there was one sentence bearing traces of the most profound melancholy, which gave me the greatest pain: 'I run a risk yet of becoming this year a poor emigrant, forced to abandon his house with the dear compa-

'nion of his life, without knowing 'where to direct his course or 'where to find a bed to die on.' The invasion of the electorate, the sacking of Hanover, and the necessity of abandoning it, was certainly at that time to be feared, if the negociation had not saved what the armies did not defend: but Zimmerman's manner of expressing his fears announced the greatest depression. I saw therein a mind whose springs began to fail, and which dared no longer say, as it could have justly done, 'I carry 'every thing with me.' I neglected nothing in order to raise his spirits, and entreated him to come to me with his wife, to a country that was his own, where he would have remained in the most perfect security, and enjoyed all the sweets of peace and friendship. He answered me in December, and one part of his letter resembled those of other times; but melancholy was still more strongly marked, and the illness of his wife, which he unfortunately thought more serious than it really was, evidently oppressed him: he had been obliged to take three days to write me details which at another time would not have occupied him an hour, and he concluded his letter with, 'I conjure 'you, perhaps for the last time, &c.' The idea that he should write no more to his friend (and unfortunately the event justified him), the difficulty of writing a few pages, the still fixed idea of being forced to leave Hanover, although the face of affairs had entirely changed; all, all indicated the loss I was about to sustain.

"From the month of November he had lost his sleep, his appetite, his strength, and became sensibly thinner; and this state of decline continued to increase. In January he was still able to make a few vi-

sits in his carriage; but he frequently fainted on the stairs: it was painful for him to write a prescription: he sometimes complained of a confusion in his head, and he at length gave over all business. This was at first taken for an effect of hypochondria, but it was soon perceived, that his deep melancholy had destroyed the chain of his ideas. What has happened to so many men of genius, befell him. One strong idea masters every other, and subdues the mind that is no longer able either to drive it away, or to lose sight of it. Preserving all his presence of mind, all his perspicuity, and justness of thought on other subjects, but no longer desirous of occupying himself with them, no longer capable of any business, nor of giving advice, but with pain, he had unceasingly before his eyes the enemy plundering his house, as Pascal always saw a globe of fire near him, Bonnet his friend robbing him, and Spinello the devil opposite to him. In February he commenced taking medicines, which were either prescribed by himself or by the physicians whom he consulted: at the beginning of March he desired my advice; but he was no longer able himself to describe his disorder, and his wife wrote me the account of it. I answered her immediately; but of what avail can be the directions of an absent physician in a disorder whose progress is rapid, when there must necessarily be an interim of near a month between the advice asked, and the directions received? His health decayed so fast, that M. Wichman, who attended him, thought a journey and change of air would now be the best remedy. Eutin, a place in the dutchy of Holstein, was fixed upon for his residence. In going through Luneburgh on his way thither, M. Lentin, one of the physicians in whom

whom he placed most confidence, was consulted; but Zimmerman, who, though so often uneasy on account of health, had, notwithstanding, had the wisdom to take few medicines, and who did not like them, always had a crowd of objections to make against the best advice, and did nothing. Arrived at Eutin, an old acquaintance and his family lavished on him all the caresses of friendship. This reception highly pleased him, and he grew rather better. M. Hensler came from Kiel to see him, and gave him his advice, which was probably very good, but became useless, as it was very irregularly followed. At last, after a residence of three months, he desired to return to Hanover, where he entered his house with the same idea with which he had left it; he thought it plundered, and imagined himself totally ruined. I wrote to intreat him to go to Carlsbad; but he was no longer capable of bearing the journey. Disgust, want of sleep,

and weakness, increased rapidly; he took scarcely any nourishment, either on account of insurmountable aversion, or because it was painful to him; or perhaps, as M. Wichman believed, because he imagined he had not a farthing left. Intense application, the troubles of his mind, his pains, want of sleep, and lastly, (as I have just said), want of sufficient nourishment, had on him all the effects of time, and hastened old age: at sixty-six he was in a state of complete decrepitude, and his body was become a perfect skeleton. He clearly foresaw the issue of his disorder: and above six weeks before his death he said to this same physician, 'I shall die slowly, but very painfully;' and fourteen hours before he expired, he said, 'Leave me alone, I am dying.' This must have been a sweet sensation for a man in the midst of so many incurable evils, and who had lived as he had done. This excellent man died on the 7th of October 1795."

SKETCH of the LIFE and CHARACTER of WILLIAM, EARL of MANSFIELD.

[Extracted from the LIFE of that NOBLEMAN, by JOHN HOLLIDAY, of LINCOLN'S INN, Esq. &c.]

THE Honourable William Murray, afterwards earl of Mansfield, was a younger son and the eleventh child of David viscount Stormont, who was the fifth viscount of the noble and illustrious family of Murray.

Sir William Murray of Tallibard, in the shire of Perth, by Catharine his wife, daughter of Andrew lord Gray, had four sons; and sir Andrew Murray, the third son, was the progenitor of viscount Stormont, the father of lord Mansfield.

"On the 2d of March, 1705, according to the computation of time in Scotland, but in 1704 according to the legal computation of time in England, William, the fourth son of lord Stormont, was born at Perth in North Britain.

"About the tender age of three years, he was removed to, and educated in, London; and consequently he had not, when an infant, imbibed any peculiarity of dialect, which could tend to decide that Perth had a fairer claim than Bath

to the honour of his birth. The year of his admission, as a king's scholar at Westminster, appears to be 1719.

"When he was a Westminster scholar, lady Kinnoul, in one of the vacations, invited him to her home, where, observing him with a pen in his hand, and seemingly thoughtful, she asked him if he was writing his theme, and what in plain English the theme was. The school-boy's smart answer rather surprised her ladyship, 'What is that to you?' She replied, 'How can you be so rude? I asked you very civilly a plain question: and did not expect from a school-boy such a pert answer.' The reply was, 'Indeed, my lady, I can only answer once more, What is that to you?' In reality the theme was—*Quid ad te—pertinet?*

"Whether the affinity in Scotch enunciation between Perth and Bath, or whether the instructions sent with the honourable Mr. Murray for matriculation at Oxford were not written in a fair hand, the mistake of Bath for Perth was actually made; and, however singular it may appear, candour must allow, that such a mistake might easily happen.

"Be that as it may, the entry of his admission as a student of Christchurch, Oxford, of which a correct copy is subjoined, is contrary to the real fact, respecting the place of his birth.

Trin. Term. 1723, June 18.

Æd. Xti. Gul. Murray 18.

David f. Civ. Bath.

C. Som. V. Com. fil.

T. WENMAN, C. A.

"Sir William Blackstone is said to have mentioned this curious circumstance to the lord chief justice of the king's bench, while he had the honour to sit with him in that court; when lord Mansfield an-

swered, 'that possibly the broad pronounciation of the person, who gave in the description, was the origin of the mistake.'

"Bishop Newton, who was one of his cotemporaries at Westminster, bears this honourable testimony to his school-fellow's early fame.

"During the time of his being at school, he gave early proofs of his uncommon abilities, not so much in his poetry, as in his other exercises, and particularly in his declamations, which were sure tokens and prognostics of that eloquence which grew up to such maturity and perfection at the bar, and in both houses of parliament.

"At the election in May, 1723, when he was in the 19th year of his age, he had the honour of standing first on the list of those gentlemen who were sent to Oxford, and was accordingly entered of Christ's Church on the 18th of June following.

"About four years afterwards, he was admitted to the degree of B. A.; and, on the death of George the first, an elegant copy of Latin verses, written by Mr. Murray, as one of the members of the University, was honoured with the first prize; and will probably be convincing to every classical reader, that the great declaimer, or the younger Tully at Westminster, had either courted the muses with uncommon success at Oxford, or that the learned prelate has depreciated the worth of Mr. Murray's Latin poetry."

"His oration in praise of Demosthenes presented another early preface of his rising fame; a valuable fragment of which has been preserved."

"Lord Monboddo, in his excellent treatise of the Origin and Progress of Language, has paid so just a tribute of respect to this fragment of

of his friend and patron's juvenile declamation, as to make it the subject of an entire chapter, where-with the sixth volume concludes, with a beautiful apostrophe or address from the author in his 77th year to lord Mansfield, then on the verge of 89."

"In April, 1724, Mr. Murray was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn.

"On the 24th of June, 1730, he took the degree of M. A. and left the University soon afterwards, full of vigor, and determined to travel into foreign parts, before he sat down to the serious prosecution of his legal studies, to which his genius and his slender fortune, as a younger son, forcibly and happily prompted him. He travelled through France, and in Italy, at an age fitted for improvement and useful observation; not between 19 and 21, a period which his great patron lord Hardwicke, in one of the numbers in the Spectator, under the modest signature of Philip Homebred, evinces to be too early an age for our British youths to travel to any real advantage. At Rome Mr. Murray was probably inspired, and animated with the love of Ciceronian eloquence; at Rome he was prompted to make Cicero his great example, and his theme! At Tusculum, and in his perambulations over classical ground, why might he not be emulous to lay the foundation of that noble superstructure of bright fame, which he soon raised after he became a member of Lincoln's Inn?"

"The letters, intended for the use of a young nobleman, must have been written about the year 1730, when Mr. Murray was a very young man, inasmuch as the fact can easily be ascertained, that the young duke of Portland spent three years in his travels in France and

Italy, and returned to England in 1733."

"To give a new cast to Mr. Murray's extent of thought, and to evince, that, however pleasing and bewitching the flowery fields of literature were to his well-stored mind, he wisely determined not to be bewildered therein, and early discovered a great veneration for the advice of Horace,

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

"He was called to the bar in Michaelmas term, 1730. In his career in the pursuit of legal knowledge his assiduity soon co-operated with his shining abilities. Two supporters like these, in perfect unison, not only exempted him from all pecuniary embarrassments, which slender fortune in some, and juvenile indiscretion in others, too frequently occasion, but also conciliated the esteem, the friendship, and patronage, of the great oracles of the law, who adorned that period, amongst whom lord Talbot and lord chancellor Hardwicke were looked up to as the foster-fathers of the science.

"Instead of submitting to the usual drudgery, as some are pleased to deem it, of labouring in the chambers of a special pleader, Mr. Murray's motto seems to have been 'Aut Cicero aut nullus.'

"Early in his legal career he studied the graces of elocution under one of the greatest masters of the age wherein he lived.

"Doctor Johnson, in his life of Pope, says, 'his voice when he was young was so pleasing, that Pope was called in fondness the little nightingale.' Under this melodious and great master Mr. Murray practised elocution, and may truly be said to have brought the modulation of an harmonious voice to the highest degree of perfection.

"One day he was surprized by a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, who could take the liberty of entering his rooms without the ceremonious introduction of a servant, in the singular act of practising the graces of a speaker at a glass, while Pope sat by in the character of a friendly preceptor. Mr. Murray on this occasion paid him the handsome compliment of, 'Tu es mihi Mæcenas.'

"The great benefit resulting from an early friendship between Murray and Pope, was, that the young and graceful jurispudent could not be more sedulous to acquire *éclat* in his profession than the poet was to proclaim in bewitching verse the reputation of his friend.

"Bishop Warburton, in his annotations on Pope's imitation of the Sixth Epistle of the First Book of Horace, addressed to Mr. Murray, elegantly defines the friendship subsisting between them in a single sentence: 'Mr. Pope had all the warmth of affection for this great lawyer, and indeed no man ever more deserved to have a poet for his friend; in the obtaining of which, as neither vanity, party, nor fear, had a share, so he supported his title to it by all the offices of a generous and true friendship.'

"Young and gay, and seduced as he was, by seeing how despotically Pope reigned in the regions of literature, is it matter of wonder, that several of the friends of Mr. Murray, on his entrance into life, should be not a little apprehensive of his having manifested too great an attention to the belles lettres and to the regions of pleasure?"

"The fears, however, of Mr. Murray's friends, that the gaiety of his heart would militate against that patient assiduity, so absolutely necessary to improvement and success

in his legal character, were soon laid aside, by his having been early employed in business of serious importance, which fully engaged not only his attention, but also his affections, since human nature would have revolted at the trials in which he persevered early in life, if he had not really loved his profession.

"In 1732, we find our tyro in the law associated with the two shining lights in the court of chancery, as they were emphatically styled, lord Talbot and lord Hardwicke, then his majesty's attorney and solicitor general, in a cause of appeal heard at the bar of the house of lords on the 12th of March, 1732-3, relating to the purchase of some south-sea stock in the memorable year 1720.

"The counsel for the appellant were	} P. Yorke. Will. Hamilton.
"For the respondent.	
	} C. Talbot. W. Murray.

"A fine and fertile field this for our tyro to travel over, to explore, and, by exploring, to exercise his dawning genius and opening talents. A year pregnant with credulity, circumvention, and fraud, could not fail, under the auspices of a Talbot, to be singularly fortunate and favourable to his young friend and colleague.

"A respite of four days only intervened before Mr. Murray appeared again at the same bar, and was classed with the same great colleagues as counsel for the young marquis of Annandale. From so splendid and so early an introduction into business; from his being associated in his maiden causes with the two greatest luminaries of the law, we may conclude, with Horace, 'Noscitur ex sociis.' May we not expect to find him frequently in the same good company?"

"Accordingly, in the following year,

year, 1733, we find him engaged as counsel in three appeals; and in 1734 in a still greater number."

"The natural and acquired advantages, which characterised the eloquence of Mr. Murray, were so conspicuous, even on the spur of occasion, and his perception was so quick, as to enable him to shine upon any emergency. A circumstance of this kind occurred, in the year 1737, in the celebrated cause between Theophilus Cibber and Mr. Sloper, wherein Mr. Murray was the junior counsel for the defendant. The leading counsel being suddenly seized with a fit in the court, the duty of the senior devolved on the junior counsel, who at first modestly declined it, for want of time to study the case. The court, to indulge him, postponed the cause for about an hour; and, only with this preparation, he made so able and eloquent a defence, as not only to reduce the defendant's damages to a mere trifle, but to gain for himself the reputation, which he highly deserved, of a most prompt, perspicuous, and eloquent pleader."

"The familiar friends of lord Mansfield have frequently heard him recur with singular pleasure to his success in this cause, and the consequences which flowed from it. His own perspicuous manner of introducing it cannot fail to please, and raise emulation in young men of genius."

"From this trivial accident, he was accustomed to say: 'business poured in upon me on all sides; and, from a few hundred pounds a year, I fortunately found myself in every subsequent year, in possession of thousands.'

"It may be deemed somewhat curious to observe, that a similar accident, however trivial, brought another great luminary in the law

into full business. Mr. Dunning (afterwards lord Ashburton) had persevered in going the Western circuit six or seven years, without any great emolument, until one of the leading counsel on the circuit, who was afflicted with the gout, and who having discovered abilities in, had engaged, our tyro to read and make observations on his briefs; on briefs which Mr. Serjeant Glynn's feeble hands could not support. He handed them over to his young friend, who shone so much in his new sphere, as from that day, and from the business of general warrants, which trod on the heels of it, his fame, like another Murray's, was recorded."

"On the 20th of November, 1738, he married lady Elizabeth Finch, one of the six daughters of Daniel earl of Winchelsea; a marriage, which added fortune and splendid family-connections to the advantages of noble birth, and great fame, which Mr. Murray previously possessed."

"With this lady he lived in great harmony and domestic happiness almost half a century. Lady Mansfield, who was exemplary through life in diligent, uniform, and unremitted attention to the discharge of her domestic concerns, and of every religious duty, died the 10th of April, 1784."

"In the same year, 1738, there were fifteen or sixteen appeals heard and determined in the house of lords, and in no less than eleven of that number was Mr. Murray employed as counsel, either for the appellants or respondents."

"In the years 1739 and 1740, we find Mr. Murray engaged in thirty cases of appeal to the house of lords; a greater number, we presume, than in the course of the present century has, in any two succeeding years, fallen to the lot of

any one of the most eminent counsel at the bar, those great luminaries Talbot and Yorke not excepted; so rapid, so extensive, and so unparalleled was the success of Mr. Murray! And when it is considered, that ten years only intervened between the commencement of his practice at the chancery bar in 1732, and his appointment to the office of solicitor-general in 1742, a very flattering and fair conclusion may be drawn, that his legal fame and his extensive practice were not confined to the house of lords."

"Mr. Murray, having previously and prudently determined to establish his fame in the line of his profession, before he commenced his political career, did not take his seat in parliament as member for Boroughbridge till the year 1742, soon after he had been appointed his majesty's solicitor-general. The reason he assigned for resisting the solicitation of his friends to sit in parliament, some years antecedent to that period, was, that he found many very respectable friends on both sides of the house. His own forcible and favourite question could not easily be answered: Why should he be hasty in forming his attachment to one party, while he enjoyed the patronage of all parties?"

"In the year 1747, a fair occasion offered for Mr. Murray to manifest his love of his profession, and an ardent desire to lay a better foundation in one of our universities for initiating and training students in legal knowledge by the fostering hand of an able law-professor. The first duke of Newcastle was the warm friend and patron of Mr. Murray. The civil law professorship in the university of Oxford being then vacant, Mr. Murray took the liberty of expostulating with his grace, who was then chan-

cellor of the university of Cambridge, on the appointment of a successor; and lamented that at Oxford the civil law-lectures, and the opportunities of gaining legal knowledge by that channel, were, when contrasted with those of the sister university, in the most degraded and unworthy situation. He then expressed an anxious wish, than an able professor of civil law might be sought for and invited to fill the vacant seat. Dr. Jenner was the person thought of by the duke of Newcastle; yet he paid Mr. Murray the compliment of asking him, if he could recommend any gentleman who would fill it with greater ability. Antecedent to the establishment of the Vinerian professorship, the late Mr. Justice Blackstone, who was then at the bar, and had given proofs that he possessed those qualifications which early pointed him out as the most worthy to be promoted on this occasion, was by Mr. Murray introduced and warmly recommended to the duke of Newcastle, who considered it as part of his duty to probe a little the political principles of the new candidate, by addressing Mr. Blackstone, 'Sir, I can rely on your friend Mr. Murray's judgment as to your giving law-lectures in a good style, so as to benefit the students; and I dare say, that I may safely rely on you, whenever any thing in the political hemisphere is agitated in that university, you will, sir, exert yourself in our behalf.' The answer was, 'Your grace may be assured that I will discharge my duty in giving law-lectures to the best of my poor abilities.' 'Aye! aye!' replied his grace hastily, 'and your duty in the other branch too.' Unfortunately for the new candidate, he only bowed assent; and a few days afterwards he had the mortification

to hear that Dr. Jenner was appointed the civil-law professor. Nothing less than the love of science could, under these circumstances, have induced Mr. Murray and some other friends of Mr. Blackstone strongly to recommend and persuade him to sit down at Oxford, and to read law-lectures to such students as were disposed to attend him. The plan was not only attended with profit and pleasure in the first instance, but soon afterwards happily suggested the idea to the mind of Mr. Viner to establish a real law-professorship in the university of Oxford; and who so proper to fill it with *éclat*, and add lustre to the institution, as Mr. Blackstone, whose Commentaries on the Laws of England, on their first appearance in the world, drew this high tribute of respect and approbation from lord Mansfield? On a brother-peer's having asked him, as a friend, what books he would advise his son to read, who was determined to be a lawyer, the chief justice replied, 'My good lord, till of late I could never, with any satisfaction to myself, answer that question; but, since the publication of Mr. Blackstone's Commentaries, I can never be at a loss. There your son will find analytical reasoning diffused in a pleasing and perspicuous style. There he may imbibe imperceptibly the first principles on which our excellent laws are founded, and there he may become acquainted with an uncouth crabbed author, Coke upon Littleton, who has disappointed and disheartened many a tyro, but who cannot fail to please in a modern dress.'

"In 1754, sir Dudley Ryder, his majesty's attorney-general, was advanced to the dignity of lord chief justice of the court of king's bench; and on that occasion his majesty's

solicitor-general, Mr. Murray, was promoted to fill the high station of the king's attorney-general. This promotion did not alienate him from the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, whose chief ornament he had many years been; but the interval was not long before he ceased to be a member of that society.'

"In 1756, the death of lord chief justice Ryder gave rise to a second succession, and the king's attorney-general was appointed to that high office.

"Previous to his taking his seat as lord chief justice, the usual ceremony of taking leave of alma mater, or the law-society of which he was a member, was to be respectfully observed. Whether the origin of this laudable custom is to be classed among those good old foster-fathers who have contributed to raise emulation in the students of the society, or whether it was designed to manifest the gratitude of the latter, for the honour which every high character confers on the society; whatever laudable motive introduced the ceremony, no man of sensibility could be present in Lincoln's Inn Hall, when the honourable Mr. Yorke, on whom devolved the honour of making the complimentary speech to the new lord chief justice, and of presenting him with a votive offering of a purse of gold, in the name of the society, without being forcibly struck with the favourable impression, that he was the worthy son of the great lord Hardwicke. A fair occasion this for Mr. Murray to retaliate, who elegantly admitted and avowed, that *Laudatus à laudato viro* made unmerited praise itself pleasing."

"Thursday, November 11, 1756, lord Mansfield took his place as lord chief justice."

"Before lord Mansfield had been

six months in the possession of the dignity of lord chief justice, he was, on the 9th of April, 1757, appointed, *pro tempore*, chancellor of the exchequer; and in this office, principally through his mediation, the coalition between Mr. Fox, afterwards lord Holland, and Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, was brought about, the former having been made paymaster of the forces, and the latter principal secretary of state; a coalition which was of the most singular service to the country, by uniting all the great leaders of the different parties, and thereby giving an energy to the war we were then engaged in, and which terminated so gloriously and successfully to the British arms."

"Lord Mansfield deemed it to be an important part of his duty as a judge to disentangle abstruse cases, which came before him, from the mazes and great intricacy which were frequently introduced by the elaborate arguments of counsel. He seemed to have a particular pleasure in discriminating between ingenious, clear, and convincing argument, and subtle metaphysical distinctions, tending to bewilder and mislead the tyros or students in the law. As to their making any impression on the minds of the judges, if the allusion may be pardoned, we might as soon expect to see the hawk, in its passage through the regions of air, leave a print of his wild and circuitous flight behind him."

"His ideas went to the growing melioration of the law, by making its liberality keep pace with the demands of justice, and the actual concerns of the world; not restricting the infinitely-diversified occasions of men, and the rules of natural justice, within artificial circumscriptions, but conforming our ju-

risprudence to the growth of our commerce and of our empire."

"In private life, it may truly be said, that lord Mansfield had the facility and happy art of embellishing the most trivial circumstances with elegance, of enlivening conversation with ease and pleasantry, and of supporting every narration with strict attention to truth."

"In his convivial conversation, he was particularly excellent. His general and almost universal knowledge of men and things presented a constant and copious supply of familiar dialogue and discourse. His sallies of pleasantry were innocent, and wounded no man; his sentences of observation were judicious and solid. His particular friends could easily illustrate this part of his character by a thousand familiar instances; the few which the author begs leave to select occasionally, as they serve to illustrate his character for ease and pleasantry, were *impromptu's*, delivered on the spur of the occasion, and some of them are well known to his surviving friends."

"One of the right reverend bench having very charitably established an alms-house, at his own expence, for twenty-five poor women; Mr. Murray, in his juvenile days, was applied to for an inscription to be placed over the portal of the house; upon which he took up his pencil, and immediately wrote the following:

'Under this roof
the Lord Bishop of ———
keeps
no less than 25 women.'

"This witticism probably had its rise from a then recent fact which reflected great honour on the late sir Walter Blackett, baronet, who was at that time the fast friend of
and

and much attached to Mr. Murray, and also to Mr. Booth the conveyancer. Sir Walter stated his case to them in Lincoln's Inn, and pointed out the dilemma into which a friend in the North (Mr. Davison) had drawn him, by leaving 1500*l.* to be laid out, under the direction of Sir Walter, in building a suite of alms-houses for twelve old women, near Newcastle upon Tyne. Sir Walter added, how uncomfortable these poor creatures will be placed in a row, without any human being to look upon. What think you, my friends and counsellors, if I run up another wing for twelve old bachelors? The learned counsel agreed in opinion, that the charitable institution would thereby be freed from partiality, and be abundantly more comfortable and more complete.

The superstructures were soon raised, according to Mr. Sylvanus Urban's Report of 'the remarkable events in the year 1753;' and according to common fame, in a year or two afterwards, several of the ancient maidens and old bachelors looked with great complacency on each other, so as to occasion a few marriages to take place, and to make convenient room for other inmates and inhabitants under these hospitable habitations.

"The grateful attachment of Mr. Murray to those friends who had been kind to him in his juvenile days was exemplified in many instances, and particularly by his continuing, even when in a dignified situation, and in full career of business, to visit the first lord Foley in the country on a Saturday, and to remain with him till the Monday morning following, when business called him back to town. On a brother barrister's interrogating him, how he could spend his

time where so little pleasantry or liveliness prevailed? 'It is enough,' said he, 'if I contribute, by my visits, to the entertainment of my *fast friends*; or if I fail in that, I am sure to contribute, by lassitude, to the repose of my *own faculties*.' The friendly attention of Mr. Foley to Mr. Murray was unquestionably of an important nature. For the authenticity of a report, respecting the precise nature of this early friendship, the author will not pretend to vouch; yet when it is considered, that, at many distant periods of time, rumour has, with little variation, been brought home to the author, and from such respectable authority as strongly to induce the belief of Mr. Foley's having encouraged his young friend to take the line of the law preferably to the clerical line, which his slender fortune, as one of the numerous younger children of a noble family, first led him to think seriously of—is it now to be wondered at that fine links, like these, should form an indissoluble chain of friendship between the first lord Foley and the honourable Mr. Murray?"

"The earl of Mansfield in his moral character was irreproachable, instructive, and exemplary. Whoever examines this serene part of his character with an impartial, discerning eye, with a view to profit by the various admonitory hints, which he took every fair occasion to inculcate, even in his judicial capacity, cannot fail to view this illustrious character in a very pleasing light.

"To manifest his opinion of the salutary effects of the new gaols in Sussex, Gloucester, Oxford, Stafford, and other counties, where useful reform has been promoted by solitary confinement, he was accustomed to relate the following anecdote or little dialogue between himself

self and the governor of Horsham new gaol in Suffex.

" Lord Mansfield.—' A few hours only have flitted or passed away, since, in the discharge of my duty as a judge, I delivered your new gaol. I was very much pleased at the sight of a calendar where the number of prisoners, which formerly have fallen to my lot to try for offences at Horsham, was reduced more than one half; I am now very much astonished to find, that the few prisoners I have tried at this period would not occupy one fourth part of the new gaol. How can your lord lieutenant satisfy the county of Suffex, that there has not been prodigality and waste of the county-money, in raising so large and stately an edifice, three-fourths of which appear to be untenanted? "

" The answer was: ' My lord, I must leave his grace of Richmond to answer for himself: I have very little doubt of our lord lieutenant acquitting himself of your lordship's heavy charge of *prodigality*. This, my lord, I can truly say, that I was twelve years keeper of the old gaol, and have been near twelve years governor or keeper of the present county-prison. I can say farther, that the new gaol was built upon a plan to contain the average number of criminals and debtors which the old prison was accustomed to hold in durance vile. But, my lord, although in days of yore my visitors were very troublesome, and very frequent in their visits to me, discharged at one assizes, and in prison again within the old walls long before the next; yet such, my lord, is the effect of our *solitary confinement*, and of making a rogue think a little, and become acquainted with himself, that, in the course of the last twelve years

' I can solemnly declare before your lordship, that only *one single prisoner* has been *twice* within these walls! "

" Good God! " replied the noble earl, ' this language of experience is very forcible, and the fact ought to be more generally known. '

" If a digression of a few lines may be pardonable in the author, he can, with pleasure, add, that, on his relation of this plain fact at a county-meeting, when the consideration of the plan for a new gaol and moderate solitary confinement were the subjects to be discussed, the lord lieutenant of the county of Stafford was pleased to express his entire approbation of Mr. Howard's plan of prisons, and particularly of separate or solitary confinement, and to request that any magistrate then present, who had any objections to make thereto, would answer the author of these sheets, who had told the plain tale respecting Horsham new gaol, and would refuse, if possible, the governor of Horsham new prison and the language of experience.

" An interval of silence prevailed; no objector rose to attempt a refutation, or to militate against the proposition for a new gaol, principally founded on the model of Gloucester gaol. The work was begun in 1789; in 1792 it was completed. In the year 1793 it was inhabited very thinly indeed; the number of prisoners in the calendar of this year being reduced nearly one half below that of the year 1791.

" Thus one more suffrage is added to the system of useful reform, which, as experience has evinced, may be wisely promoted by well-timed and moderate solitary confinement.

" The virtues which were most conspicuous in lord Mansfield's private character, and which gained most

most on his affections, were a love of moral rectitude, and fidelity in friendship. In public as in private life, his precepts and his practice inculcated, recommended, and enforced, every branch of moral rectitude. In trying a cause at the sittings after term at Guildhall, a merchant lost his temper, who was the defendant in an action of debt, in detailing, with great warmth, to the chief justice, the great indignity put upon him, a merchant of London, by the plaintiff, in causing him to be arrested, not only in the face of day, but on the Royal Exchange!

"Lord Mansfield, with great composure, stopped him, saying, 'Friend, you forget yourself; you were the great defaulter, in refusing to pay a just debt; and let me give you a piece of advice, worth more to you than the debt and costs. Be careful in future not to put it in any man's power to arrest you for a just debt, in public or in private.'

"In his friendships, he was cautious in making them, but none was more constant in preserving the various links when they were rivetted, or more zealous in the discharge of all the pleasing duties of friendship. The learned man, in him, frequently found a patron, and a zealous promoter of his merit. And whenever an ingenious barrister was discovered, whose fortune was small, or whose friends were few, he was soothed and rejoiced to find, unasked, and when least expected, some generous plan suggested, matured, and carried into execution, to extricate him from difficulties, or to point out the path to future fame.

"Some of the shining ornaments of the bar have in early life experienced the vicissitudes of fickle fortune, have had their legal studies

embittered with difficulties and distress. Not a few, who have emerged from early embarrassment, will, I am persuaded, ever recollect with gratitude, and may exult in the recollection of the earl of Mansfield's interposition in their behalfs, and in various pleasing instances conducted with peculiar adroitness and delicacy, so as not to wound the feelings of any one.

"His lordship had read with critical accuracy, and with a penetrating eye, the important book of human life, and was very skilful in probing the heart of man. He could develope stratagem, however artfully concealed under the cloak of hypocrisy or dissimulation.

"In the Tuscan code of laws promulgated and established with some success by the late emperor of Germany, when duke of Tuscany, we learn, that certainty of punishment, after the guilt of the perpetrator of a crime had been fully proved, contributed forcibly and considerably to the prevention of crimes. Lord Mansfield seems to have coincided in this opinion generally, and particularly when the very dangerous crime of forgery in a commercial state became the serious subject of discussion. Not a life of unspotted integrity previous to the commission of a single crime could save Robert Perreau, the favourite companion of some, and the excellent apothecary to many, noble families. By honest industry and uncommon diligence in his medical profession he had acquired something like a competency, but, like too many vain and aspiring mortals, he must move in a different sphere, and gain a large fortune in the banking-line. Deceived and deceived by a brother, and by a most artful woman—a forgery was committed, and his life paid the forfeit to the laws of his country.

country. The intercessions of the great did not weigh in the balance which the chief justice held in the council. Forgery is a stab to commerce, and only to be tolerated in a commercial nation when the foul crime of murder is pardoned.

"A few years afterwards Dr. Dodd's sentence for a similar crime of forgery became the serious subject of debate in a high circle. Great interest was made to mitigate the sentence; but the strong expression of the chief justice is said to have precluded mitigation; which, according to general report, was to the following effect: 'If Dr. Dodd does not suffer the just sentence of the law, the Perreaus may be said to have been murdered.'

"The singular events of the year 1768 were the causes of the public prints being, for the first time, deluged with torrents of abuse on the lord chief justice."

"Lord Mansfield was in the habits of intimacy with bishop Trevor, who being much indisposed, lord Mansfield called to see him; and while he was in the room with the bishop's secretary for a minute, the late Dr. Addington, his physician, was brought in a chair by two able-bodied chairmen, who were proceeding to carry him upstairs, pale and wan, and much debilitated, to his patient. The bishop's secretary, fearing that his lord would be low-spirited at such a scene, begged of lord Mansfield to interpose and go up first. The quickness of the reply could not fail to be treasured up; it was, 'By no means; let him go; you know nothing of human nature; the bishop will be put in good spirits on seeing any one in a worse condition than himself.' Lord Mansfield was prophetic; and, on Dr. Addington's taking leave, the chairmen had no sooner quitted the room with the sick-fare than

the bishop humourously said, 'I fear the crows will soon have my excellent physician;' but in this he was mistaken. Bishop Trevor died in a few weeks. Dr. Addington lived many years after he had been consigned to the crows by his princely patient the bishop of Durham.

"Another instance of his knowledge of mankind occurred when the public opinion was much agitated, and every one formed his own, as to the propriety of prosecuting Mr. Wilkes. In conversation with some friends, lord Mansfield said, 'I am decidedly against the prosecution. His consequence will die away if you will let him alone; but by public notice of him, you will increase his consequence; the very thing he covets, and has in full view.'

"The security and good government of the island of Jamaica depending in a great degree on the due exercise of martial law, or from other motives of sound policy, the fact is incontrovertible, that in a military officer are often united the high offices of governor-general and chancellor.

"A General Officer, who was very diffident of his ability to decide properly, by intuition, as it were, in a Court of Equity, applied to lord Mansfield for advice, who answered: 'General, you have a sound head, and a good heart; take courage, and you will do very well, in your new occupation in a Court of Equity. My advice is, to make your decrees as your head and your heart dictate; to hear both sides patiently, to decide with firmness in the best manner you can; but be careful not to assign your reasons, since your determinations may be substantially right, although your reasons may be very bad, or essentially wrong.'

"If common fame may be credited on this occasion, it is said, that, as soon as the learned counsel had finished their arguments, the chancellor (in his military capacity) ordered the drums to beat a few minutes, the music of which drove, as he was pleased to say, a great deal of the law-arguments out of his head, and enabled him the better, in the capacity of chancellor, to decide with firmness, and form his own decree. Be that as it may, the probability of the fact, as well as of the effect of a noise, seems to acquire additional strength by a modern anecdote. A very dignified legal character in this country, distinguished not only for sterling sense, but also for effusions of wit and pleasantry, when a famous case of appeal was determined *in dom. procerum* against his decree, in stepping into his coach, ordered his coachman to drive fast over the stones; adding aside to his officers, 'the noise will drive all disagreeable ideas out of my head.' The plan succeeded very well till an old woman, at the crossing into St. Martin's-lane, occasioned the coachman humanely to stop. The lord keeper, wondering at the cause, ordered his purse-bearer to ask the coachman why he drew up, who replied, 'I know my master would not have me kill the poor old woman. She is almost under the horses feet.' The lord keeper, finding she was not any longer in danger, wittily replied, 'Suppose he had killed her—take her to the House of Lords, and they will undo all we had done.'

"Again, lord Mansfield is said to have given wholesome and pithy advice to a friend who was prevailed on to act in the commission of the peace: 'Keep your reasons within your own breast; be not too hasty in common cases of granting war-

rants, before you have tried the effect of a summons; and, above all, be careful that good intentions are the governing principle, since we generally judge of the intentions of a magistrate.'

"The late Mr. Madan, who, about the year 1756, changed his bar-gown for a clerical one, having written a pamphlet, wherein he arraigned the mistaken lenity of the judges in too frequently reprieving capital offenders, was present, either as a magistrate or one of the grand jury, at the assizes held at East Grinstead in Sussex, some years ago, which proved to be a maiden one. On the sheriff expressing his happiness in presenting the white gloves to his lordship, as the emblem of purity, the chief justice pleasantly observed, 'Mr. Madan too will have a singular pleasure on this occasion, because there is no condemned prisoner to be reprieved.'

"Many other apophthegms stand upon record; but the pleasantry of conversation loses considerably by being narrated or detailed; and possibly ease and pleasantry of this nature may not be deemed to be within the line of duty of a biographer, whose province is, to relate what he has heard and seen with accuracy and fidelity, and to introduce effusions of wit, for the very useful purpose intended by nature, that of recommending and adorning truth."

"We now approach to a period which produces an event disgraceful to the age and country in which the fact was committed.

"An union of folly, enthusiasm, and knavery, had excited alarms in the minds of some weak people, that encouragements were given to the professors of the Catholic faith, inconsistent with the Protestant religion and true policy.

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"The act of parliament which excited this clamour had passed with little opposition through both houses, and had not received any extraordinary support from lord Mansfield. But the minds of the public were enflamed by artful representations, and the rage of deluded mobs was directed against the most eminent persons in the kingdom.

"Who could have thought that such outrages would have disgraced so enlightened a period as 1780? Posterity will scarcely credit the audacious threatenings of this memorable year—a year pregnant with mischiefs, rapine, and riots, which were practised, and perpetrated, not only in the shades of night, where riot and confusion are generally hatched, and where these pests of society love to dwell, but even in the very face of noon-day. A year ever to be remembered with astonishment and horror. With astonishment, when it is considered by what a small number of rioters, and by what pigmy-champions in general, houses were demolished, contributions levied openly in the most public squares; and the doors and gates of the strongest prisons, Newgate itself not excepted, opened wide to pour forth new forces well trained and ready to enter upon the most desperate service.

"With horror, as long as the many calamitous circumstances are recollected to which each day of riot gave birth; one of which, not only Westminster-Hall in general, but every intelligent reader will seriously lament, and which the author of these sheets must *ab imo corde* ever-deplore; from his knowledge of the invaluable loss of books and manuscripts which perished in the conflagration of the earl of Mansfield's house, and which would have diffused a splendor over these pages,

which cannot by any possibility now be cast, elucidated, or supplied. The rich fruits of many years fine harvests were in a moment destroyed; and nothing but poor gleanings, in private studies, are left for the labourer of the present day.

"This *annus mirabilis*, 1780, cannot fail to excite curiosity in readers of every denomination. A faithful detail of the ruinous confusion, which was happily put an end to in a very few days, may, when contrasted with the complete anarchy of late years, pregnant with the most dreadful outrages, murders, and assassinations, in another country, not only stamp a degree of credibility on the most extravagant, and seemingly incredible events of the riots in London in 1780, but also fully evince this great truth—that, from whatever causes riot and anarchy spring, the effects will (if they are not seriously and timely prevented) be invariably the same—will, like Pandora's box, diffuse far and wide the evils of desolation, misery, and ruin! But, as it is foreign to the purpose of this publication to write or even attempt to portray a faint sketch of historical events, the author must beg permission to confine his observations on this memorable period to such a plain detail of facts as fell within his own knowledge on the one hand, and as will throw light on such transactions wherein the earl of Mansfield was either in his private or judicial capacity principally and personally interested.

"On the evening of the second day's riot, Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Brooksbank, and another magistrate for the county of Middlesex, discharged their duty as vigilant magistrates, by waiting on the lord chief justice of England at his house in Bloomsbury-square. They found his lordship in conference with his
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very respectable and near neighbour the archbishop of York. Their painful embassy was, to announce that the avowed design of the rioters that evening was to destroy by fire the houses of the lord chancellor, and lord chief justice, and one or two more, which were marked, and then well known. The magistrates having made an humble tender of their assistance and advice; the lord chief justice asked (as the author was credibly informed), what his grace the archbishop proposed to do. The answer was worthy of a Briton: 'To defend myself and my family in my own mansion, while I have an arm to be raised in their defence.' The reply was, 'Tis nobly said: but, while an archbishop, like a true church-militant, is strong enough to protect himself—a feeble man, and an old man must look up to the civil power for protection.' This concession having been made, the magistrates took a fair occasion to recommend the admission of a detachment of the guards into the house, but whether the noble owner thought their admission might make the enraged mob more desperate, or that it would be more efficient to keep the guards at a small distance, in the vestry-room of Bloomsbury church, until they were really wanted, is not in the power of the author to determine. The lord high chancellor preferred the admission of a serjeant's guard into his house in Great Ormond-street; and by the circuitous marches of this small body of men from Ormond-street to the duke of Bolton's, and counter-marches from Bolton-house to Ormond-street, in a very short space of time, the rioters had every reason to believe, and one of them was heard to proclaim to his brethren, 'the chancellor's house is brim-full of the guards;' and emphatically to exclaim, 'Tis d—d

foolish to run our breasts against bayonets—d'ye see how they are ready to pink us at the parlour-windows?' These pithy exclamations, and the sight of a few pointed bayonets, had a wonderful effect. And the captain of the company of guards, who was my author, told me with some humour, that, as detachments of the guards were wanted in almost every part of the metropolis, he thought it fair to play the old soldier, and to multiply his handful of men in the best manner he was able. A garden-door in the lord chancellor's house, which communicated with the fields, was very convenient for this purpose. He placed three or four centinels at the parlour-windows, as has been noticed; and all the rest, being ushered through the garden into the fields, wheeled round by the duke of Bolton's house and Queen's-square to Ormond-street again. But, ere they re-entered, the few rioters then assembled heard the captain of the guard ask the corporal, 'When will the next detachment arrive?' The answer was, 'Please your honour, in a trice—they are almost in sight.' The corporal could speak with greater precision, since in fact the men had hardly been ever out of his sight—though perfectly concealed by art, as if under the sable cloud of night, from the rioters; by one of whom, probably their captain, the watch-word was given, 'Let us decamp to the corner of Bloomsbury.'

"The fatal consequence is too well known; and the irreparable loss of all lord Mansfield's books and manuscripts, we repeat with sorrow, is ever to be deplored.

"In this instance we can only lament, that so great a lawyer and statesman was not, in this hour of

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imminent danger, so great a general as the then lord chancellor.

"So unexpected was this daring outrage on order and government, that it burst on lord Mansfield without his being prepared in the slightest manner to resist it. He escaped with his life only, and retired to a place of safety, where he remained some time. On the 14th day of June, the last day of term, he again took his seat in the court of King's Bench. 'The reverential silence,' says Mr. Douglas, 'which was observed when his lordship resumed his place on the Bench, was expressive of sentiments of condolence and respect, more affecting than the most eloquent address the occasion could have suggested.'

"The amount of lord Mansfield's loss which might have been estimated, and was capable of a compensation in money, is known to have been very great. This he had a right to recover against the Hundred. Many others had taken that course; but his lordship thought it more consistent with the dignity of his character, not to resort to the indemnification provided by the legislature."

"In 1784, the pressure of some bodily infirmities for the first time admonished the venerable peer to seek relaxation and relief from the salutary springs and the vivifying soft air of Tunbridge."

"He retired in 1788 from the distinguished office of lord chief justice of the King's Bench, which he had held more than thirty years with a reputation and splendor unrivalled.

"The very affectionate and pathetic address from the bar, signed by the counsel who had practised in the court of King's Bench during some part of the period of his presiding there, which was transmitted to him at Kenwood by Mr. Erskine,

on his lordship's resignation of the high office of chief justice, was to the following effect:

'My Lord,

'It was our wish to have waited personally upon your lordship in a body, to have taken our public leave of you, on your retiring from the office of chief justice of England; but, judging of your lordship's feelings upon such an occasion by our own, and considering, besides, that our numbers might be inconvenient, we desire in this manner affectionately to assure your lordship; that we regret, with a just sensibility, the loss of a magistrate, whose conspicuous and exalted talents conferred dignity upon the profession; whose enlightened and regular administration of justice made its duties less difficult and laborious, and whose manners rendered them pleasant and respectable.

'But, while we lament our loss, we remember, with peculiar satisfaction, that your lordship is not cut off from us by the sudden stroke of painful distemper, or the more distressing ebb of those extraordinary faculties which have so long distinguished you amongst men; but that it has pleased God to allow to the evening of an useful and illustrious life, the purest enjoyments which nature has ever allotted to it. The unclouded reflections of a superior and unflinching mind over its varied events, and the happy consciousness, that it has been faithfully and eminently devoted to the highest duties of human society, in the most distinguished nation upon earth. May the season of this high satisfaction bear its proportion to the lengthened days of your activity and strength!

"To which address lord Mansfield, without detaining the servant

went five minutes, returned the following answer :

' Dear Sir,

' I cannot but be extremely flattered by the letter which I this moment have the honour to receive. ' If I have given satisfaction, it is ' owing to the learning and candour of the bar. The liberality ' and integrity of their practice ' freed the judicial investigation of ' truth and justice from many difficulties. The memory of the assistance I have received from them, ' and the deep impression which the ' extraordinary mark they have now ' given me of their approbation and ' affection, has made upon my ' mind, will be a source of perpetual consolation in my decline of ' life, under the pressure of bodily ' infirmities, which made it my duty ' to retire.

' I am, Sir, with gratitude to you, ' and the other gentlemen,

' Your most affectionate and obliged humble servant,

' MANSFIELD.'

' *Kenswood, June 15, 1788.*

" Of lord Mansfield's benevolent qualities, if a fair estimate is to be made from his patronizing merit wherever he found it, and where he had the least reason to think that his patronage would be of real service, his whole life will appear with great lustre, exhibiting a regular system of general benevolence, an unclouded effulgence of benignity, and an innate love of conferring favours on all those, who were zealous to obtain a good report, and who deserved it.

" In his judicial capacity it may be affirmed, without partiality or encomiastic hyperbole, that his great outline of conduct as a judge was to make the rigid rules of law subservient to the purposes of substantial justice. He was not the first who, as some have erroneously

alleged, softened the rigor of law, by the interposition of principles of equity. But, although he did not introduce novelty by this practice, candor must allow that he cultivated and improved this practice more successfully, and in a greater degree, than any of his predecessors. He presided in his high station during a period of thirty years and upwards, with the dignity of a great judge, and with an attachment to the court wherein he presided, which could not be dissolved by repeated offers of the custody of the great seal. In many emergencies, and in times of difficulty and danger, he discovered an intrepidity of mind, and delivered his sentiments with a decided tone of voice, which at once commanded admiration, and silenced the tongue of malevolence, not unfrequently apt to attribute to him the want of firmness.

" His judgments were introduced with all the embellishments which the law on the subject, and which deep learning could supply. His great and unremitted attention, to improve and render plain and perspicuous the rules of the court wherein he presided, will be acknowledged and revered as long as the rules themselves or the love of good order shall exist in our excellent constitution. And, in fine, if he has left the practice of the highest court of judicature yet improvable, it must be allowed, that he has left the rules and orders of that court replete with so much excellence, that they cannot fail to prompt his successors to emulate him, and to make farther improvements."

" In fine, The summary of lord Mansfield's legal and private character may be given in few words.

" In all he said or did there was a happy mixture of good-nature,
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good-humour, elegance, ease, and dignity. His countenance was most pleasing, he had an eye of fire, and a voice perhaps unrivalled in its sweetness, and the mellifluous variety of its tones.

"His intuitive and acquired knowledge of men and things soon attracted the attention, and procured the good opinion of the citizens of London and Westminster, so as to induce them to institute their suits of different denominations in the court wherein he presided.

"He excelled in the statement of a case. One of the first orators of the present age said of it, 'that it was of itself worth the argument of any other man.' He divested it of all unnecessary circumstances; he brought together every circumstance of importance; and these he placed in so striking a point of view, and connected them by observations so powerful, but which appeared to arise so naturally from the facts themselves, that frequently the hearer was convinced before the argument was opened. When he came to the argument he shewed equal ability, but it was a mode of argument almost peculiar to himself. His statement of the case predisposed the hearers to fall into the very train of thought he wished them to take when they should come to consider the argument. Through this he accompanied them, leading them insensibly to every observation favourable to the conclusion he wished them to draw, and diverting every objection to it; but all the time keeping himself concealed, so that the hearers thought they formed their opinions in consequence of the powers and workings of their own minds, when, in fact, it was the effect of the most subtle argumentation and the most refined dialectic.

"His legal knowledge and profound sagacity, not only promoted, but effectually secured, through a long series of years, that amazing increase of business in the court of King's Bench which dignified his high office, and diffused opulence among the different officers of his court, and all around him.

"Considering his lordship's decisions separately, it will appear that, on all occasions, he was perfectly master of the case before him, and apprized of every principle of law, and every adjudication of the courts immediately, or remotely applicable to it. Considering them collectively, they will be found to form a complete code of jurisprudence on some of the most important branches of our law: a system founded on principles equally liberal and just, admirably suited to the genius and circumstances of the age, and, happily blending the venerable doctrines of the old law with the learning and refinement of modern times: the work of a mind nobly gifted by nature, and informed with every kind of learning which could serve for use and ornament.

"His great wisdom shed an uncommon lustre over his admonitions, his advice, and his decisions in the public courts, and gave them their due weight. All he said and did will be held in deserved admiration, as long as the love of our excellent laws, as long as the improvement of jurisprudence, and the power of eloquence, shall be deemed worthy of pre-eminence, or have any charms to please.

"The author has not presumed to give his lordship's political character. More years must elapse, and party prejudice be laid aside, before his abilities, principles, and actions as a statesman, can be properly appreciated. His eminence

as a lawyer has been already stated, and universally acknowledged. He therefore begs leave briefly to confine himself to a few traits, which eminently distinguished his lordship in private life, where he shone, if possible, with greater lustre than in the more elevated departments of a statesman and a judge.

" Few noblemen have had that happy method of combining dignity with wisdom, and liberality with frugality, equal to lord Mansfield. Every thing in and about his mansion had the appearance of splendor and plenty, without that show of ostentation and waste, which disgusts every sensible mind; and which, at the same time it gives an idea of the wealth, strikes us with the folly of the possessor. By his servants he was considered rather as a father and patron than a master: many of them lived with him so many years that they were fit for no other service; and peace, plenty, and happiness, were depicted in the countenance of every domestic. His lordship's charities, which were infinitely more extensive than is generally imagined, were given away and diffused with good sense and nobleness of mind rarely equalled; sixpences, shillings, and half crowns, he seldom conferred, considering such sums as doing no real good, as the object so relieved would, on the day following the donation, be equally distressed as on the day preceding it; but, when by sums of ten or twenty guineas he could relieve the virtuous and necessitated from embarrassments by debt, by sickness, or otherwise, and put them in a way to provide for themselves and families, he did it cheerfully, and with that ease and good nature, which, instead of wounding, encouraged the feelings of the receiver, and always, if possible, with such secrecy and quiet-

ness as if he would not have his left hand know what his right hand did. Although his lordship's powers in conversation were uncommonly great, yet he never assumed a more than equal share of it to himself, and was always as ready to hear as he was to deliver an opinion. The faculty of conversing with ease and propriety he retained to the very last; and he was as quick at reply in his latter years as at any period of his life: whether he supported his own argument, or refuted those of his adversary, his observations were delivered with that judgment and grace which evinced the precision of a scholar and the elegance of a gentleman. He was a sincere Christian without bigotry or hypocrisy, and he frequently received the sacrament, both before and after he ceased to leave home; and there was constantly that decorum, that exemplary regularity to be seen in every department of his household, which would have done credit to the palace of an archbishop.

" Such were the virtues, such the endowments, and rare qualifications, which pervaded, cherished, and adorned his private life. These he sedulously cultivated and disseminated through a long life. How powerful was their coincidence, how happy their effects!"

" We are arrived at a period which is in general painful to relate—the last hours of a great man! or of a real friend! yet when we calmly consider the very advanced age of lord Mansfield, and the whole tenor of his long life, we may fairly draw this conclusion, that for once *death* had lost his sting, and was no longer to him a *king of terrors*.

" In many conferences with his friend and physician Dr. Turton, during the three or four last years of

the earl's life, his lordship had observed, how hard it was, that an old man, on the verge of fourscore and ten years, could not be permitted to die quietly. To select a more striking instance, a few years before his decease, he lay for a time in a state of insensibility; by means of blisters, and other physical efforts, returning life enabled him to chide his physician, by asking a question equally uncommon and unexpected—'Why did you endeavour to bring me back when I was so far gone in my journey?'

"Early in March, 1793, lord Stormont, having occasion to consult his uncle on a law-case then depending in the house of lords, said his ideas and recollection were perfectly clear.

"On Sunday, March the 10th, his lordship did not talk at breakfast as usual, but seemed heavy, and complained of being very sleepy, and his pulse was low; volatiles and cordials were ordered for him, and cantbarides were applied to his issues. On the Monday he seemed rather better. On Tuesday morning he desired to be got up and taken to his chair; but soon wished to be put to bed again; and said, 'Let me sleep—let me sleep.' After this he never spoke. On his return to bed he seemed perfectly easy, breathed freely and uninterruptedly like a child, with as calm and serene a countenance as in his

best health, and had a good pulse, but was clearly void both of sense and sensibility. A blister was applied to the arm, which it affected no more than it would any inanimate substance. Scotch snuff was inserted into the nostrils by means of a feather, without the least effect. Some attempts were also made to get nourishment down by means of a spoon, but to no purpose; and, as the last attempt had nearly choked him, it was desisted from, and his mouth was afterwards merely moistened by a feather dipt in wine and water. In this state his lordship continued without any apparent alteration, some symptoms of the vital spark remaining, yet glimmering faintly, till the morning of Monday the 18th, when there was an appearance of mortification on the part most pressed by lying, and his pulse began to beat feebly. Fears were now entertained that he should awake to misery, which he fortunately did not; but continued to sleep quietly till the night of Wednesday the 20th, when the lingering dying taper was quite extinguished. He expired without a groan, in the 89th year of his age; closing a long life of honor to himself, and great use to society, in a way the most to be desired: and it may be said of his lordship, as it was of king David, that he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor."

Other ANECDOTES illustrative of LORD MANSFIELD's Judicial, and of his Political CHARACTER.

[From the FIRST VOLUME of BIOGRAPHICAL, LITERARY, and POLITICAL ANECDOTES, of several of the most eminent Men of the present Age.]

“THE admirers of lord Mansfield have always shewn themselves dissatisfied with any statement of such parts of his conduct as tended to the diminution of his celebrity. They assert his impartiality, his wisdom, his penetration and patience.

“On the contrary, those persons who have declared his lordship capable of committing every enormity whenever he had opportunity to advance the power of the crown, or trespass on the liberty of the subject, have been offended whenever he has been complimented with the titles of a great lawyer, and an upright judge. They arraign his principles of law, and deny his impartiality.

“Between these extremes, lord Mansfield's true character will not be easily nor perhaps accurately defined. That it lay between them is true; but to which it most inclined, may, in the opinion of some persons, be difficult to ascertain.”

“During the whole administration of the Pelhams, he adhered to the whigs, and particularly to Mr. Pelham, whose confidence he obtained much in the same way that his friend Mr. Stone obtained that of the duke of Newcastle. They (Stone and Murray) were accused of being jacobites, and the accusation was brought before the house of lords. But they had dexterity and influence sufficient to stop the progress of the enquiry. Mr. Stone then being sub-governor to the prince (the present king)

was supposed, by some people, to conduct himself in the capacity of a double spy. He owed his appointment to the duke of Newcastle, for the purpose (as was conjectured) of giving the duke information of the proceedings and transactions of Leicester house, and preserved his interest at Leicester-house by giving information to lord Bute of the designs and transactions of the ministry, in which he was assisted by his friend lord Mansfield, then Mr. Murray. Whether these opinions are strictly correct or not, it is certain that lord Bute had authentic information of all the projects and measures of the ministry, even at the time when the politics of St. James's and Leicester-house differed most.

“It has been the great felicity of lord Mansfield's reputation, that his conduct has generally been viewed on the favourable side only. And that such detached parts of it as reflected most to his honour have been principally those which have been held up to public view. If the whole of his conduct had been fairly and impartially examined, it would in many points have brought to our remembrance the conduct of those learned chiefs, Trefilian, Keyling, Scroggs, Jefferyes, and some others.”

“It is generally allowed, that in most cases between subject and subject, he shewed great penetration and judgment. He possessed a talent, if it may be called so, of discovering the merits of a cause

before it was half heard. This quickness, however, sometimes betrayed him into too early a propension in favour of one of the parties. And in this precipitation he was more than once or twice unjust. So difficult it is, for the most acute understanding, at all times, to discover hidden truths; and so dangerous it is, to entertain a conceit of possessing, by intuition, a talent superior to the rest of mankind. Yet this is perfectly true of lord Mansfield. Some lawyers have occasionally assumed a course of imitation; but the attempt has been so clumsy and inadequate, it scarcely deserves the name of a caricature.

“ In all those political causes concerning the press, in which the crown was party, he was partial in the extreme. His rule of law uniformly was, that the crown was never wrong in those causes. To the liberty of the press he was a sincere and implacable enemy. His definition of this liberty was, a permission to print without a license, what formerly could only be printed with one. In trials for libels, he has been heard to deliver such language from the bench, as ought to have flushed the jury with indignation. In those trials, his invariable practice was, in his charge to the jury, to make a laboured reply to the defendant's counsel. Will any candid person say this was proper conduct in a judge, who ought to be strictly impartial? This is not the language of prejudice—for the truth of it an appeal may safely be made to all those persons who are yet alive, who heard him upon those occasions.

“ But a stronger proof cannot be given of lord Mansfield's general misconduct and mis-directions to juries, in cases of libels, than the

late declaratory act of parliament of the rights of juries, which was brought forward by Mr. Fox and Mr. Erskine, and was supported by a considerable part of the ministry. The artful and dangerous practices of lord Mansfield (in these political trials, so interesting to public liberty) to which he had through life most tenaciously adhered, and had ardently maintained to be law, were totally annihilated and done away. Juries were restored to their constitutional rights, which fixes upon his memory and character a more indelible stigma, than could have been inflicted by an article of impeachment. The many transgressions he had committed on law, justice, and humanity, rendered this act of parliament absolutely necessary. Lord Camden, though far advanced in years, vigorously supported the bill in the house of lords, and condemned all lord Mansfield's doctrines in terms of just asperity.

“ There is a fact not less respecting lord Mansfield's favourite opinion, than his great design upon the rights of juries, in all questions concerning the liberty of the press, which distinguishes him to have been from principle, as well as study, perhaps, the most dangerous enemy to the constitutional rights of juries, that ever sat in a court of justice, since the time of the star-chamber.

“ The fact here alluded to, happened on the trial of John Williams, in the month of July, 1764, for re-publishing the North Briton in volumes. Serjeant Glynn, who was counsel for Williams, said, with a strong emphasis, ‘ That in the matter of libel, they were the proper judges of the law, as well as the fact; that they had the full right to determine, whether the defendant had published

lished the North Briton with the intent as laid in the Attorney-general's information.' Lord Mansfield stopped him short, and declared in a very strong and menacing manner, 'That if serjeant Glynn asserted that doctrine again, he (lord Mansfield) would take the opinion of the twelve judges upon it.' The learned serjeant instantly saw the snare, and the design that was concealed under it. He was sensible of the danger to public liberty, in submitting a question which was to be worded by lord Mansfield upon the rights of juries, to the opinions of the twelve judges at that time. No one could doubt that a considerable majority of the twelve judges would confirm all lord Mansfield's doctrine concerning libels, and particularly all his lordship's limitations of the rights of juries. The learned serjeant therefore, with great prudence, and a great regard for the rights of juries, saw that it was more proper to submit, than to give lord Mansfield an opportunity of obtaining an authoritative confirmation of his innovations in the constitution. Thus, by a device of lord Mansfield, the rights of juries upon this great point hung as it were upon a single thread. Well might judge Willes say, '*mark him!*' Had lord Mansfield's project taken effect; and had the majority of the judges acquiesced, of which it is more than probable he had no doubt, it must have been extremely difficult, and next to an impossibility ever to have recovered the rights of juries, which lord Mansfield had usurped, and which usurpation had been confirmed by the judges.

"Upon another occasion, lord Mansfield attempted the same device, but the weakness of his nerves prevented the design being carried into effect. This was in the year

1770, when he gave a paper to the clerk of the house of lords, containing the opinion of the court of King's-Bench, upon one of the trials of Junius's letters.

"The house of lords was summoned at the request of lord Mansfield, on Monday the eleventh day of December. Great expectations were raised. Lord Mansfield's doctrines concerning libels had been much canvassed in the house of commons, in consequence of a motion made by serjeant Glynn; it was therefore supposed and believed, that his lordship intended to bring the subject before the house of lords. And, probably, that was his original intention. But when the house met (on the eleventh of December) his lordship only said, that he had left a paper containing the opinion of the court of King's-Bench with the clerk; and that their lordships might read it, and take copies of it. [The paper, and lord Camden's answer, are printed in all the parliamentary debates.]

"It is scarcely possible to conceive any thing more ridiculous than this was. He certainly must have changed his intention, for no person will credit that he had the house summoned for the paltry purpose of telling their lordships he had left a paper with the clerk. Lord Camden asked him, if he meant to have his paper entered upon the journals? 'No! No!' said lord Mansfield, 'only to leave it with the clerk.'

"Next day lord Camden attacked lord Mansfield pretty sharply on the subject of his paper, and put several questions to him concerning the sense of it. Lord Mansfield said it was taking him by surprise, and that he would not answer interrogatories. Lord Camden desired that a day might be fixed for his lordship to give his answers;

answers; but lord Mansfield would not consent.

"As far as this attack upon lord Mansfield went, it was perfectly judicious; and it would have been imprudent to have pushed the matter further; because an attempt of that sort might, and most probably would, have brought the subject into general debate; and thereby have been the cause of establishing lord Mansfield's doctrine irreversibly, and cloathing it with all the solemn graces and sanctions which a certain well known crafty influence can easily procure.

"The next attack that lord Mansfield made on the rights of juries, was not less interesting, but it was open and avowed. The judges of his own court supported his design without, perhaps, perceiving the nature and extent of it; at least it may be candid to admit the possible supposition, for lord Mansfield's art was usually the best of art; it was the art to conceal itself: but this attempt was attended with an advantage to the public that lord Mansfield did not foresee. It brought forth the strong admired talents, and great legal abilities of Mr. Dunning, afterwards lord Ashburton.

"It has been already mentioned, under the head of the duke of Grafton, that lord Mansfield was exceedingly hurt by a tract of great celebrity, entitled 'A Letter on Libels and Warrants, &c.' He therein saw his doctrines of law, and his conduct as a judge, treated in a manner that was no way favourable to his views. But, although he was ardent to punish the printer, he did not choose to trust a jury with the cause. He therefore contrived a new mode, or rather revived a very obsolete one from the star-chamber. This was to connect the matter of libel with

the private conduct of the judge, and then to maintain, that a statement of the private conduct of a judge at chambers, or at his own house, was a contempt of the court. It would not be very difficult, to an artful bad man, to construe most libels into a contempt of court.

"Mr. Dunning saw the extent of the manœuvre. The case was this. Lord Mansfield had altered the record in the case of Mr. Wilkes at his own private house. Amongst the many parts of lord Mansfield's conduct which were censured in the Letter on Libels and Warrants, was this fact, of his altering the record. The writer's statement of this fact, lord Mansfield called a contempt of the court. The process upon a contempt, which is always some clear indisputable fact, and generally against the officers of the court, attornies or evidence, is by issuing a writ of attachment, and the defendant answering upon oath such interrogatories as shall be put to him. If he purges himself (as it is called) of the charge, he is acquitted; if not, the court inflict such punishment as they think proper. There is no other trial, nor any jury called in.

"Whether what lord Mansfield had done was right or wrong, could not by this process become a matter of enquiry, nor even of animadversion. If lord Mansfield had proceeded in any of the usual ways against libels, by action, information, or indictment, there would have been latitude for the display of the ingenuity and ability of counsel. He took this for the more prudent and certain way. But his attempt was opposed with a degree of intrepidity and firmness he did not expect."

[Our limits will not permit us to insert the outlines of the arguments,

ments, why the writ of attachment should not issue.]

" In July 1765, the ministry were changed; and a total revolution in politics took place. Mr. Yorke, who had been appointed attorney-general, was desirous of continuing the prosecution; but the marquis of Rockingham, who was then minister, interposed, and prevented any farther proceedings.

" In the month of November, 1768, a woman having appeared before two of his majesty's justices of peace, to swear a child against the secretary to count Bruhl, the Saxon minister; the count interfered, and the justices were afraid to proceed. The woman applied to sir Fletcher Norton, who advised that a motion should be made in the court of King's-bench for a peremptory mandamus to the justices to proceed in that filiation. The motion was accordingly made by Mr. Mansfield.

" The lord chief justice Mansfield received it with marks of anger and surprise; he said he did not understand what was meant by such collusive motions, unless it was to draw from that court an opinion upon the privileges of foreign ministers, which they had no right to meddle with; that the motion was absolutely improper; that he wondered who advised it, and that he certainly should not grant the mandamus.

" Sir Fletcher Norton then got up, and said, that the party was his client; that his majesty's subjects, when injured, had a right to redress somewhere or other; and that he knew of no place where such redress could be legally applied for or obtained, but in the court of King's-bench; that therefore he had advised the motion.

" Lord Mansfield, upon this, be-

gan to flourish, in his usual style, upon the sacred privileges of ambassadors, the law of nations, &c. &c. repeated something about collusive motions, and took notice that the application for redress ought regularly to have been made to count Bruhl, or to his majesty's attorney-general.

" Mr. justice Aston said, deliberately, that he agreed entirely with the lord chief justice, and that the motion ought not to be granted.

" Sir Fletcher Norton then said, that, after he had declared himself the adviser of the motion, he did not expect to have heard it again called collusive; that he despised and abhorred all ideas of collusion as much as any man in that court; that it was the first time, and he hoped it would be the last, that he should hear the court of King's-bench refer an injured subject of England to a foreign minister, or to an attorney-general for redress; that the laws of this country had not left his majesty's subjects, complaining of injury, without a legal and certain protection; that their claim was a claim of right, upon which the court of king's-bench had full authority to inquire, and must determine; that if his clients were injured, he should always bring them to that court for redress, let who would have committed the injury, and he would take care that that court should do them justice; that his motion was proper, and should not be withdrawn.

" Judge Yates then said, that the reasons offered by sir Fletcher Norton had clearly convinced him; that he had not the least doubt of the authority of the court to protect his majesty's subjects; and that, for his part, he should never refer them either to a foreign minister, or to an officer of the crown; that

that he thought the motion perfectly regular, and that it ought to be granted.

" Judge Aston then began to recant. He said, that he was always glad to be convinced of a mistake, and happy in having an early opportunity of acknowledging it; that from what his brother Yates and sir Fletcher Norton had said, he saw clearly that his first opinion had been erroneous, and that he agreed the motion ought to be granted.

" Lord Mansfield then, in great confusion, said, 'that he should take time to consider of it.' To this sir Fletcher Norton replied, that, as two of the three judges were of the same opinion, the motion must be granted; but that, for his part, if his lordship wanted any time to consider, whether, when a subject applied to the court of King's-bench for redress, he was or was not to be referred to a foreign minister, or to an attorney-general, he had no objection to allowing him all the time he wanted.

" Thus wickedness and folly were defeated, and the unhappy foreign minister, in spite of the law of nations, was obliged to comply with the law of nature, and to provide for his child."

" The conduct of lord Mansfield on the question concerning literary property is well known. He gave a judgment in the court of King's-bench, by which the London bookfellers were induced to believe they had a permanent property in what they bought; and when the matter came to be argued in the house of lords, upon an appeal, and he was firmly attacked by lord Thurlow, (then attorney-general, and counsel for the appellant), and all his doctrine reprobated by lord Camden, he had not

courage to rise up in his place and defend his own judgment. He said not a word.

" If he was ambitious of being thought a Mæcenas, which was supposed, that may be pretended to be some excuse for his judgment on this question in the court of King's-bench, but cannot apologize for abandoning his own character in the house of lords.

" By his patronage of sir John Dalrymple, who compiled 'The Memoirs of Great Britain,' already mentioned in the preceding chapter; and of Mr. Lind, who wrote some tracts entitled, 'Letters on Poland,' in which the late king of Prussia is treated with great asperity; and some tracts against America, during the American war, in support of the ministry; and of some other writers of the same principles; perhaps he flattered himself with the hopes of being esteemed an encourager of literary men. But avarice was his ruling passion. He used to say, those who purchased estates, preserved their principal but received no interest; those who bought in the funds, had interest but no principal. He laid out his money in mortgages, and good securities, by which he had both principal and interest.

" His lordship was also ambitious of being thought a statesman. Upon one occasion only he shone as a politician: this was his attack on the Suspending and Dispensing Privilege in the Year, which was undoubtedly made with great ability, but the case may be said to have been more a matter of jurisprudence than politics, and although he gave to his eloquence all the advantages he had acquired by a long exercise, yet the merit of the attack is lessened, when it is recollected that lord Camden had maintained the

the necessity of a suspending power in a case of imminent danger of famine, which was the fact, and that lord Mansfield warmly embraced this opportunity of upholding a true constitutional doctrine, to gratify his envy and hatred of lord Camden. His motive was founded in personal rancour, not in constitutional. All those who are acquainted with the history of the time will not hesitate to admit this distinction. But the tract which was published, called 'A Speech against the Suspending and Dispensing Prerogative,' and contained all that lord Mansfield advanced in his speech upon this subject in the house of lords, was not written by his lordship, although generally believed to have been his production, nor was he privy to the writing or publication. The pamphlet was written by lord Temple, and lord Lyttelton, and a gentleman who was present at the debate, and states in the form of one speech all the arguments on that side. However, lord Mansfield's motives may be excused, if the severity of his attack makes ministers more assiduous in their duty, for they had information of the approaching danger, and did not attend to it; if they had, such attention would have prevented the necessity of resorting to so violent a remedy.

"Of his lordship's political opinions and conduct, it would have been happy for his country if they had been founded in those just principles of all government, which make the honour of the state and the interests of the people perfectly the same. His political ideas were like those of lord Bute; they were contracted, splenetic, and tyrannical. No better proof need be given than his memorable apostrophe in the house of lords, in the year 1774,

upon the Boston Port Bill, in reply to lord Dartmouth, at that time secretary of state for the colonies. His lordship said, 'the sword was drawn, and the scabbard thrown away, We had passed the Rubicon;' alluding to Cæsar's march to Rome. This was not less a prophetic and dreadful denunciation to the interests of Great Britain, than the inscription on the bridge over the Rubicon was to the fate of Cæsar, and the liberties of Rome.

"Montesquieu, in considering the causes of the grandeur and declension of the Romans, observes, that 'policy had not permitted armies to be stationed near Rome, for this reason considerable forces were kept in Cisalpine Gaul; but to secure the city of Rome against those troops, the celebrated *Senatus Consultum* was made, still to be seen engraven on the way from Rimini to Cefena; by which they devoted to the infernal gods, and declared to be guilty of sacrilege and parricide, those who should with a legion, with an army, or with a cohort, pass the Rubicon.' Montanus gives the inscription at length, which is stronger than Montesquieu states, and says that Aldus Manutius, in the year 1505, in his way from Venice to Rome, saw this inscription, and carefully transcribed it. When Cæsar, in his march for Rome, had advanced to the Rubicon, he paused a few moments at this inscription, but his ambition prevailing, he passed over the bridge and then exclaimed, 'the lot is cast, let the gods do the rest!'

"Whoever knows lord Mansfield's influence in the British cabinet, will say this was the die of America."

"In the progress of the American war, lord and general Howe had not the success which his lordship

ship expected, and he could not help expressing his disappointment at dinner at one of the Surrey affizes; the subject of conversation being the American war, lord Mans-

field said, 'the Howes had no heads;' to which sir ——— Clayton neatly replied, 'then what will become of the heads of those who sent them?'

ANECDOTES of the REIGNING SULTAN, and of the RULING CABINET at the OTTOMAN COURT.

[From CONSTANTINOPLE ANCIENT and MODERN, &c. by JAMES DAL-LAWAY, M. B. F. S. A. late Chaplain and Physician to the British Embassy to the Porte.]

"A FEW anecdotes of the sultan and the present ruling cabinet, which I offer as genuine, may not be unacceptable, as various causes seem at this juncture to conspire, by which the Ottoman court may take a more active part on the great political theatre of Europe. Sultan Selim III. is the eldest male descendant of the house of Osman, who in 1299 established the fifth dynasty of the kalifes. At the death of his father Mustafa III. in 1775, he was fourteen years old. According to the known precedent amongst the Turks, Abdul-hamid, his uncle, succeeded to the throne; for they disdain to be governed either by a woman or a boy.

"At his accession Abdul-hamid had reached the age of forty-nine, and during the fifteen years' reign of his brother Mustafa had endured a state imprisonment, which the jealous policy of the seraglio had long ordained. As a solace of his confinement, he cultivated literature and the arts of peace. His disposition, mild and beneficent, induced him to forego the ancient prejudice, and to superintend the education of sultan Selim, giving him every liberal indulgence. Sultan Mustafa

and sultan Mahmood, the sons of Abdul-hamid and the only remaining heirs of the empire, are both minors. They experience a generous return for their father's kindness, and are treated with suitable respect. Each has his separate suite of apartments, and sixty attendants, amongst whom are thirty elderly female slaves, with an annual revenue of £.5000 sterling. The good muselman, who laments the possible extinction of the imperial family, is comforted by the astrologers, who have publicly declared, that after he has attained to forty years, sultan Selim will be blessed with a numerous progeny.

"His countenance is handsome and impressive, and his figure good; he is affable, and possesses much speculative genius, is not ill informed of the characters and separate interests of his contemporary princes, and has every inclination to reconcile his subjects to the superior expediency of European maxims, both in politics and war. But it is dubious if he be capable of that energetic activity, and that personal exertion, which are required in an absolute prince to remodel a people whose opinions are not

to be changed but by an universal revolution.

" Peter the Great and Charles XII. in their plans of regenerating, or conquering the Russians, did not depend solely upon the agency of ministers for success.

" The curiosity of Selim respecting the other nations of Europe originated in frequent conversations with Rachib Effendi, the present historiographer-royal, who was for some time envoy at Vienna, after the last war. Those who have gained his confidence since the commencement of his reign, have consulted that inclination, and improved every opportunity of extending his intelligence on those subjects. I have heard it asserted that the young men in the seraglio are now instructed in the French language by his command; and his partiality to French wine is no secret amongst the well informed.

" The first efforts towards improvement have been applied to the army and marine. Forts have been erected on the Bosphorus, regiments have been trained to European discipline, chiefly by French officers, and the fleet will become in a certain degree formidable.

" When he has leisure to render his vast territory, at least in the vicinity of his capital, more resplendent of civilized nations, he will probably establish a post, which may facilitate communication between distant provinces. During the last war many places of importance were taken, or evacuated, weeks before the ministry were in possession of the fact.

" The only imperial works now seen in his dominions are mosques, aqueducts, and fountains; he may hereafter turn his attention to great roads, now barely passable, which would be as useful monuments of his fame.

" Mehmed Melék Pasha, the late visier, resigned in 1794. He was a favourite, in his youth, of Mustafa III. who gave him his sister in marriage, and the appellation of Melék, or the Angel, on account of his singular beauty; for the Turks usually take their surname from some personal excellence or peculiarity. After having enjoyed some of the most lucrative governments in the empire he returned to Constantinople, and was called to the visirate, at the advanced age of ninety years, in 1789. He has retired to his palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and, as an extraordinary fact in natural history, has had a son born to him whose legitimacy cannot be invalidated.

" The present system of government aims at the suppression of the former sole authority of the visier, and has reduced him to a mere member of the cabinet council. As the sultan takes a more active share than his predecessor in public affairs, and listens to more advisers, it seems to draw to an end. The visier now in office is likewise a harmless old man, so that they may probably soon 'sit state-statutes only.'

" The ruling persons of the present day are, 1. Yusuf Agha, kiayah, or high-steward to the sultan's mother, who retains a very decided influence with him. Yusuf's private life has been marked by uncommon circumstances. He is a native of Candia, and was originally a writer to a ship, from which employment he passed into the service of Abdullah Pasha, beglerbey of Anatolia, residing at Kutayah. During ten years he so ingratiated himself with the pasha, that he determined to secure to him his great wealth in his life-time. Accordingly he gave him intire possession, ordering him to fly to the Porte,
and

and to urge the heaviest complaints against him for his injustice and ill-treatment. Meanwhile the pasha died. The capidji bashi was dispatched by the sultan to seize the treasure, but found nothing, and Yusûf, from the predicament in which he stood, was the last person to be suspected. With this wealth he lived in splendour at Constantinople, and frequented the audiences of the visier. He was soon appointed taraphanâ eminy, or master of the mint, from which he was advanced to his present post.

"2. Ratib Effendi has twice held the important office of reis effendi, or secretary of state. He rose from a public clerk, passing through all the preliminary gradations with distinguished ability. He is beyond comparison the best-informed and most capable minister in the cabinet.

"Tchiusèh, kiayah, or deputy to the visier, is at the head of the finance, and planned the new taxes.

"The present capudan pasha, or high admiral, called Kuchuk Husein, from his diminutive stature, was a Georgian slave, and the companion of the sultan in his childhood. From the seraglio he emerged to take the command of the navy, it may be presumed without much previous acquaintance with maritime affairs. But his administration has been very beneficial; for he has raised the marine from the miserable state it was left in at the conclusion of the Russian war, to respectability. The new ships are built under the inspection of European surveyors, and French nautical terms have been adopted. At the beginning of the present century, the Turkish fleet consisted of 32 ships of the line, 34 galleys, and some brigantines; they can now send to sea 14 first rates, 6 frigates, and 50 sloops of war.

"Every spring he leaves Constantinople with a few ships, to visit the Archipelago, to receive the capitation tax from the different islands, and to free the seas from pirates, and the Maltese cruisers. The time of his coming is generally known, so that the service is little more than a matter of form. His reception by the sultan, both at his departure and return, is a brilliant spectacle. He is married to the only daughter of Abdul-hamid, and is honoured with the private friendship of his sovereign.

"Every scheme for defending the coasts of the Black sea by forts and batteries, and for military regulations, is submitted to Cheliby Effendi, who surveys their execution, if approved. He was master of the mathematical school founded in 1773 by Ghazi Hafsân pasha, a very celebrated character in the last reign.

"This extraordinary person was likewise a Georgian slave, and afterward a Barbary corsair. Having been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, he passed six years of slavery at Madrid, from whence he was sent to Naples, where he was exchanged, and returned to Constantinople. His reputation for personal courage procured him the command of a galley, and afterward of a frigate. At the unfortunate battle of Chesmè he had a ship of the line under Jaffer, capudan pasha, who upon his disgrace died of chagrin, and was succeeded by Hassan.

"He was extremely whimsical, and kept a lion's whelp always on his sofa, which he had trained up to follow him, but which, having killed one of the domestics, was afterwards chained. He became visier, and died at the age of more than seventy, in the camp against the Russians, not without suspicion of poison.

prison. So singular was his bravery, and so frequent his successes, that he assumed the name of Ghazi, the victorious. Abdul-hamid was fearful, and considered the safety of the empire endangered by his absence from Constantinople.

"Of his prevailing influence the following relation is a proof, and gives traits of secret machinations practised in the seraglio.

"One of his slaves, named Yusuf, had so recommended himself by superior talents, that he gave him liberty, and promotion to the most considerable offices. At the time Yusuf returned from his government of the Morea, to take upon him the office of visier, Mavroyeni, a Greek of a noble family, was the drogoman, or interpreter, to his patron Hassan. Petraki, another Greek, was master of the mint, and imperial banker, and had amassed seven millions of piastres.

"This man being ambitious of becoming prince of Wallachia, he three times procured the appointment of Mavro-yeni to that high station, who had the interest of Hassan and the visier to be superseded. But they, impatient of the disappointment, represented to Abdul-hamid, that the people demanded the life of Petraki in atonement of his peculation, who timidly consented to his execution, and he was instantly imprisoned. On the very day of the high ceremony of Mavro-yeni's investiture, he was led to the gate of the seraglio to kiss his stirrup, and sue for pardon. At that instant the executioner struck off his head, and Mavro-yeni had the satisfaction of seeing his rival dead at his feet.

Another Hassan pasha who hated him, becoming visier, ordered him to be beheaded upon the charge of betraying Giurgevow, the first Turkish fortress upon the Danube, to the Germans. He died a mulman. Abdul-hamid, when informed of the last-mentioned circumstances, was so far convinced of his innocence, that in a few months the vindictive visier shared the same fate.

"The officers of the seraglio are very numerous. The kislar-agma, or chief of the black eunuchs, having the arrangement of the female department, is most familiar with the sultan, and is a powerful friend, or enemy, to the ministers of state.

"Between the officers of the seraglio and those who compose the divan, there subsists a perpetual rivalry, and if the emperor be either very active or indolent in public business, there is ample cause for their jealousy. Those with whom he is constantly conversant, and before whom he relaxes into colloquial freedom, must necessarily obtain secret influence enough to bias him in matters of importance, if he wishes others than his ostensible counsellors, or is determined by first representations without farther deliberation.

"The ministers are admitted to an audience with the sultan with the profoundest ceremony. Even in the presence of the mild Abdul-hamid the bold Hassan was overpowered with awe, and the lion seemed to be transformed into a lamb. One of the present ministry, a man of great vivacity, is said to compose his spirits with a pill of opium before he approaches the throne."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

PARTICULARS relative to the RELIGION, ECONOMY, CLASSES, TRIBUNALS, CUSTOMS, ARTS, LITERATURE, and SCIENCE of the CHINESE.

[Extracted from Sir George STAUNTON's authentic ACCOUNT of an EMBASSY from the KING of GREAT BRITAIN to the EMPEROR of CHINA.]

“OF those circular and lofty edifices, by Europeans termed pagodas, there are several kinds, and dedicated to several uses in China; but none to religious worship. The temples which are consecrated to such a purpose differ little in height from common dwelling houses, as in the instance of the Ambassador's momentary residence near Tong-choo-foo. The presence of foreigners there did not prevent the usual affluence of devotees. The Chinese interpreter of the Embassy, who was a most zealous Christian of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and himself a priest of that communion, saw, with regret, the English curiously examining the images or attending to the ceremonies of the religion of Fo, lest they should perceive the resemblance between its exterior forms and those of his own church. Such resemblance had been, indeed, already thought so striking, that some of the missionaries conjectured that the Chinese had formerly received a glimpse of Christianity from the Nestorians, by the way of Tartary; others that Saint Thomas the Apostle had been amongst them; but the missionary Prémare

could account for it no otherwise than by supposing it to have been a trick of the Devil to mortify the Jesuits. One of them observes, that the likeness is so strong between the apparent worship of many of the priests of Fo, and that which is exhibited in churches of the Roman faith, that a Chinese conveyed into one of the latter, might imagine the votaries he saw were then adoring the deities of his own country. On the altar of a Chinese temple, behind a screen, is frequently a representation which might answer for that of the Virgin Mary, in the person of *Shinmoo*, or the sacred mother, sitting in an alcove with a child in her arms, and rays proceeding from a circle, which are called a glory, round her head, with tapers burning constantly before her. The long coarse gowns of the Ho-shaungs, or priests of Fo, bound with cords round the waist, would almost equally suit the friars of the order of St. Francis. The former live, like the latter, in a state of celibacy, reside in monasteries together, and impose, occasionally, upon themselves voluntary penance, and rigorous abstinence.

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"The temples of Fo abound with more images than are found in most Christian churches, and some that bear a greater analogy to the ancient than to the present worship of the Romans. One figure, representing a female, was thought to be something similar to Lucina, and is particularly addressed by unmarried women wanting husbands, and married women wanting children. The doctrine of Fo, admitting of a subordinate deity particularly propitious to every wish which can be formed in the human mind, would scarcely fail to spread among those classes of the people who are not satisfied with their prospects, as resulting from the natural causes of events. Its progress is not obstructed by any measures of the government of the country, which does not interfere with mere opinions. It prohibits no belief which is not supposed to affect the tranquillity of society:

"There is in China no state religion. None is paid, preferred, or encouraged by it. The Emperor is of one faith; many of the mandarines of another; and the majority of the common people of a third, which is that of Fo. This last class, the least capable, from ignorance, of explaining the phenomena of nature, and the most exposed to wants which it cannot supply by ordinary means, is willing to recur to the supposition of extraordinary powers, which may operate the effects it cannot explain, and grant the requests which it cannot otherwise obtain.

"No people are, in fact, more superstitious than the common Chinese. Beside the habitual offices of devotion on the part of the priests and females, the temples are particularly frequented by the disciples of Fo, previously to any undertaking of importance; whether

to marry, or go a journey, or conclude a bargain, or change situation, or for any other material event in life, it is necessary first to consult the superintendant deity. This is performed by various methods. Some place a parcel of consecrated sticks, differently marked and numbered, which the consultant, kneeling before the altar, shakes in a hollow bamboo, until one of them falls on the ground; its mark is examined, and referred to a correspondent mark in a book which the priest holds open, and sometimes even it is written upon a sheet of paper pasted upon the inside of the temple. Polygonal pieces of wood are by others thrown into the air. Each side has its particular mark; the side that is uppermost when fallen on the floor, is in like manner referred to its correspondent mark in the book or sheet of fate. If the first throw be favourable, the person who made it prostrates himself in gratitude, and undertakes afterwards, with confidence, the business in agitation. But if the throw should be adverse, he tries a second time, and the third throw determines, at any rate, the question. In other respects the people of the present day seem to pay little attention to their priests. The temples are, however, always open for such as choose to consult the decrees of heaven. They return thanks when the oracle proves propitious to their wishes. Yet they oftener cast lots, to know the issue of a projected enterprize, than supplicate for its being favourable; and their worship consists more in thanksgiving than in prayer.

"Few Chinese are seldom said to carry the objects, to be obtained by their devotion, beyond the benefits of this life. Yet the religion of Fo professes the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and pro-

mises happiness to the people on conditions, which were, no doubt, originally intended to consist in the performance of moral duties; but in lieu of which are too frequently substituted those of contributions towards the erection or repair of temples, the maintenance of priests, and a strict attention to particular observances. The neglect of these is announced as punishable by the souls of the defaulters passing into the bodies of the meanest animals, in whom the sufferings are to be proportioned to the transgressions committed in the human form."

"The temples of Pekin are not equal to its palaces. The religion of the Emperor is new in China, and its worship is performed with most magnificence in Tartary. The mandarines, the men of letters, from whom are selected the magistrates who govern the empire, and possess the upper ranks of life, venerate rather than they adore Confucius; and meet to honour and celebrate his memory in halls of a simple but neat construction. The numerous and lower classes of the people, are less able than inclined to contribute much towards the erection of large and costly edifices for public worship. Their religious attention is much engaged, besides, with their household gods. Every house has its altar and its deities. The books of their mythology contain representations of those who preside over their persons and properties, as well as over exterior objects likely to affect them. In the representation of *Lui-shin*, or spirit presiding over thunder, the violence of that meteor, which nothing is supposed capable of withstanding, the velocity of the lightning, which nothing can exceed, and their united effects, are represented by a monstrous figure, who is involved in clouds. His chin is terminated

in the beak of an eagle, to express the devouring effects of thunder, as his wings do its swiftness. With one hand he grasps a thunderbolt, and in the other is held a truncheon for striking several kettle-drums with which he is surrounded. The talons of an eagle are sometimes represented as fixed upon the axis of a wheel, upon which, with aided velocity, he rolls among the clouds. In the original from whence this description is taken, the dreadful effects of this terrific spirit beneath the clouds are pointed out by the appearance of animals struck dead, and lying prostrate on the ground, buildings overturned, and trees torn up by the roots."

"No legal tax is imposed in China on the score of religion. Ceremonies are ordained by it, in the performance of which some time is necessarily consumed, and sacrifices are required, which occasion expence, on the new and full moon; and in spring and autumn; and likewise in the beginning of the year. On the latter occasion, particularly, much dissipation takes place. Some good also is effected. Acquaintances renew their suspended intercourse; friends offended are reconciled; every thing dates as from a new era. The poorest cottager looks forward and prepares, during the preceding months for an interval, however brief, of enjoying life, after having so long dragged on laboriously the burden of it."

"The Chinese have no Sunday, nor even such a division as a week. The temples are, however, open every day for the visits of devotees. Persons of that description have, from time to time, made grants, though to no great amount, for the maintenance of their clergy; but no lands are subject to ecclesiastical tithes."

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"The country about Tongchoo-foo, for several miles, is level and fertile. Some of the English gentlemen were supplied with horses, to ride about in the neighbourhood. The horses were strong and bony. The breed does not seem to have been improved by care. Mules bear a greater price than common horses, as subsisting on less food, and capable of more labour. Many of the horses were spotted as regularly as a leopard. Such were so common, as to remove the suspicion of any fraud by artificial colouring. The race of those spotted horses is supposed, among other means, to be obtained by crossing those of opposite hues. The saddle furniture differed as much from the neatness of what is made in England, as the cattle themselves from Arabian couriers. The riders met several Chinese on horseback, who, on approaching, alighted in civility to the strangers. This is a mark of respect shewn here always to superiors, and the custom has been extended to other parts of the East. The Dutch governor and counselors of the Indies exact, in imitation, that kind of homage from all persons resident in Batavia. It appeared indeed, from several instances, in Java, Sumatra, and Cochin-China, that China gives the *ton* to the countries bordering on the Chinese seas. The distinction of yellow colour, for example, by the Emperor, is affected by every sovereign in the eastern part of Asia.

"The mixture of eastern and western customs, is to be seen sometimes in China. Thus in the neighbourhood of Tongchoo-foo, the season of the harvest gave occasion to observe, that the corn is sometimes thrashed with the common flail of Europe, and sometimes pressed out by cattle treading on the sheaf, as is described by Orien-

tal writers. A roller is likewise moved over it by the Chinese. For these operations a platform of hard earth and sand is prepared in the open air. A machine has been always used here for winnowing corn, exactly similar to that which has been introduced, within this century, it is said, in Europe. It is probably a Chinese invention.

"Indian corn and small millet formed, in this place, the principal produce of the autumn crop. There were few inclosures, and few cattle to make them necessary. Scarcely any fields to be seen in pasture. The animals necessary for tillage, or for carriage, and those destined to serve for food, were mostly fed in stalls, and fodder collected for them. Beans, and the finer kind of straw cut small, composed a great proportion of the food for horses. The roots of corn, and coarser stems, are frequently left to rot upon the ground for the purpose of manure.

"The houses of the peasants were scattered about, instead of being united into villages. The cottages seemed to be clean and comfortable: they were without fences, gates, or other apparent precaution against wild beasts or thieves. Robbery is said to happen seldom, tho not punished by death, unless aggravated by the commission of some violent assault. The wives of the peasantry are of material assistance to their families, in addition to the rearing of their children, and the care of their domestic concerns; for they carry on most of the trades which can be exercised within doors. Not only they rear silkworms, and spin the cotton, which last is in general use for both sexes of the people; but the women are almost the sole weavers throughout the empire. Yet few of them fail to injure their healths, or at least their

their active powers, by sacrificing, in imitation of females of superior rank, to the prejudice in favour of little feet; and tho the operation for this purpose is not attempted at so early a period of their infancy, or followed up afterwards with such persevering care, as in the case of ladies with whom beauty can become an object of more attention, enough is practised to cripple and disfigure them.

“ Notwithstanding all the merit of these helpmates to their husbands, the latter arrogate an extraordinary dominion over them, and hold them at such a distance, as not always to allow them to sit at table, behind which, in such case, they attend as handmaids. This dominion is tempered, indeed, by the maxims of mild conduct in the different relations of life, inculcated from early childhood amongst the lowest as well as highest classes of society. The old persons of a family live generally with the young. The former serve to moderate any occasional impetuosity, violence, or passion of the latter. The influence of age over youth is supported by the sentiments of nature, by the habit of obedience, by the precepts of morality ingrafted in the law of the land, and by the unremitted policy and honest arts of parents to that effect. They who are past labour, deal out the rules which they had learned, and the wisdom which experience taught them, to those who are rising to manhood, or to those lately arrived at it. Plain sentences of morals are written up in the common hall, where the male branches of the family assemble. Some one, at least, is capable of reading them to the rest. In almost every house is hung up a tablet of the ancestors of the persons then residing in it. References are often made, in conversation, to

their actions. Their example, as far as it was good, serves as an incitement to travel in the same path. The descendants from a common stock, visit the tombs of their forefathers together, at stated times. This joint care, and indeed other occasions, collect and unite the most remote relations. They cannot lose sight of each other; and seldom become indifferent to their respective concerns. The child is bound to labour and to provide for his parents' maintenance and comfort, and the brother for the brother and sister that are in extreme want; the failure of which duty would be followed by such detestation, that it is not necessary to enforce it by positive law. Even the most distant kinsman, reduced to misery by accident or ill health, has a claim on his kindred for relief. Manners, stronger far than laws, and indeed inclination, produced and nurtured by intercourse and intimacy, secure assistance for him. These habits and manners fully explain the fact already mentioned, which unhappily appears extraordinary to Europeans, that no spectacles of distress are seen, to excite the compassion, and implore the casual charity of individuals. It is to be added, that this circumstance is not owing to the number of institutions of public benevolence. The wish, indeed, of the Persian monarch is not realized in China, that none should be in want of the succour administered in hospitals; but those establishments are rendered little necessary, where the link which unites all the branches of a family, brings aid to the suffering part of it without delay, and without humiliation.

“ It seldom, indeed, happens that the infirmities of men, or the weakness of children, render them utterly incapable of making some

return of industry for the subsistence they receive. In the manufactures carried on within doors, very material assistance may often be afforded, with little exertion of strength; and abroad, the soil is light, and tillage easy. Oxen are used for ploughing in this part of China, being too cold for buffaloes, which are preferred where they can be reared. Cattle are yoked by the neck, instead of being so by the horns, as upon the continent of Europe."

"The reader will observe, that the names of the Chinese mentioned in this work, are, independently of the additions of their qualities, all of one syllable; as is every word in the Chinese language. The additions are the more necessary, as a name implies no distinction in favour of the family which bears it. There are but one hundred family names known throughout the empire; and the expression of the hundred names is often used as a collective term for the whole Chinese nation. Individuals, however, occasionally assume, at different periods, or under different circumstances of their lives, other appellations expressive of some quality or event. Each family name is borne by persons of all classes. Identity of such names implies, however, some connection. All who bear it, may attend the hall of their supposed common ancestors. A Chinese seldom, if ever, marries a woman of his family name; but the sons and daughters of sisters married to husbands of two different names, marry frequently; those of two brothers bearing the same name, cannot. Tho names always do not denote distinctions, and tho no hereditary nobility exists in China, pedigree is there an object of much attention. He who can reckon his ancestors to a distant period, as if distinguished by

their private virtues, or public services, and by the honours conferred upon them in consequence, by the government, is much more respected than new men. The supposed descendants of Confucius are always treated with particular regard; and immunities have been granted to them by the Emperors. The ambition of an illustrious descent is so general, that the Emperors have often granted titles to the deceased ancestors of a living man of merit. Indeed, every means are tried to stimulate to good, and to deter from evil, actions, by the reward of praise, as well as by the dread of shame. A public register, called the Book of Merit, is kept for the purpose of recording every striking instance of meritorious conduct; and, in the enumeration of a man's titles, the number of times that his name had been so inserted, is particularly mentioned. For faults, on the other hand, he is subject to be degraded; and it is not deemed sufficient that he should assume only his reduced title; but he must likewise add to his name the fact of his degradation."

"In China there is less inequality in the fortunes, than in the conditions, of men. The ancient annals of the empire testify that, for a long period of time, the earth, like the other elements of nature, was enjoyed by its inhabitants almost in common. Their country was divided into small equal districts; every district was cultivated conjointly by eight labouring families, which composed each hamlet, and they enjoyed all the profit of their labours, except a certain share of the produce reserved for public expences. It was true, indeed, that after a revolution, deplored in all the Chinese histories, which happened prior to the Christian era,

the usurper granted all the lands away to the partners of his victories, leaving to the cultivators of the soil a small pittance only, out of the revenue which it yielded. Property in land also became hereditary; but in process of time the most considerable domains were subdivided into very moderate parcels by the successive distribution of the possessions of every father equally among all his sons; the daughters being always married without dower. It very rarely happened that there was but an only son to enjoy the whole property of his deceased parents; and it could scarcely be increased by collateral succession. For the habits of the country, as well as the dictates of nature, led most men there to marry early. It was reckoned a discredit to be without offspring. They who had none adopted those of others, who became theirs exclusively. In case of marriage, should a wife prove barren, a second might be espoused in the lifetime of the first. The opulent were allowed, as in most parts of the East, to keep concubines without reproach. The children of such were considered as being those of the legitimate wife, towards whom they were bred in sentiments of duty and affection; and they partook in all the rights of legitimacy.

“From the operations of all those causes, there was a constant tendency to level wealth: and few could succeed to such an accumulation of it as to render them independent of any efforts of their own for its increase. Besides, wealth alone confers in China but little importance, and no power: nor is property, without office, always perfectly secure. There is no hereditary dignity, which might accompany, and give it pre-eminence and weight.

The delegated authority of government often leans more heavily on the unprotected rich, than on the poor, who are less objects of temptation. And it is a common remark among the Chinese, that fortunes, either by being parcelled out to many heirs, or by being lost in commercial speculations, gaming, or extravagance, or extorted by oppressive mandarines, seldom continue to be considerable in the individuals of the same family beyond the third generation. To ascend again the ladder of ambition, it is necessary, by long and laborious study, to excel in the learning of the country, which alone qualifies for public employments.

“There are properly but three classes of men in China. Men of letters, from whom the mandarines are taken; cultivators of the ground; and mechanics, including merchants. In Pekin alone is conferred the highest degree of literature upon those who, in public examinations, are found most able in the sciences of morality and government, as taught in the ancient Chinese writers; with which studies, the history of their country is intimately blended. Among such graduates all the civil offices in the state are distributed by the emperor; and they compose all the great tribunals of the empire. The candidates for those degrees, are such as have succeeded in similar examinations in the principal city of each province. Those who have been chosen in the cities of the second order, or chief town of every district in the province, are the candidates in the provincial capital. They who fail in the first and second classes have still a claim on subordinate offices, proportioned to the class in which they had succeeded. Those examinations are

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carried on with great solemnity, and apparent fairness. Military rank is likewise given to those who are found, upon competition, to excel in the military art, and in war-like exercises.

“ The great tribunals are situated, for the sake of convenience, near the southern gate of the imperial palace at Pekin. To them, accounts of all the transactions of the empire, are regularly transmitted. They are councils of reference from the emperor, to whom they report every business of moment, with the motives for the advice which they offer on the occasion. There is a body of doctrine composed from the writings of the earliest ages of the empire, confirmed by subsequent lawgivers and sovereigns, and transmitted from age to age with increasing veneration, which serves as rules to guide the judgment of those tribunals. This doctrine seems indeed founded on the broadest basis of universal justice, and on the purest principles of humanity.

“ His imperial majesty generally conforms to the suggestions of those tribunals. One tribunal is directed to consider the qualifications of the different mandarines for different offices, and to propose their removal when found incapable or unjust. One has for object, the preservation of the manners or morals of the empire, called by Europeans the tribunal of ceremonies, which it regulates on the maxim, that exterior forms contribute not a little to prevent the breach of moral rules. The most arduous and critical, is the tribunal of censors; taking into its consideration the effect of subsisting laws, the conduct of the other tribunals, of the princes and great officers of state, and even of the emperor himself. There are several subordinate tribunals, such

as those of mathematics, of medicine, of public works, of literature and history. The whole is a regular and consistent system, established at a very early period, continued with little alterations through every dynasty, and revived, after any interruption from the caprice or passions of particular princes. Whatever deviation had been made by the present family on the throne, arises from the admission of as many Tartars as Chinese into every tribunal. The opinions of the former are supposed always to preponderate. Many of them, indeed, are men of considerable talents, and strength of mind, as well as polished manners. The old viceroy of Pe-che-lee, is of a Tartar race.

“ The estimated population of Pekin was carried in the last century, by the jesuit Grimaldi, as quoted by Gemelli Carreri, to sixteen millions. Another missionary reduces, at least that of the Tartar city, to one million and a quarter. According to the best information given to the embassy, the whole was about three millions. The low houses of Pekin seem scarcely sufficient for so vast a population; but very little room is occupied by a Chinese family, at least in the middling and lower classes of life. In their houses there are no superfluous apartments. A Chinese dwelling is generally surrounded by a wall, six or seven feet high. Within this inclosure, a whole family, of three generations, will all their respective wives and children, will frequently be found. One small room is made to serve for the individuals of each branch of the family, sleeping in different beds, divided only by mats hanging from the ceiling. One common room is used for eating.

“ The prevalence of this custom
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of retaining the several branches of a family under the same roof, is attended with important effects. It renders the younger temperate and orderly in their conduct, under the authority and example of the older; and it enables the whole to subsist, like soldiers in a mess, with more economy and advantage. Notwithstanding this arrangement, the labouring poor are reduced to the use of vegetable food, with a very rare and scanty relish of any animal substance; the price of labour being generally found to bear as small a proportion every where to the rate demanded for provisions, as the common people will consent to suffer.

"The crowds of people at Pekin do not prevent it from being healthy. The Chinese live, indeed, much in the open air, increasing or diminishing the quantity of their apparel according to the weather. The atmosphere is dry, and does not engender putrid disorders; and excesses productive of them seldom are committed.

"Great order is preserved among such multitudes; and the commission of crimes is rare. Every tenth housekeeper, somewhat in the manner of the ancient tithing-men in England, is answerable for the conduct of the nine neighbouring families, as far as he may be supposed capable of controlling it. The police is observed with particular strictness within the walls. The city partakes of the regularity and interior safety of a camp; but is subject also to its constraints. In the suburbs only, public women are registered and licensed. They are not indeed very numerous, being proportioned to the small number of single men, and of husbands absent from their families to be found in the metropolis.

"The early marriages of men in easy circumstances have been already mentioned; with the poor, marriage is a measure of prudence, because the children, particularly the sons, are bound to maintain their parents. Whatever is strongly recommended and generally practised, is at length considered as a kind of religious duty; and this union, as such, takes place whenever there is the least prospect of subsistence for a future family. That prospect, however, is not always realized; and children, born without means being had of providing for them, are sometimes abandoned by the wretched authors of their being. It must have been the most dire and absolute necessity which led to this unnatural and shocking act, when first it was committed. It was reconciled, afterwards, in some measure, to the mind, by superstition coming in aid to render it a holy offering to the spirit of the adjoining river, in which the infant was thrown, with a gourd suspended from its neck, to keep it from immediate drowning.

"The philosophers of China, who have with equal ability and effect inculcated the maxims of filial piety, have left, in great measure, the parental affection to its own natural influence, which does not always maintain its empire as effectually as sentiments enforced by early and repeated precept. Thus, in China, parents are less frequently neglected than infants are exposed. The laws of the empire, to corroborate the disposition to filial obedience, furnish an opportunity for punishing any breach of it, by leaving a man's offspring entirely within his power; and habit seems to have familiarised a notion that life only becomes truly precious, and inattention to it criminal,

minal, after it has continued long enough to be endowed with a mind and sentiment; but that mere dawning existence may be suffered to be lost without scruple, tho' it cannot without reluctance.

"Female infants are, for the most part, chosen as the less evil for this cruel sacrifice, because daughters are considered more properly to belong to the families into which they pass by marriage; while the sons continue the support and comfort of their own. Those infants are exposed immediately on the birth, and before the countenance is animated, or the features formed, to catch the affections rising in the parent's breast. A faint hope, at least, is generally entertained, that they may yet be preserved from untimely death, by the care of those who are appointed by the government to collect these miserable objects, for the purpose of providing for such as are found alive; and for burying those who already had expired."

"The Chinese appear indeed to have strong claims to the credit of having been indebted only to themselves for the invention of the tools, necessary in the primary and necessary arts of life. The learned and attentive traveller will have observed, in relation to common tools, such as, for example, the plane and anvil, that whether in India or in Europe, in ancient or modern times, they are found to have been fabricated in the same precise form, scarcely ever differing, except, perhaps in the roughness of the materials, or of the make, and all denoting a common origin, being almost a servile imitation of each other. In China alone, those tools have something peculiar in their construction, some difference, often indeed slight; but al-

ways clearly indicating that, whether better or worse fitted for the same purposes, than those in use in other countries, the one did not serve as a model for the other. Thus, for the example, the upper surface of the anvil, elsewhere flat and somewhat inclined, is among the Chinese swelled into a convex form.

"In the forges near Peking, on the road to Zhehol, where this particularly was observed, another also attracted the attention of the traveller. The bellows used by the common smiths of Europe are vertical. The blast is impelled, partly by the weight of the machine, rendered heavy for that purpose; but it is opened or raised by muscular exertion overcoming the gravity useful in the former instance; and, during that operation, the blast is discontinued. But the Chinese bellows are horizontal. The workman is not aided at any one time by the weight of the machine, but he is not burdened with it at another. It is an advantage that the labour should thus be equable and never excessive. The bellows are made in the form of a box, of which a moveable door is so closely fitted, as when drawn back to create a vacuum in the box, into which, in consequence, the air rushing with impetuosity, through an opening guarded by a valve, produces a blast through an opposite aperture. The same is continued when the door is pushed forward to the opposite extremity of the box, the space within it being diminished, and the air compressed, a part of it is forced out through the same aperture. When instead of a moveable door, a piston is placed within it, the air is compressed between the piston and both extremities of the box alternately,

nately, and forced out upon the same principle in both operations. This double or perpetual bellows, is worked with equal ease, and with double the effect of the common or single bellows. A model of the Chinese bellows, not easily intelligible by description, has been brought to England, and will be submitted to the curious.

"The common plane of the Chinese carpenter is, like the anvil, distinguished by some minute particulars which characterise it to be original. It differs not only in the way of fixing the chisel in it, but in the manner in which it is used. The ends of the frame itself serve, elsewhere, for handles by which the tool is held and applied to the wood of which the surface is to be made smooth; but to the Chinese plane are fixed particular handles across the frame, by which the same purpose is effected perhaps with greater ease.

"The histories of the first remote ages of Chinese transactions attribute the most useful inventions in society to the first or oldest monarchs of the country. It is much more probable that they were the gradual result of the efforts of several obscure individuals, who felt, in the course of their own labours, and endeavoured to supply, the want of such mechanical assistance; and that subsequent historians, not able to trace the real inventors, substituted the names of the encouragers or promoters of those arts. There is, however, reason to believe that not only the inventions of first necessity, but those of decoration and refinement, were known among the Chinese in remote antiquity. The annals of the empire bear testimony to the fact, and it is confirmed by a consideration of the natural progress of

those inventions, and of the state of Chinese artists at this time. In the first discovery and establishment of an art, it is practised awkwardly, even with the help of tools; and this state is supposed to be long stationary, until at length it advances to its second period, when it becomes improved, and the artist is enabled to avail himself to the utmost of every tool and machine that can assist him. The last period of perfection is that in which the artist is become so dextrous, as to complete his work with few, or awkward tools, and with little or no assistance. And such is the character of the Chinese potter, weaver, worker in the precious metals, and in ivory, and of most others in the several trades commonly practised in the country. And such attainment is, no doubt, the utmost effort of the art, and the strongest test of a very ancient possession of it.

"It is not surprising that the method of making gunpowder, and of printing, should be discovered by the Chinese long before they were known to Europeans. With regard to the first, in whatever country nature creates nitre (one of the chief ingredients for making gunpowder) in the greatest plenty, there its deflagrating quality is most likely to be first observed; and a few experiments founded on that observation, will lead to the composition that produces such sudden and violent effects. Nitre is the natural and daily produce of China and India, and there, accordingly, the knowledge of gunpowder seems to be coeval with that of the most distant historic events. Among the Chinese, it has been applied at all times to useful purposes, such as blasting rocks, and removing great obstructions,

tions, and to those of amusement in making a vast variety of fire works. It was also used as a defence, by undermining the probable passage of the enemy, and blowing him up. But its force had not been directed through strong metallic tubes as it was by Europeans soon after they discovered it. Yet this invention did not prove so decisive for those who availed themselves of it, as to mark distinctly in history, the precise period when its practice first took place. And tho, in imitation of Europe, it has been introduced into the armies of the East, other modes of warfare are sometimes still preferred to it.

" In relation to the second method, or that of printing, important as are its effects in Europe; it is obvious that as its object is only to multiply copies of the same writing, it could be sought for only in that society which produces many readers. The number of such would no doubt be increased wherever it were introduced; but where that number is become very considerable, from other causes tending to increase the civilized and lettered classes of society, the various attempts to supply their taste, would naturally lead to so simple an invention as the Chinese art of printing. It consists in nothing more than in cutting, in relief, the forms of the written characters on some compact wood, daubing afterwards those characters with a black glutinous substance, and pressing upon them different sheets of paper (itself a previous and ingenious invention), each sheet taking thus an impression of the characters upon which it had been laid. The art of engraving, for the gratification of the rich and powerful, had been carried to such perfection among many nations of

antiquity, that the invention of printing, as here described, and coming so near to mere engraving, was likely soon to follow whenever the number of readers should be so great as to insure reward to the inventor. The state of society in China, from the most early ages, rendered that number prodigious. Unlike to the rest of the world, where valour and military talents, occasionally united with natural eloquence, were originally the foundation of all wealth and greatness, while literature was little more than an amusement: the study of the written morals, history, and policy of China, was the only road, not merely to power and honour, but to every individual employment in the state. The necessity, therefore, for such a multiplicity of copies for all persons in the middling as well as upper classes of life in the most populous of all empires, was the early and natural parent of the printing art, as it is still practised among them.

" The paper used by the Chinese for their publications, is too thin and weak to receive distinct impressions on both sides. The engraved board on which the paper is laid to take the impression on one side, generally contains the characters for two pages. The paper when printed off, is doubled together, the blank sides touching each other. The fold forms the outer edge, which thus is double, while all the single edges, contrary to the mode of European bookbinders, are stitched together and bound into a volume. After the edition is worked off, the plates or boards are collected together, and it is generally mentioned in the preface where they are deposited, in case a second edition should be called for.

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"It has sometimes been thought in Europe, that moveable types were a preferable invention to that of the Chinese; but they seldom can be applicable to the impression of writings in a language consisting, like theirs, of a vast variety of characters, if each character be considered as a letter in an alphabet. The compositor in a printing-office easily distributes the four and twenty letters of an alphabetic language. He at once perceives where each is to be found. He distinguishes them at a glance. His hands even acquire the habit of reaching rapidly, without looking, for them, as the fingers learn to touch the keys of a harpsicord without turning the eyes towards them. Were there many thousands of such keys, it is obvious that no such habit could be acquired, nor could the keys be within reach. The practice were equally impossible, in printing with eighty thousand moveable types, for that number of different characters of which the Chinese tongue consists. It has not, indeed, occurred to the artists of China to form moveable and separate types, for each of the minute strokes, or elements, of which such characters are composed, as has been attempted some years since in Germany. It is possible that such a practice might be found to answer, notwithstanding the difficulty which must arise from the minuteness of the type necessary for each particular stroke; a difficulty which, when all the types are not necessarily of so small a size, has been overcome by a very ingenious and learned gentleman, in printing the Persian language in Bengal; and the further difficulty, of uniting, in the impression, the several strokes, marked by separate types, of a Chinese character,

which does not exist in printed European languages, where the letters of the same word seldom touch each other.

"The Chinese are satisfied, whenever the same characters very frequently occur, as in the public kalendars and gazettes, to use types for such, cut apart, and occasionally inserted within the frames where they are wanted.

"Gazettes are frequently published in Pekin, under the authority of government. The various appointments throughout the empire, the favours granted by the emperor, all his public acts, his remission of taxes to districts suffering by dearth or other general calamity, his recompense of extraordinary services, the embassies sent, and the tribute paid, to him, form a considerable part of the public news. The domestic details of his household, or of his private life, are seldom, if ever mentioned. Singular events, instances of longevity, sometimes the punishments of offences committed by mandarines, are there recorded. Even some instances of the adultery of women, which is a punishable, tho not a capital offence, are occasionally published, perhaps, by way of deterring others from the commission of the like enormities. While China was at war, its victories, as well as the suppression of rebellions were announced. In all other cases the world, in point of intelligence, is confined to China.

"Beside the classic works of the Chinese, of which the multiplication by printing is prodigious, the lighter literature of the country gives no inconsiderable occupation to the press. The *Orphan of China*, however improved in an English dress, by a very respectable dramatic poet, may be considered as

no unfavourable specimen of Chinese tragedy; and the *Pleasant History*, of which an English translation, under the care of a learned and ingenious prelate, was published several years ago, is an instance of Chinese novel writing, that is interesting and simple; and for serious readers, the zeal of christianity had induced the missionaries to procure the publication of several works in the Chinese tongue, in proof of the tenets which they preached.

“Notwithstanding the vigilant police of the Chinese magistrates, books disapproved by them are privately printed and disseminated in China. It is not easy to prevent, or even always to detect, the operations of a trade which, beside paper and ink, require little more than some pieces of board, and a knife to cut out characters upon them. The books thus published furtively, are chiefly those which are offensive to decency, and inflame the imagination of young minds. It is not said that any are levelled against the government. The mandarines asserted, however, that a sect had for ages subsisted in the country, whose chief principles were founded upon an antipathy to monarchy; and who nourished hopes of, at last, subverting it. Their meetings were held in the utmost secrecy, and no man avowed any knowledge of them; but a sort of inquisition was said to be established in order to find them out. They who were suspected of such sentiments, were cut off, or hunted out of society; somewhat like those who were accused formerly of Judaism in some Roman catholic kingdoms.

“The political, moral, and historical works of the Chinese contain no abstract ideas of liberty,

which might lead them to the assertion of independence. It is said, that in the French zeal for propagating principles of democracy, their declaration of the Rights of Man had been translated into one of the languages of India, and distributed there. It is not, indeed, likely to cause any fermentation in the tranquil, submissive, and resigned minds, with the weak and delicate constitutions, of the Hindoos; but it might be otherwise among the Chinese people, who are more susceptible of such impressions, their disposition being more consonant to enterprize.”

“The state of physic is extremely low in China. There are no public schools or teachers of it. A young man, who wishes to become a physician, has no other way of acquiring medical knowledge, than by engaging himself to some practitioner, as an apprentice. He has thus the opportunity of seeing his master's practice, of visiting his patients with him, and of learning such parts of his knowledge and secrets as the other chooses to communicate to him. The emoluments of the profession seldom exceed the skill of the practitioner. As many copper coin as scarcely are equal to six-pence sterling, is said to be the usual fee among the people; and perhaps quadruple among the mandarines. The latter of high rank have physicians in their household, who reside constantly with them, and accompany them when they travel. The emperor's physicians, as well as most of his domestic attendants, are chiefly eunuchs. Medicine is not divided in China into distinct branches, as in most parts of Europe. The same person acts as physician, surgeon, and apothecary. The surgical part of the profession

still more backward than the others. Amputation, in cases of compound fracture and gangrene, is utterly unknown. Death is the speedy consequence of such accidents. Deformed persons, no doubt, there are in China; but they must be very few in number, or live much retired; for no such happened to fall in the way of the embassy, through the whole of its route, from the northern to the southern extremity of China.

"The mortality of the small-pox, when of the confluent kind, joined to the observation that it attacked, once only, the same person; induced the Chinese to expose young persons to its infection, when it happened to be mild. The success of this method, led at length to the practice of inoculation amongst them. The annals of China first mention it, at a time answering to the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian era. The general method of Chinese inoculation, is the following: when the disease breaks out in any district, the physicians of the place carefully collect a quantity of ripe matter from pustules of the proper sort; which being dried, and pulverized, is closely shut up in a porcelain jar, so as to exclude from it the atmospheric air; and in this manner it will retain its properties for many years. When the patient has been duly prepared by medicines, generally of an aperient kind, and strictly dieted for a short time, a lucky day is chosen to sprinkle a little of the variolous powder upon a small piece of fine cotton wool, and to insert it into the nostrils of the patient. If blindness, or sore eyes, be more frequent in China than elsewhere, which the gentlemen of the embassy were not able to ascertain, it

is not impossible, that it may be owing partly to the insertion of the variolous matter so near the seat of the optic nerve, to which the inflammation, it occasions, may extend.

"No male physician is allowed to attend a pregnant woman, and still less to practise midwifery; in the indelicacy of which, both sexes seem to agree in China. There are books written on that art for the use of female practitioners, with drawings of the state and position of the infant at different periods of gestation; together with a variety of directions and prescriptions for every supposed case that may take place: the whole mixed with a number of superstitious observances.

"Many practitioners of physic take the advantage, as elsewhere, of the obscurity in which that art is involved, and of the ignorance and credulity of the people, to gain money by the sale of nostrums and secrets of their own. They distribute hand bills, setting forth the efficacy of their medicines, with attested cures annexed to them. But it was reserved for the sect of Taotse, or disciples of Lao-koun, already mentioned, to arrogate boldly to themselves, the possession of a medical secret, 'not to die.' To those who had all the enjoyments of this life, there remained, unaccomplished, no other wish than that of remaining for ever in it. And accordingly several sovereigns of China have been known to cherish the idea of the possibility of such a medicine. They had put themselves, in full health, under the care of those religious empirics, and took large draughts of the boasted beverage of immortality. The composition did not consist of merely harmless ingre-

ingredients; but, probably, of such extracts and proportions of the poppy, and of other substances and liquors, as occasioning a temporary exaltation of the imagination, passed for an indication of its vivifying effects. Thus encouraged, they had recourse to frequent repetitions of the dose, which brought on quickly languor and debility of spirits; and the deluded patients often became victims to deceit and folly, in the flower of their age.

"There are in China no professors of the sciences connected with medicine. The human body is never, unless privately, dissected there. Books, indeed, with drawings of its internal structure, are sometimes published; but these are extremely imperfect; and consulted, perhaps, oftener to find out the name of the spirit under whose protection each particular part is placed, than for observing its form and situation.

"It is a matter of doubt, whether natural history, natural philosophy, or chemistry, be, as sciences, much more improved than anatomy in China. There are several treatises, indeed, on particular subjects in each. The Chinese likewise possess a very voluminous encyclopedia, containing many facts and observations relative to them; but from the few researches which the gentlemen of the embassy had leisure or opportunity to make, during their short visit to the country, they perceived no traces of any general system or doctrine by which separate facts or observations were connected and compared, or the common properties of bodies ascertained by experiment; or where kindred arts were conducted on similar views; or rules framed, or deductions drawn from analogy, or principles laid down to constitute a

science. For some there is not even a name. The Chinese books are full of the particular processes and methods, by which a variety of effects are produced in chemical and mechanical arts; and much might probably be gained from the perusal of them, by persons versed at the same time, in the language of the describers, and acquainted with the subject of the description. As soon as the product of any art or manufacture has appeared to answer the general purpose for which it was intended, it seldom happens that the Chinese discoverer is either impelled by his curiosity, or enabled by his opulence, to endeavour to make any further progress, either towards superior elegance, or ornament, or even increased utility. The use of metals, for the common purposes of life, has made the Chinese search for them in the bowels of the earth, where they have found all those that are deemed perfect, except platina. Perhaps they have not the knowledge, or means of using the cheapest and shortest method of separating the precious metals from the substances amongst which they are found; nor of reducing the ore of others into their respective metals; but they perfectly succeed in obtaining them, without alloy, whenever their object is to do so; and in making such mixtures of them as produce the results they desire. The mines which are said to be in China, containing gold, a metal esteemed there more precious from its rarity than its use, are seldom permitted to be worked; but small grains of it are collected in the province of Yunnan and Se-chuen, among the sand in the beds of the rivers and torrents which carry it down along with them as they descend from the mountains. It is

pale, soft, and ductile. A few mandarines, and many women of rank, wear bracelets of this metal round the wrist, not more for ornament, than from a notion that they preserve the wearer from a variety of diseases. The Chinese artists beat it into leaf, for gumming it upon paper to burn in their tripods, and for gilding the statues of their deities. The silk and velvet weavers use it in their tissues and embroideries. Trinkets are also made of it at Canton, which the Chinese do not wear; but which are sold in Europe as Eastern ornaments. Beside the use of silver as a medium of payment for other goods, when it passes according to its weight, it is likewise drawn into threads, like gold, to be used in the silk and cotton manufactures. For bell metal, they use, with copper, a greater proportion of tin than is usually done elsewhere, by which means their bells are more sonorous, but more brittle, than those of Europe. Their white copper, called in Chinese *pe-tung*, has a beautiful silver-like appearance, and a very close grain. It takes a fine polish; and many articles of neat workmanship in imitation of silver, are made from it. An accurate analysis has determined it to consist of copper, zinc; a little silver, and, in some specimens, a few particles of iron, and of nickel have been found. *Tu-te-nag* is properly speaking, zinc, extracted from a rich ore, or calamine. The ore is powdered and mixed with charcoal dust, and placed in earthen jars over a slow fire, by means of which the metal rises in the form of vapour, in a common distilling apparatus, and afterwards is condensed in water. The calamine from whence this zinc is thus extracted, contains very little iron,

and no lead or arsenic, so common in the calamine of Europe; and which extraneous substances contribute to tarnish the compositions made of it, and prevent them from taking so fine a polish as the *pe-tung* of the Chinese. Doctor Gillan was also informed at Canton, that the artists, in making their *pe-tung*, reduce the copper into as thin sheets or laminæ as possible, which they make red hot, and increase the fire to such a pitch, as to soften, in some degree, the laminæ, and to render them ready almost to flow. In this state they are suspended over the vapour of their purest *tu-te-nag*, or zinc, placed in a subliming vessel over a brisk fire. The vapour thus penetrates the heated laminæ of the copper, so as to remain fixed with it, and not to be easily dissipated or calcined by the succeeding fusion it has to undergo. The whole is suffered to cool gradually, and is then found to be of a brighter colour, and of a closer grain, than when prepared in the European way. The iron ore of the Chinese is not well managed in their smelting furnaces; and the metal is not so soft, malleable, or ductile, as British iron. Their smiths' work is exceedingly brittle, as well as clumsy, and not polished. They excel, indeed, in the art of casting iron, and form plates of it much thinner than is generally known to be done in Europe. Much of the tin imported by the Chinese, is formed into as thin a foil as possible, in order to gum it afterwards upon square pieces of paper, which are burnt before the images of their idols. The amalgama of tin and quicksilver is applied, by the artists in Canton, in making small mirrors, with glass blown upon the spot from broken pieces of that material

material imported whole from Europe. The glass beads and buttons of various shapes and colours, worn by persons of rank, are chiefly made at Venice; and this is among the remnants of the great and almost exclusive trade which the Venetians formerly carried on with the East. The Chinese make great use of spectacles, which they tie round the head. They are formed of crystal, which the Canton artists cut into laminæ, with a kind of steel saw, formed by twisting two or more fine iron wires together, and tying them like a bow-string to the extremities of a small flexible bamboo. They undo one end of this string in order to pass the wire round the crystal, where it is meant to be divided, and which is then placed between two pivots. It is thus sawed, in the manner which European watch-makers use in dividing small pieces of metal. Below the crystal is a little trough of water, into which the filiceus

powder of the crystal falls as it is cut by the revolution of the wire. With this mixture, the wire and the groove it forms in the crystal, are often moistened. The powder of the crystal, like that of the diamond, helps to cut and polish itself. The workmen did not seem to understand any principle of optics, so as to form the eye-glasses of such convexities or concavities, as to supply the various defects of vision; but left their customers to choose what was found to suit them best. The few lapidaries who cut diamonds at Canton, used for that purpose adamantine spar, which being mixed in small proportions with grey granite, the mass was imagined to contain nothing else, and excited a doubt, whether it could be real diamond, which pure granite could affect. The Canton artists are uncommonly expert in imitating European works."

SKETCH of the FEMALE ECONOMY of the SERAGLIO, and of the real CONDITION of the FEMALE SEX at CONSTANTINOPLE.

[FROM DALLAWAY'S CONSTANTINOPLE, ANCIENT and MODERN.]

"THE inhabitants of the seraglio exceed six thousand, of which about five hundred are women. Many who are employed there during the day, have their houses and families in the city.

"When the sultan comes to the throne the grandees present him with virgin slaves, who, they hope, may become their patronesses. — From these principally, six are then chosen, who are styled Kadinns, but the late sultan Abdul-hamid added a

seventh. The first of them who gives an heir to the empire becomes the favourite, and has the title of Hasséký-Sultàn. There are many others in the harem, but they seldom are suffered to infringe the exclusive privilege of producing heirs to the empire, which the kadinns claim; for with the others the most infamous means of prevention are forcibly adopted. If the child of the first hasséký-sultàn should die, her precedence is lost.

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The old story of the ladies standing in a row, and the sultan's throwing his handkerchief to his choice, is not true. His preference is always officially communicated by the *kislar-agma*.

"So dependent is opinion upon education and the early habits of life, that the state of female society in the seraglio, is to themselves that of the most perfect happiness. It was ordained by Mahommed that women should not be treated as intellectual beings, lest they should aspire to equality with men. This system he found already prevalent in the east, and received by his converts, and therefore cannot be charged with having curtailed their liberty and social intercourse.—Throughout Turkey, in every rank of life, the women are literally children of larger growth, as trifling in their amusements, as unbounded in their desires, and as absolutely at the disposal of others, being considered by the men merely as created for the purposes of nature, or sexual luxury. None of our mistakes concerning the opinions of the Turks, is more unjust than that which respects the notion attributed to them, that women have no souls; on the other hand, they are promised in the Koran to be restored with all the charms of eternal youth and

unblemished virginity, and what, in many instances, may heighten the idea of perfect paradise to themselves, not again to be united with their former earthly husbands, but to be allotted to other true muslimans by the benevolence of the prophet.

"The females of the seraglio are chiefly Georgian and Circassian slaves, selected from all that are either privately bought, or exposed to sale in the *Avrèt bazar**, and, for many reasons, are admitted at an early age. We may readily conclude that an assemblage of native beauty so exquisite, does not exist in any other place.

"The education of these girls is very scrupulously attended to; they are taught to dance with more luxuriance than grace, to sing and to play on the tambourin, a species of guitar; and some of them excel in embroidery. This arrangement is conducted solely by the elder women, though from the taste for European fashions, which sultan Selim openly avows, some Greek women have been lately introduced to teach them the harp and piano-forte, which they had learned for that purpose. Amongst the five hundred already mentioned the *kislar-agma* precisely settles all precedence. Some are disqualified by age from

* * The *Avrèt Bazar* (woman market) consists of an inclosed court, with a cloister and small apartments surrounding it. It is supplied by female slaves brought from Egypt, Abyssinia, Georgia, and Circassia, who are exposed to public sale every Friday morning. Those from the first mentioned countries are generally purchased for domestic services, which, in a menial capacity, no Turkish woman will condescend to perform; their persons or countenances are rarely beautiful, and their price seldom exceeds forty pounds English. The exquisite beauty of the others is enhanced by every art of dress and oriental accomplishments, and they are usually sold for several thousand piastres. Many are reserved for the seraglio, where, though they are considered as most fortunate, they are most frequently sacrificed. Intrigues are concealed by the application of poisonous drugs which often occasion death, and upon detection of pregnancy they are instantly drowned. One shudders to relate how many of these victims are taken out into the sea at the dead of the night, and committed to the deep. Formerly, the *Avrèt Bazar* was open to Franks, who were supposed to purchase slaves in order to redeem them, but they are now excluded, by order of the present sultan's father."

the notice of the sultan, and of those who are considered as wives there are four; he is restricted to seven, but as to concubines there is no legal limitation, and their number depends on the inclination of their sublime master. The superiors spend their time in a series of sedentary amusements. Dress, the most sumptuous that can be imagined, changed frequently in the course of the day, the most magnificent apartments and furniture, visits of ceremony with each other, and the incessant homage of their subordinate companions, fill their minds with a sort of supine happiness, which indeed is all that most Turkish women aspire to, or are qualified to experience.

" Sometimes, as an indulgence, they are permitted to go to the kiosques near the sea, of which circumstance the officers of police are informed, that no vessel should approach too near the seraglio point. Every summer the sultan visits his palaces in rotation for a short time with his harèm, when every pass and avenue, within three or five miles distance, is guarded by fierce *bostandjis**, lest the approach of any male being should contaminate them.

" They depend entirely upon their female slaves for amusements which have any thing like gaiety for their object, and recline on their sofas for hours, whilst dancing, comedy, and buffoonery, as indelicate as our vulgar puppet show, are exhibited before them. Greek and Frank ladies occasionally visit them, whose husbands are connected with the Porte as merchants or interpreters, under pretence of shewing them curiosities from Europe.— From such opportunities all the ac-

curate information concerning the interior palace must be collected, and to such I am, at present, indebted.

" The articles of female habili-ment are infinite, both as to cost and number; but change of fashion is adopted only for the head attire, which happens with scarcely less frequency than in the courts of Europe. They are imitated by the Greek ladies, whose dress differs little from theirs; but the original Greek dress, rather than of the Turkish harèm, is that described by lady M. Wortley Montague. Both the style of beauty, and the idea of improving its effect by ornament amongst the Ottoman women, have much singularity. Of the few I have seen with an open veil, or without one, the faces were remarkable for their symmetry and brilliant complexion, with the nose straight and small, the eyes vivacious, either black or dark blue, having the eyebrows partly from nature, and as much from art, very full and joining over the nose. They have a custom too of drawing a black line with a mixture of powder of antimony and oil, called *Surmeh*, above and under the eye-lashes, in order to give the eye more fire. Of the shape and air little can be said from our idea of loveliness. All the Levantine women, from their mode of sitting on their sofa, stoop extremely, and walk very awkwardly. Warm baths used without moderation, and unrelieved idleness, spoil in most instances, by a complete relaxation of the solids, forms that nature intended should rival the elegance of their countenances. The nails both of the fingers and feet are always stained of a rose colour. Such is the taste of Asiatics. The disci-

* The sultan's body guards.

minative trait of beauty between the Circassian and Greek women, is the more majestic air and stature of the former, while the latter excel upon a smaller scale, no less in brilliancy of complexion, than in symmetry and delicacy of form. The statues of Juno, Minerva, or the Amazons, are contrasted by that of the Medicean Venus. Both very generally answer to Homer's description of 'the full eyed,' and 'the deep bosomed.'

"In the streets of Constantinople no female appears without her *feredjè* and *mahramàh*; the former resembles a loose riding coat with a large square cape, covered with quilted silk, and hanging down low behind, made universally amongst the Turks of green cloth, and amongst the Greeks and Armenians of brown, or some grave colour. The *mahramàh* is formed by two pieces of muslin, one of which is tied under the chin, enveloping the head, and the other across the mouth and half the nose, admitting space enough for sight. Yellow boots are drawn over the feet; and thus equipped a woman may meet the public eye without scandal. This dress is of very ancient invention, calculated for concealment of the person, nor can there be a more complete disguise.

"In every civilised country the middle ranks in society enjoy the truest comfort. Whilst the ladies of the *harèms* of great or opulent Turks, are consoling themselves with fastidious indulgence, in luxury unknown to the vulgar, the wives and concubines of sober citizens are allowed almost a free intercourse with each other. The men, merchants or mechanics, are engaged in their various occupations, leaving the whole day at the disposal of the women, who walk the streets

and bazars in groupes of muffled figures, or go to the cemeteries, where, upon stated days, under pretence of saying prayers at the graves of deceased friends, they enjoy the shade of cypresses, whilst loitering away many hours; and show unrestrained happiness, by the most vehement loquacity. Several times a year they are drawn in arabahs, or painted waggons with a covering of red cloth, by buffaloes gaudily harnessed, to some favourite retreat in the country, but never attended by the men of their family.

"That love of splendid dress which distinguishes the nations of the east, pervades every rank of females. Those connected with the meanest labourer occasionally wear brocade, rich furs, and embroidery of gold or silver, which are willingly supplied by his daily toil. In large *harèms* the number of children is proportionably small, where few women produce more than three. Much has been said concerning the infidelity of the Turkish women belonging to *harèms* of quality; whoever has passed a few years in this country, must know that any scheme of gallantry would be utterly impracticable, however they may have been prompted, by personal vanity, to impose a false opinion on the world. In complete establishments they are guarded by those unfortunate men

'Who youth ne'er loved, and beauty ne'er enjoyed;'

and in those of less expence, by old women, whose ceaseless vigilance is equally secure.

"If such things ever happen, it may be supposed of those who are permitted to gad abroad; but this privilege is conditional, and never without a certain number of relatives or neighbours.

"During

" During my residence at Pera, I heard of but one circumstance only. A young Venetian served in the shop of an apothecary at Constantinople, whom a Turkish lady, attended only by her slave, came to consult, and was shewn into another room, leaving the apprentice and the fair Circassian alone. It is said, that nothing then passed between them. In a few days returning with her mistress, and the same opportunity recurring, she opened her heart, proposed elopement, and promised much treasure. * She kept her word, and they disappeared without subsequent detection. Upon discovery the punishment of these lovers would have been horrible; he would have been impaled alive, and she drowned in a sack. Such a penal code as that of the Turks, has in no period of corruption been adopted by any nation of Christians.

" Infidelity or licentiousness in women, is a subject of the severest crimination amongst the Turks, and their punishment of it borders upon gross barbarity. That branch of police is under the jurisdiction of the *bostandji bashi*, or captain of the guard, with many inferior officers. When any of these miserable girls are apprehended, for the first time they are put to hard labour, and strictly confined; but for the second they are re-committed, and many at a time tied up in sacks, and taken in a boat to the Seraglio-point, where they are thrown into the tide. The Turks excuse this cruelty by pleading the law, and adding that every woman has it in her power to be attached to one man, by *kebinn*, or contract for a certain term before the *kady*, which ceremony would exempt them from the cognizance of the police.

" The real state of female slaves in Turkey has been much misrepresented. I do not allude to it previously to their establishment in some harém, when exposed to sale with practices of their owners equally repugnant to humanity and decency: but when they become private property, they are well clothed, and treated with kindness by their mistresses. If the husband presents his wife with a female slave, she becomes her sole property, and he cannot cohabit with her without legal complaint of the wife, excepting with her consent, which prudence generally inclines her to give. No woman of Turkish birth can be an *odalik*, or domestic slave. Illegitimacy is unknown, for every child, born of the wife or concubine, has nearly equal rights. The superior privilege of the wife consists only in the partition of the husband's property on his decease, and the difficulty of procuring a divorce without her acquiescence. *Odaliks* are dismissed and resold at pleasure, if they have borne no child. But it frequently happens that they become confidential with their mistresses, are emancipated, and married to husbands whom they provide for them. Few young men have more than one wife, but the elder, if opulent, indulge themselves to the extent of the prophet's licence. My fair countrywomen, from so slight a sketch of female economy in this eccentric nation, may form favourable conclusions respecting that of our own. They may rest assured, that in no other country are the moral duties and rational liberty so justly appreciated, or so generally rewarded with happiness."

OBSERVATIONS and ANECDOTES, illustrative of the present POLICE, COMMERCE, STATE of SOCIETY, and MANNERS at CONSTANTINOPLE.

[From the same Work.]

"THE greater part of the night in many European capitals is little discriminated from the broad day in the bustle of crowded streets, but the last muezzin has scarcely called the hour of evening prayer before each habitually sober musulman retires from public notice, and the resort of thousands during a long day, from sun rise to sun set, becomes an unoccupied space, like a desert. One hour after sun-set every gate of the city is shut, and entrance strictly prohibited.

"The houses of the opulent Turks are large, with the most convenient part appropriated as the harèm, which is usually surrounded with a court, be it ever so small, having a fountain in the midst. These apartments are remarkable for their neatness, and all the accommodation that the climate and architecture will admit; for it is here only that the possessor displays any expence in ornament, or furniture. As to the houses in general, they are mere comfortless wooden boxes, cool in summer, but ill adapted to wet or cold weather, being full of unglazed windows, and without fire-places; in winter supplied by earthen pans of charcoal, which suffocate whilst they warm you. The ground floor is a continuation of the street, and the staircase a dirty ladder, frequently in darkness.

"That such a stillness should reign in the crowded streets of a capital, who ever has visited those of Europe, will observe with sur-

prise; there is no noise of carriages, and even 'the busy haunts of men' are scarcely different from the abode of silence.

"Much of the romantic air which pervades the domestic habits of the persons described in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, particularly in inferior life, will be observed in passing through the streets. And we recur with additional pleasure to a remembrance of the delight with which we at first perused them, in finding them authentic portraits of every oriental nation.

"Some years ago no Frank could walk in Constantinople without the risque of incurring insult, and the merchants of Pera were usually protected by a janissary. At this time no molestation is to be feared, at least by a person who is prudent enough to give the upper hand to a Turk. This favourable change has taken place only since the conclusion of the war in 1774. Many victories in succession had persuaded them of their superiority over the Christians, of whom they have several millions of subjects; till at the time above mentioned prince Repnin, attended by six hundred soldiers, with their drawn swords, paraded through the city, when he came to give them that peace, which they had so humbly begged of the Russians. This circumstance has had a wonderful effect in reducing the insolence and ferocity of their national character.

"Fires are so frequent that few months pass without them, and they are generally so furious, that whole

whole districts are lain in ashes. Houses are so soon re-erected, that the former appearance of the streets is speedily restored, and little alteration is ever made in their form. Notice of a fire at Constantinople, or at Galata, is given by beating a great drum from two high towers; the night watch then patrolle the streets, striking the pavement with their staves shod with iron, and crying out 'Yangen var' — 'There is a fire,' naming the place. The sultan is then summoned three times, and when the conflagration has lasted one hour he is forced to attend in person, and to bring mules with him laden with piastras, which he distributes with his own hands to the firemen, who are very inactive before his arrival. These are armed against accidents in the same manner as they are in London, and are equally expert and adventurous. Fires are extinguished, by pulling down the adjoining houses, for the engines are very small, and borne on the shoulders of two men.

"The perfect resignation with which a good muselman sees his house consumed by the flames, and himself reduced from affluence to poverty, has been often and justly remarked by others; he exclaims 'Allah Karim' — 'God is merciful,' without apparent emotion, and has assured himself that the same providence which hath made him poor and abject, can once more restore him to wealth, if it be his fate. For the women, they have not the praise of such philosophy. They assemble in a groupe near the sultan, and unmercifully load him with the bitterest revilings, particularising his own crimes, and the errors of his government, and charging him with the cause of their present calamity.

At such rencontres no crowned head need envy sultan Selim his situation. As this is the only privileged time of conveying the voice of the people to his ears, and as women in Turkey say any thing with impunity, it is presumed that many of the fires are not accidental.

"As a grand spectacle, detaching the idea of commiseration of the calamity from the present view, if a volcanic eruption be excepted, none can exceed a great fire at Constantinople. The houses being constructed with wood, and frequently communicating with magazines, filled with combustible materials, a vast column of flame, of the most luminous glow, rises from the centre, which lighting up the mosques, and contiguous cypress groves, produces an effect of superior magnificence. In other cities, where the buildings are of stone, the flames are seen partially, or are overpowered by smoke.

"The merchandise and trade of Constantinople are carried on principally in the khans, bazars, and bezeiten, according to the custom of the east, each of which requires a summary description.

"The khans are spacious structures, with quadrangles erected by the munificence of the sultans, or some of the royal family, for the public benefit. They are entirely surrounded by a cloister and colonnade, into which numerous cells open, generally repeated for three stories; are built with stone and fire-proof. Here the merchants from every part of the empire, who travel with caravans, are received with accommodations for themselves and their valuable traffic.

"In the bazars are assembled dealers of each nation under the Turkish government, who have small

small shops in front, and a room behind, for their wares. These are very extensive cloisters of stone, lofty and lighted by domes; are admirably adapted to the climate, and in summer are extremely cool. One called the *Misr Chartihè*, or Egyptian market, is set apart for the merchandize of Cairo, chiefly minerals and drugs, and is a great curiosity for the naturalist.

“ Other quarters are occupied by the working jewellers, where raw jewels may be advantageously purchased; and by the booksellers, who have each his assortment of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian MSS. of which they do not always know the value, but demand a considerable price. The oriental scholar may here find MSS. equally beautiful and rare, as since the civil commotions in Persia, the most elegant books, taken in plunder, have been sent to Constantinople for sale, to avoid detection.

“ The staple articles of importation from England are cloth and block tin, as the consumption of both is very great. English watches, prepared for the Levant market, are more in demand than those of other Frank nations, and are one of the first articles of luxury that a Turk purchases or changes if he has money to spare.

“ The national character is here admirably discriminated, and to investigate it with success no place offers such opportunity as these markets.

“ A stranger will wonder to see so many of their shops left open, without a master or guard; but pilfering is not a Turkish vice.

“ He should be informed previously, that no article of commerce has a stated price; bargains must be made, and the basest imposition is counted fair gain. The Turk

is fixed to his shop-board with his legs under him for many hours, and never relaxes into civility with his Frank customer, but from the hopes of advantage. One may venture to give him two thirds of his demand; but to those of other nations not more than half. The Greek, more pliant and prevaricating, praises his commodity beyond measure, and has generally to congratulate himself upon having outwitted the most cautious dealer. The Armenian, heavy and placid, is roused to animation only by the sight of money, which he cannot withstand. As for the Jew, every where a Jew, he is more frequently employed as a broker, a business which that people have had address enough to engross; and some acquit themselves with honesty and credit. Those of the lower sort are walking auctioneers, who tramp over the bazars, and carry the goods with them, vociferating the price last offered. Each of these nations, which constitute the vast population of Constantinople, has a different mode of covering the head, a circumstance soon learned, and which renders the groupes of figures sufficiently amusing, as it breaks the sameness of their other drefs. The Armenians, Jews, and the mechanical Greeks, usually wear blue, which the Turks consider as a dishonourable colour, and have their slippers of a dirty red leather.

“ The common trades are disposed, all of one kind in single streets. Shoe-makers, furriers, and pipe-makers, with many others, occupy each their distinct district, and are seldom found dispersed, as in our cities.

“ A room of very considerable dimensions, is called the *bezeftèn*, or public exchange, where are collected

lected second-hand goods, which are hawked about by the auctioneers. In another part are the *sarrafs*, or money changers, Armenians and Jews.

"I regret my incompetency to describe the various mechanic arts, which are practised in the east, and particularly by the Turks, so different from our own; and leave it to some future visitant, well qualified to give the history of their manufactures, and the divers modes by which the same effect is produced, and the same utensils are made.

"The necessaries of life are well managed, and the shops of cooks, confectioners, and fruiterers, are excellently stored, and served with neatness. For the greater part of the year, sherbets with ice are cried about the streets, at a very cheap rate. The bakers exercise a lucrative, but a dangerous trade, if they are not proof against temptation to fraud. Their weights are examined at uncertain times, and a common punishment on detection is nailing their ear to the door-post. Upon a complaint made to the late visier Mehmèt Melek against a notorious cheat, he ordered him to be instantly hanged. The master escaped, but the servant, a poor Greek, perfectly innocent, was executed. It was remarked to a Turk, that this injustice was foreign to the character for clemency, which Melek bore, when he sarcastically replied, 'The visier had not yet breakfasted.'

"The coffee-houses, which abound, are fitted up in an airy Chinese taste, and curiously painted. Within, they are divided into partitions or stages without seats, for the Turks sit as the taylor in England. The resort of all ranks to them is universal and constant; and

some during the greater part of the day, which passes there, consume thirty or forty pipes, and as many cups of coffee, boiling hot, thick, and without sugar.

"Beside these, near the *Osmanie*, are *teriaki-hand*, where (*afioni*) opium is sold; and taken in gradation from ten to a hundred grains in a day. Intoxication with this noxious drug is certainly less prevalent than we have been informed; and he who is entirely addicted to it, is considered with as much pity or disgust as an inveterate sot is with us. The preparation of opium is made with several rich syrups, and inspissated juices, to render it palatable and less intoxicating, and resembles elder rob. It is either taken with a spoon, or hardened into small lozenges, stamped with the words 'Mash allah,' literally 'the work of God.'

"The Turks take opium as an intoxicant, or occasionally under an idea of its invigorating quality, when unusual fatigue is to be endured. The Tartar couriers, who travel with astonishing expedition, generally furnish themselves with 'Mash allah.' A leading cause of its disuse is, that the prejudices respecting wine are daily relaxing, which accounts for the scarcely credible quantity and universality mentioned by old writers being unacordant with modern practice.

"The administration of justice in Constantinople is notoriously corrupt. It is placed solely in the hands of the *oulemah*, or ecclesiastical body, who are confirmed in their rapacity by being secured from the interposition of the body politic, as they receive no salary from the state. In these two causes originates a system of enormous speculation and bribery, so that for the poor there is no redress. Turkish

ish jurisprudence professes the implicit direction of the koran, but more attention is paid to the *mul-tékali*, or *sonhèt*, containing the traditional injunctions; after all, the interest or caprice of the judge biases the decision.

"The rank of Turkish lawyers is the *mufti*, or deputy to the sultan; as *kalife* or oracle of the law, the *kadilescars* of Roumily and Anadoly; supreme in their distinct districts, *mollahs*, *muselims*, and *kadies*. These hold their *mekemehs*, or halls of justice, where they try criminals and hear causes, in which oral testimony always prevails against written evidence.—Three MSS. of the Koran, the Evangelists, and the Pentateuch, are kept by the *kadies*, who administer oaths upon them, according to the religion of the person to be sworn. False witnesses are easily procured; they frequent certain coffee-houses, where these infamous transactions are arranged. If one of these wretches be too often detected, or has forfeited the interested connivance of the judge, he is given over to the punishment of the law. Mounted on an ass, with his arms and legs tied, and his face toward the tail, he is led through the streets and bazars, where he is insulted with every grossness, and if a Turk fares very ill.

"It is truly remarkable, in so great a population, that criminal causes do not occur more frequently. Murders are seldom heard of, and happen amongst the soldiers oftener than other descriptions of people; they are certainly prevented by the prohibition of wearing arms in the capital. If the murderer escape justice for twenty-four hours, he is not amenable to the law; at least, has a good chance of evading its vengeance. Robberies

are not frequent, excepting in the great roads through distant provinces, where they are always punished with impalement. There is no place of public execution; and when a criminal is condemned, he is led down the nearest street by the executioner, who is provided with a large nail and cord, which he places over the door of any shop where he is not paid for forbearance. The body is raised a few inches only above the ground, and must be left untouched for three days. In instances of decapitation, the more honourable punishment, it is exposed as long in the street, with the head under the arm, if a *musulman*, but if a *rayah*, between the legs. So horrid a spectacle excites no emotion in the mind of a Turk, for it is certain, that by no nation, be it as savage as it may, is the life of a man so lightly regarded as by them. This is a disgusting, but true sketch of their laws and executive justice.

"Personal combat, unknown to the ancients, but so universal in modern Europe since the days of Chibaley, is not practised amongst the Turks, nor is assassination, the disgrace of many nations, in any degree frequent. Connections with women, the great cause of inveterate quarrels, are so arranged as to render interference with each other almost impossible. Before marriage they are not seen by their lovers, and after only by their husbands and near relatives. There is likewise an inviolable point of honour between men respecting their harèms, and an avowed libertine would be banished from society. Poison, secretly given, is the punishment he would probably incur.

"To another occasion of personal provocation they are equally strangers,

strangers. Gaming is prohibited by the Mohammedan law, and as chess is their favourite amusement, their singular proficiency is a proof that the love of gain may not be the only inducement to excel. Wagers, or anticipating the chances of any trial of skill or common event, they can consider as unlawful.

“ To the absence of these powerful incitements to anger, and to their national suavity of manners as confined to themselves, may be attributed much social harmony, though with fewer examples of disinterested friendship than amongst us. The Turk shews insolence or moroseness to those only whom his prejudices exclude from intercourse.

“ The Rammezan, or Turkish Lent, lasts for one complete moon, and takes every month in the year, in rotation. No institution can be more strictly or more generally observed; it enjoins perfect abstinence from sun-rise to sun-set, from every kind of aliment, even from water. Mohammed did not foresee that coffee and tobacco would become the chief luxury of his followers, and various were the opinions respecting the legality of taking them in Rammezan; which were finally determined in the negative. These are indeed days of penance to the labourer and mechanic, but to the opulent only a pleasing variety, for they sleep all day, and in the evening feast and make merry; as if they exulted in cheating the prophet. The only show of mortification is a prohibition from entering the harem during the twelve hours of fasting. Every night of this season is some appointed feast amongst the officers of the court.

“ Nor are the inferior orders deprived of their share of relaxation; for the shops of cooks and confec-

tioners, and the coffee-houses, are unusually decorated and frequented. There are exhibitions of low humour, and the kara-guze, or puppet show, represented by Chinese shades.

“ For the graver sort, most coffee-houses retain a *raccontatore*, or professed story teller, who entertains a very attentive audience for many hours. They relate eastern tales, or sarcastic anecdotes of the times, and are sometimes engaged by government to treat on politics, and to reconcile the people to any recent measure of the sultan or visier. Their manner is very animated, and their recitation accompanied by much gesticulation. They have the finesse, when they perceive the audience numerous, and deeply engaged, to defer the sequel of their story. The nightly illuminations of every minareh in the city, especially those of the imperial mosques, produce a very singular and splendid effect. Within each of these, the vast concaves of the domes are lighted up by some hundred lamps of coloured glass; and, externally cords are thrown across from one minareh to another, and the lamps fantastically disposed in letters and figures. I was not more agreeably surprised by any thing I saw in Constantinople, than the whole appearance of the first night in Rammezan.

“ As an indulgence from the severities of Lent, the Turks have their *Beyram*, and the Christians their Easter. At this season, those of every nation appear in new clothes, and exhibit all possible gaiety. Places of public resort are then particularly frequented, and the pastimes and groupes, excepting in their dress, exactly resemble an English wake. The Turks are much delighted by a circular

cular swing, made by fixing a wheel on a high post, from which hang many poles, with seats attached to them. I have seen several of these bearded children taking this amusement with great glee, and contrasted with the gravity of their habits nothing could be more ridiculous. The Greeks have an universal license, dance through the streets to very rude music, and are in the zenith of their vivacity; but the festivity of the Armenians, a saturnine race, seems to consist chiefly in being intoxicated, and jumping with the preposterous activity of an elephant. In the Campo de' Morti, near Pera, so called from being the cemetery of the Franks and Armenians, many of these droll scenes may be then contemplated by an investigator of the precise traits of character which discriminate the mass of all nations.

"The Turks have sumptuary laws, and habits peculiar to professions. By the turban differing in size and shape every man is known; and so numerous are these distinctions, that a dragoman, long conversant with Constantinople, told me he knew not half of them. The Emirs, real or pretended descendants from the prophet, are distinguished by the green muslin, the others wear white round a cap of cloth, and the head is universally very closely shaven. In the turbans of the oulema there is a greater profusion of muslin, from ten to twenty yards, which are proportionably larger, as the wigs of professional men were formerly. The military, as the janissaries, bostandjis, and topjis, wear caps of the most uncouth shape and fashion, such as defy description. The rayahs are known by a head-dress called a kalpac, made of lamb-skin,

and inimitably ugly, differing entirely from a turban; and sometimes a samour, or black fur cap, which is principally worn by dragomen and physicians. In other respects they are dressed as the Turks. Yellow slippers, or boots, are indulged only to those under ambassadorial protection, and are an envied distinction. When the present sultan came to the throne, he issued an edict that no unlicensed rayah should appear publicly in yellow slippers. At that time he took great pleasure in walking the streets in disguise; when meeting an ill starred Jew dressed contrary to law, he ordered his head to be instantly struck off. This was his first act of severity, which created most unfavourable conjectures, not altogether confirmed by his subsequent reign.

"The Turks of better rank, and the regular citizens, wear what is called the long dress, with outer robes of fine cloth, shalloon, or pellices, which are in general use for the greater part of the year, and commonly of the most costly furs. They are seldom seen without a tespi in their hands; it is a string of ninety beads corresponding with the names of the deity, which they carry as much for amusement as devotion. Hamid Ali, a late visier, wore one of pearl, so perfect as to be valued at 3000l. sterling.

"The common people, especially those belonging to any military corps, have a jacket richly ornamented with gold or silk twist, trowsers of cloth, which close to the middle of the leg, the other part of which is bare, and red slippers. Their great pride is to stick into their girdles a pair of large horse pistols, a yataghán or long knife, a hanjia or dagger, all profusely

fully inlaid with silver in a grotesque taste, which, with pouches for ammunition and tobacco, are extremely incommodious and several pounds weight. With these weapons they frequently do mischief, often from childishness, sometimes from intention. Such are seen in every town in the empire, excepting the capital, who glory in their privilege, as no rayah is permitted to carry arms.

"By the laws of Islamism the Turks are forbidden vessels and utensils of gold or silver, and are directed to great simplicity in every habit of life. This injunction does not extend to women, whose pride consists in the number and costliness of their trinkets. The chief luxury of the men is displayed in the number of their attendants, and their horses with superb caparisons, often of embroidered velvet, and plates of silver embossed and gilt. No rich man appears in public, but on horseback with a train of footmen, in any part of Constantinople, the number of whom is unnecessarily great, and much of his income is expended in their daily maintenance, and new clothes at the feast of Bayram. Their wages are inconsiderable. No domestic performs more than one office; this serves the coffee, and that hands the napkin, but no emergency can command any other service.

"The horses of the Arab, or Tourcoman breed, are eminently beautiful, and are taught to prance under the perfect manège of the rider however infirm. Great expence likewise is lavished on the boats, which are elegant in a high degree, carved, gilded, and lined with rich cushions. They cost from a hundred to a thousand pistres each. The rank of the owner is ascertained by the number of

oars, and in dexterity or civility no watermen exceed the Turks.

"Coaches are not in use, excepting that the clumsy, nondescript vehicles, which convey the ladies of great harems, can be so called. In his pipe an opulent man is extremely sumptuous; the head must be of pale amber, the stick of jasmine wood, with the bark preserved, and the bowl of a delicate red clay, manufactured at Burgas, in Rometia, and highly ornamented. According to the dignity of the smoker is the length of his pipe, often six or seven feet, when it is carried by two of his servants from place to place with much ceremony; and the bowl is supported by wheels, as an aid to supreme indolence. In the summer, for greater coolness, the stem of the pipe is covered with cotton or muslin, and moistened with water. This sovereign recreation is not confined to the men; the ladies, especially those advanced in life, partake of it largely, and, as a delicacy, they mix the tobacco with frankincense, musk, or aloes wood. The sultan alone abstains from etiquette; as kalife, or representative of the prophet, he declines deciding, by his own practice, upon the propriety of any custom, about which the law is not specific and declaratory.

"Notwithstanding their grave exterior, which might prepossess foreigners with an idea of concealing as much stupidity as sense, and apparently so ungenial with mirth or vivacity, the Turks, in superior life, of both sexes, indulge a vein of sarcastic humour, and are not behind more polished nations in the delicacy or severity of their repartees. Most gentlemen of the seraglio, or capital, have been educated in their seminaries of learning, and are conversant with oriental literature. Many of them

quote

quote the Persian poets as happily, and refer to the Arabic philosophers with as complete erudition, as we can do to the Greek or Roman. The 'Leilat u alf leilah,' or Arabian Nights, first introduced into Europe by Monsieur Petit de la Croix, are familiarly known by them, as well as the fables and allegories of Pilpay and Lokman, from which sources they store their minds as well with sentiment as expression. To excel in colloquial facility and elegance, is the first ambition of every cheliby, or man of breeding.

"I repeat a specimen of Turkish wit, related to me as having been occasioned by a recent circumstance.

"A man of rank, remarkably unpleasing in his countenance and figure, was married, according to custom, without having first seen her unveiled, to a lady whose pretensions to personal attraction did not exceed his own. On the morning after their marriage she demanded of him, to whom of his friends she might shew her face with freedom. 'Shew it,' said he, 'to all the world, but hide it from me.' 'Patience,' rejoined the lady. 'I have none,' returned the bridegroom. 'Ah!' said she, 'I think you must have had a good share; for you have carried that abominable great nose about with you all your life-time.'

PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS at BUDE.

[FROM TOWNSON'S TRAVELS IN HUNGARY, &c.]

"THERE are two theatres. That in Bude, which was originally a church, and was applied by the emperor Joseph to this purpose, is a very good one; that in Pest is small, and with wretched scenery and wretched decorations. The pieces are generally played in German, but within these few years some have been given in the Hungarian language.

"On Sundays and great festivals, the public is entertained as at Vienna with the Hetze. The proprietors have two very fine wild-bulls. The day I was a spectator of this polite and humane amusement one was turned out on the arena, and at the same time an Hungarian ox: this attacked the former, but was immediately thrown down: but our English

bulls would have disputed the ground with him to greater advantage: an Hungarian ox, and a *Bos ferus*, are very unequally matched. Then came a *Raube bear*; this is a bear that has been kept without food for several days, and rendered savage by hunger: on another bear being let out a battle ensued: the latter was so much inferior in size that the contest did not last long: the *Raube bear* kept the other, which seemed no way ferocious, down with his paws, and strangled him, by seizing him by the throat, and then carried him into his den. The great disparity in size and strength rendered this a most disagreeable sight. The white Greenland bear afforded more entertainment. In the middle of the arena there was a small pool of water,

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water, with a duck in it. As soon as the bear came to the edge of the pool, the duck laid itself flat and motionless on the surface of the water: the bear leaped in, the duck dived, and the bear dived after it; but the duck escaped, through its superior diving. The next piece was a bold attempt of one of the keepers to wrestle with an ox. As soon as the keeper came upon the arena, the ox ran at him. The man, who was not above the middle size, seized his antagonist by the horns, who pushed him indeed from one side of the arena to the other, but could not toss him. After the battle had lasted some time, and the ox had got the keeper near the side of the arena, and might have hurt him, some assistants came out, disengaged him from the wall, and gave him his dagger, which he immediately struck between the cervical vertebrae of his antagonist, which instantly fell lifeless to the ground; but small convulsive motions continued for a minute or two. In this manner the oxen are killed by the butchers at Gibraltar, who, I am told, have learned it from their African neighbours. Might not the magistrates of towns recommend this method to their butchers, and, if found better than the usual manner of knocking them down, even compel them to adopt it? Every means of diminishing the sufferings of the brute creation should be recommended, not only from humanity towards them, but for the sake of our own society. Men accustomed to be cruel towards animals, will require but a small inducement to be so to their own species. A lion came next upon the stage, and one with all his native majesty; conscious of his strength, he looked undauntedly about, to see if he had any oppo-

nent; but he was brought out only for show. From the hole in the upper part of the gate of the arena, a handkerchief was put out, and instantly drawn back: he flew at this in an instant. Some other animals were turned out, and were glad to get into their dens again. One of the keepers shewed his address in spearing a wild boar, which ran at him as soon as he came on the arena. I found few other public amusements. Being summer, most of the *grand monde* was out of town; for the Hungarians are like the English, they live a great deal upon their estates. In winter no doubt I should have found the usual amusements, as concerts, balls, card parties, *conversaziones*, &c. The citizens have a ball sometimes on the Sunday evenings, and in the neighbourhood there are several inns pleasantly situated in retired situations, where the great and small often go for recreation. Coffee-houses are little known in the northern part of the continent; but in the southern they are places of resort, time-killing places at least, if not places of amusement. This town has several good ones; but that facing the bridge is, I think, not to be equalled in Europe. Besides a very large handsome room elegantly fitted up, and with two or three billiard-tables, there is a private billiard room for those who do not smoke; and two or three other rooms for giving entertainments in; and very comfortable dinners may be had. And here, according to the continental custom, all ranks and both sexes may come; and hair-dressers in their powdered coats, and old market women, come here and take their coffee or drink their *rosolio* as well as counts and barons."

PARTICULARS concerning the present POPE, the ROMAN NOBILITY, and the MANNERS of MODERN ROME.

[From the first Volume of TRAVELS through GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, ITALY, and SICILY, translated from the GERMAN of FREDERIC LEOPOLD, COUNT STOLBERG, by THOMAS HOLCROFT.]

“T O-day and yesterday, I have been in company with modern Romans. This morning, I was presented to the pope. This old man, who exercises his office with so much solemn dignity, is exceedingly pleasant, and familiar, in personal intercourse. I found him sitting at his writing desk: he desired me to sit by him, and conversed with me, with animation and intelligence, on different subjects.

“ Pius the sixth occupies himself in the cabinet, gets up in winter before day-light, and performs the weighty duties of the papal chair with a knowledge of present circumstances, and with a firm mind.

“ The disputes, between himself and the king of Naples, have been adjusted by him with great prudence; he having preserved, instead of renouncing the least of, his rights. He has conducted himself in the affairs of France with equal wisdom and dignity; and has escaped all the inares that have been laid for him, openly and in secret, by the national assembly, which might have led him to take steps that would have given an appearance of justice to their rapacious views.

“ The secretary of state, cardinal Zelada, is properly the prime minister. He is a man of much understanding, and uncommon assiduity. He rises, at this season of the year, at four in the morning; and he seldom leaves the walls of the Vatican.

“ Cardinal Borgia is a man of great ardour, intelligence, and knowledge. He loves the learned; and is glad to see them assembled round him, at his table.

“ A translation of the poem of the Argonauts, by Apollonius Rhodius, is now preparing, by cardinal Frangini. His knowledge of the modern Greek, which he speaks with facility, was serviceable to him, by rendering the ancient Greek more familiar.

“ The senator, prince Rezonico, and a count of the same family, understand and love German literature. I have made an acquaintance with the Marchese Rangone, formerly the first minister of the duke of Modena. He likewise reads the German authors with delight; and, to a noble character, adds extensive learning and real genius.

“ You perceive that interesting men are still to be found, among the great. I grant indeed they are *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*. Most of the *Principi*, *Marchesi*, and titled nobility, here, are ignorant; and have that arrogance which sleeps in barren ignorance, like earth unbroken by the plough. But are there no such men among us?

“ I am well aware that, in Germany, there is a certain degree of information greater than in Italy; but would it not be increased, were we, who perhaps are more inclined to do justice to foreigners than any other nation, to overcome our prejudices

judices against the Italians?—Prejudices, of which many are only grounded on our folly. There are subjects enough to blame: serious subjects; demanding serious consideration: and such the love of truth will not suffer me to overlook.

“The education of the daughters of the nobility is wretched. Hence, domestic happiness is rare. Domestic happiness is a source of tranquillity, of joy, and a preservative against vice; and I think it probable that this kind of happiness is better understood, in Germany, than in any other country on earth. With respect to myself, I can with inward peace and delight affirm, with the good old poet, Walter,

*Und das ist meiner reifen-frucht,
Dafs mir gefällt die deutsche zucht *!*

“From the bad education of the women, domestic virtues, and with them the domestic happiness of the higher ranks, are injured; and the poison of their vices sheds itself among their inferiors: whose passions, without this concomitant, are violent to excess. The people of Rome are rather led astray and bewildered than, as some would persuade us, addicted to vice by nature. Where the climate inflames the passions, which are neither restrained by education nor curbed by law, they must rise higher, and burn with greater excess, than in other countries. It is dreadful to hear that, in Rome, the population of which is estimated at a hundred and sixty-eight thousand persons, there are annually about five hundred people murder-

ed. I do not believe that, in all Germany, fifty men perish, by murder, within the same period. But could this have been said of the middle ages? And yet our nation has always maintained the best reputation among nations.

“The people of Rome cannot be justly accused of robbery. A stranger is no where safer; but is more frequently plundered in most of the great cities of Europe. The Roman stabs his enemy, but does not rob. Anger is his stimulus; and this anger frequently lingers for months, and sometimes for years, till it finds an opportunity of revenge. This passion, which is inconceivable to those who do not feel it, this most hateful of all the passions, the ancients frequently supposed to be a virtue; and it still rages among many of the nations of the south. The passions of the people of Rome are frequently roused, by playing at *mora*; though the law has severely prohibited this game; and, if they are disappointed at the moment of their revenge, they wait for a future occasion. Jealousy is another frequent cause of murder: it being with them an imaginary duty to revenge the seduction of their wife, their daughter, or their sister, on the seducer. The catholic religion, ill understood, encourages the practice: the people being persuaded that, by the performance of trifling ceremonies, and the inflicting of penance, they can wash away the guilt of blood.

“All the assiduity of the present pope is not sufficient to reform the police; the faults of which originate in the constitution of Rome. Many churches afford a

* By travel taught, I can attest,
I love my native land the best.

sanctuary to the pursued culprit. Foreign ambassadors, likewise, yield protection; which extends not only to their palaces but to whole quarters of the city, into which the officers of justice dare not pursue offenders. The ambassadors, it is true, are obliged to maintain a guard: but who is ignorant of the mischief arising from complicated jurisdiction? Many cardinals seek to derive honour, by affording protection to pursued criminals. Could we find all these abuses collected in any other great city, many men would be murdered, though not so many as in Rome; but robbery would be dreadfully increased, which here is unknown.

“Were I to live in a foreign country, and condemned to spend my life in a great city, it is probable there is no place I should prefer to Rome. In no place is the fashionable world so free from restraint. You may daily be present at the *conversazioni*; and go from one to another. Numerous societies, in spacious apartments, are continually to be found; and the visitor is always received with the most prepossessing politeness. The intercourse of society is no where so free as here: you may neglect your visits for weeks or months, and undisturbed indulge your own humour. You may return again, after an absence of weeks or months, without being once questioned, concerning the manner in which you have disposed of your time.

“Do not from this accuse the

Roman nobility, more than any other people of fashion, of a want of personal affection: the apathy of the great world is every where the same. The absence or the death of any man is in no country felt in fashionable society: but every where, except in Italy, it arrogates to itself an insupportable tyranny, over each of its associates.

“In the great cities of Germany, we talk of being social: but what can be more unsocial than a company of men, who sit down to a silent card party? The animation of the Italians obviates the degrading necessity of such parties. In company, they play very little; but they converse with fire: and, notwithstanding their rapidity, many Italians express themselves excellently.

“A sense of the ancient grandeur of Rome is not yet quite lost, to the people. When the queen of Naples was last here, and at the theatre, she was received with great applause. Self-forbearance induced her to make signs to the people to cease their loud clapping, and their shouts of welcome. The people took this very ill; and, the next day, a person of my acquaintance heard one orange woman say to another, ‘Did you hear how the foreign queen despised our people, last night? She must surely have forgotten that many queens, before now, have been brought in chains to Rome.’”

CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTES of the MODERN NEAPOLITANS.

[From the same Work.]

" **A** Great city is a great evil. It is pernicious to population, the sink of morality, and the wide dispenser of its own poison. Naples is very large, and extremely populous: it contains above four hundred thousand, or probably as many as five hundred thousand, inhabitants; yet, so excellent is the soil, that the necessaries of life are in great plenty, and very cheap. Among these necessities, we must include ice: the want, or the dearth, of which would enrage the people. The common people of Naples, and indeed of all Italy, are very moderate in eating and drinking: they would rather suffer all the inconveniences of life than remove them by their labour. This appears a very natural inclination in a hot country. What enjoyment can be greater than that of reposing in the shade? Those, who repeatedly wonder at, and are disgusted by, the indolence of this people, shew that their remarks are either the consequence of haste or incapacity. That the effects of indolence are prejudicial is undoubtedly true: but that the men, who, to satisfy some of their artificial wants, labour a few hours more than others are preferable to the last, who prefer the most natural of all pleasures, rest, and shelter from the heat, is what I cannot discover.

" The principal wants of the Neapolitan are supplied by benevolent nature; without requiring him scarcely to stretch out his hand. Abstemious in eating and drinking, the clothing he needs is trifling, the

fuel none, and he can even live without a habitation. The class of people called *Lazaroni*, some of whom you meet with even in Rome, are here computed at forty thousand. Many of these live in the open air; and at night, or in bad weather, take shelter under gateways, porticos, the eaves of houses, or under the rocks. They cannot easily be persuaded to work, while they have the smallest coin in their pocket. They think not of making provision for to-morrow. The serenity of the climate, and the ever generous, ever fruitful lap of earth, sympathise with their joyous hilarity. Their blood flows lightly through their veins: with care they are unacquainted. Should any one offer money to a *Lazarone*, when he is not pressed by necessity, he raises the back of his hand to his chin, and tosses his head upwards, being too idle to speak, in token of refusal: but, if any thing delights him, I do not speak of his passions, which may be kindled and extinguished as easily as a fire of straw, if he be invited to partake any pleasure, no man is more talkative, more alert, more full of antics, than himself.

" These people have wives and children. At present, there is one among them whose influence is so great that they call him *Capo de gli Lazaroni*: the chief of the *Lazaroni*. He goes barefoot, and in tatters, like the rest. He is the orator for the whole body, when they have any thing to demand of the government. He then generally applies to the *Eletto del Popolo*: the

representative of the people: a kind of tribune, as far as such an office can exist in an unlimited monarchy, like that of Naples. He likewise appeals to the king in person. The demands of the Lazaroni are moderate: they have a sense of right and wrong: which the people seldom want, when they are not misled. To disregard any just remonstrance of this people, or not to comply without stating the grounds of refusal, would be dangerous. They love the present king; and I am assured that, in case of necessity, he might depend upon their assistance: of this, however, he is in no need.

"Before the king last year made a journey to Germany, Nicola Sabbato, for so is the present chief of the Lazaroni called, made him a speech. He lamented that the king should be absent so long from his people: yet rejoiced in a journey that should afford pleasure to a prince, who took so much satisfaction in the good of his subjects. 'We are,' said he, 'thirty thousand strong; and, in your absence, we will preserve the peace of the country. You certainly have nothing to fear from any man: but, should any one have the insolence to spread inflammatory opinions, we will tear him into as many pieces as we are men; and each of us will have a morsel of him to smoke in our pipes.'

"During the absence of the king, this Nicola Sabbato visited the princess and princesses; that, as he said, he might give the people an account of their welfare. He likewise visited the prime minister, Mr. Acton; and, on one occasion, came to him breathless, demanding to speak to him. 'I have just seen a man,' said he,

'in the dress of a pilgrim, in the great square, who is distributing French hand-bills; the meaning of which neither I nor any of us yet understand; and he is kissing a stone, which he has brought from the ruins of the Bastille. He will certainly excite an insurrection. We would have thrown him into the sea, but I wished first to hear your opinion: though I think we ought to have thrown him into the sea.'

"The minister had much difficulty to make him conceive that a preliminary enquiry was necessary. He continually returned to the necessity of throwing the orator into the sea; and, when the minister told him he would send soldiers to put the man in prison, Nicola replied, 'There is no occasion for soldiers; I will undertake that business.'

"The man accordingly was taken to prison, by the Lazaroni. The contents of the hand-bill were entirely seditious. The insurgent was one of those emissaries that were sent, by the too provident care of the French clubs, over Europe; to enlighten, improve, and make the people happy. He had disguised himself like a pilgrim, and was subject to the gallows, according to the common rights of nations; but the government only thought proper to banish him to the island of *Maritima*; one of the *Ægades*, on the west side of Sicily.

"The Lazaroni are devoted to the present king. A body of many thousand men, who have nothing to lose, may reasonably be dreaded; and may keep a tyrannical king in very wholesome awe. A despotic constitution may perhaps need a remedy like this: the terror of which shall preserve a balance

lance between itself and a power that is equally blind, and unwise. A free constitution requires order; for order is the foundation of freedom. Bodies of people, like the numberless Lazaroni of Naples, or the hags of the halls, the fishwives of Paris, could not exist among a people that should be truly free.

"The streets are uncommonly crowded: yet the crowd is much less inconvenient here than in other cities. The coachmen too are less insolent than such gentlemen usually are; when, mounted upon their throne, they look down with contempt on the multitude beneath. However, the number of coaches is so great that the foot passenger must be continually on his guard: which it is difficult to be, stunned as the ear is by the rolling of the carriage wheels. Yet the coaches are much less dangerous than the little one horse cabrioles; which are driven through the city by the young gentlemen, who imagine that the foot passengers should vanish before them, as easily, and as instantly, as the yielding air before the breath of their snorting horses.

"There is great ostentation here of carriages and horses: which last are justly famous. They are small, but beautiful, full of fire, and are treated with cruelty. Nothing is so highly displeasing, in the Italians, as the manner in which they treat their animals.

"Horace called this city *otiosa Neapolis*: the indolent Naples. I, and my fellow travellers, were lately taking a walk on the sea shore; when a great crowd of men and women made us imagine there was something extraordinary in agitation. All pressed forward to the same place; for curiosity is catching, and we got into the midst

of the throng. The object of enquiry was a fishing boat, the people of which were dragging up a large net; and the spectators were in eager expectation to know how many fish had been taken. Had a man of war, after a sea fight, returned to harbour, and had the mothers, wives, brothers, and sisters, all crowded together on the strand, to enquire how many of their dearest relations were on board, or how many were cut off, the emotion in their countenances could not have assumed a more animated appearance. The draught of fish was found not to be very great; and the people retired in a disconsolate manner, with very evident tokens of disappointment.

"In general, the city is well built: you feel, however, the want of the better style of the Romans; and still more of the more noble palaces of Florence. The houses are most of them flat-roofed. The pavement consists, as in most of the cities of Italy, of square flag stones of lava. The royal palace is capacious, and has a noble appearance. The situation of the city is inexpressibly beautiful. No great city in Europe, Constantinople alone excepted, can, in this respect, be compared with Naples.

"There is a long extensive walk on the sea shore; from which the whole high mountainous coast is seen on the left, and opposite to the city the promontory of *Sorrento*. Mount Vesuvius likewise rises to the left; and *Portici* lies at its feet. On the right of the city, the hill *Posilipo* extends itself far into the sea.

"The fortress of *Castell del Uovo* is built on an island, which is connected with the city by a bridge. On this rock, which the ancients called *Megaritis*, and *Magalia*, Lu-

callus had his garden. From the walk, the prospect of the haven is concealed by this fortress. On the right of the promontory of Sorrento stands the high island of Capri; like a rocky mountain in the open sea.

"This walk on the sea shore would be still more pleasant, were it planted with lofty trees. Two long alleys of the *Yprensis-Ulmus*, with its branches cut to form a trellis, and hung round with vine plants, afford it a necessary shade in summer. Small orange and oleander trees are planted on each side. In the centre of the place is the celebrated group of white marble, known by the name of the Farnesian bull; which is one of the most beautiful of the antiques.

"This walk is called *Villa Reale*; and, between this and the rocky shore at the foot of the Posilipo, there is a large place which is destined for the exercise of arms. What a delightful walk would this be, were it shaded by the spreading plane tree! The way is open as far as the beautiful haven, and the coast of Portici, on the left. On the right, I amused myself among the rocks; which I now climbed, and now stood waiting till the waves should retreat. The nymphs of this bay are a little malicious. They suffer you peaceably to approach the edge of the sea, and suddenly send a rolling wave that dashes over your feet. You step back, and the sea assumes its former repose."

ANECDOTES of the MODERN TARENTINES, with the HUMOURS of a SAINT'S DAY.

[From the second volume of the same Work.]

"**Y**ESTERDAY, being the 10th, the Tarantines kept the festival of their patron, St. Cataldus; who was an Irishman, and, according to the legend, arrived here in the second century; though I doubt whether, at that time, Christianity had travelled as far as Ireland. The love of antiquity may easily have thrown back the æra when this bishop lived a few centuries. During the eighth, ninth, and ten centuries, when the Italians were sunk into barbarism, some Hibernians came there who taught the sciences, nay more, the Latin language, in Italy; and principally in Pavia, and Bologna.

"The Tarentines, as Christians,

take no less delight in their holidays than did their ancestors, as Pagans. They will ride miles, from all parts, to be present at the festivals of other towns: for which reason many persons had arrived from the neighbouring places, on the present occasion: the number of which visitors was estimated at ten thousand.

"The magistracy of the town intended me the honour of making me bear a star before the solemn procession of the saint: from which project they were with difficulty diverted, by the archbishop. His authority, and not my hereby, was my protection.

"The lower orders are extremely

ly credulous. The principal object of adoration among the men, and still more among many of the women, appears to be the silver image of the saint. With no less zeal than that recorded by St. Paul, they seemed to emulate the Ephesians; while they exclaimed, 'Great is Cataldo, the patron of Taranto!'

"The statue had been taken from its shrine, and placed in the middle of the church, the preceding day; on the 9th, in the afternoon. You can form no conception of the clamour of the people; or of the loud mixture of riotous mirth, and fleeting devotion. The women uttered their feelings with tears, howlings, and hideous grimaces. Men and women, all were desirous of touching the saint: some with their lips, others with the hand, and the most devout with their garments. One woman successfully opened herself a passage through the crowd, placed herself fervently before the image, gazed at it, and prayed to it, to excite its attention, as people are accustomed to do to those whom they would awaken from a reverie. *Hi! Hi! San Cataldo! San Cataldo!* A merchant conversed with me as zealously, concerning the uncovering of the image, as if he had spoken of the actual appearance of the saint; although he knew he was talking to a heretic, for he had questioned me, the Sunday before, whether I would not go to mass? and I had told him I was not a catholic. His terror deprived him of all reply. In his panic, not knowing how to conceal it and forgetful of what he was doing, he suddenly attempted to kiss both my hands.

"The divine service of yesterday was long; for in Taranto, and

in Brindisi, the ancient *Brundisium*, the epistles and gospels are always read first in Greek, and then in Latin. The solemn procession, with the image through the town, was numerously attended.

"According to the ancient Greek custom, the day of the town patron, *πολιεχος*, was devoted to national games. A high pole, which was loaped two thirds of its height, was erected before the gate, in honour of San Cataldo. A wheel was fastened above, which was hung round with hams, fowls, flasks, cheeses, sausages, and viands. To climb up this pole was the task; and, after many vain attempts and tumbles, at length one adventurer took possession of the wheel. Loud shouts of joy then resounded from the place, the city walls, and the round towers: all of which were covered with the thronging multitude. This was a peep into Grecian antiquity.

"The people are handsome; and, among the women, I saw many truly Greek beauties. I did not find that undeviating surface, which descends from the forehead to the nose and chin in a right line: a line which certainly can only exist in nature as an exception, is rather uncommon than beautiful, was first used by the artists who were guilty of excess, and afterward received among the dilettanti as the section of ideal beauty: but a gentle projecting, which effectually connected in many the right lined nose with the small forehead.

"The women wear their hair platted behind, and wound round the head; as we see it in the busts of the Grecian women, and especially of the Muses. The people of rank subject themselves to the fashion; and thus lose very much in

in comparison with those who adopt this beautiful costume.

"Both sexes are well proportioned. The women here are fair complexioned; though, in the other parts of Puglia, they are still as swarthy as the Apulians were in the times of Horace; whose usurer, Alphius, overcome for a moment by rational feelings, sighs after the country and wishes for a wife:

Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli.

HOR. Epod. 2.

Of sun-burnt charms but honest fame,
Such as the Sabine or Apulian dame.

FRANCIS.

"Many of the Tarentine women have fair hair, and blue eyes.

"This handsome people were yesterday particularly jocular; and, after the Italian manner, ornamented with various colours.

"The conqueror of the hams and sausages played many tricks upon the wheel, took one of the flasks and drank to the honour of the saint and of the city, and descended by a rope, which was fastened laterally to a wall, sometimes swinging by the hands, and at others holding by the legs.

"When this diversion was over, they had an ass race; and of many a one of these coursers it might well have been said, as Boileau has remarked of Rosinante, that

Galoppa, dit l'histoire, une fois dans sa vie.

History says he once began to gallop.

"Others ran foot races; and some were tied in a sack, so that, if they fell, they could not rise without help.

"Mildness is the character of the people. With the vivacity of

southern nations, they are easily excited, and easily appeased. Amid their zeal, they are tolerant; and there is dignity in the toleration of zeal. Nothing but stupidity or knavery, and more frequently the last, will praise the toleration of indifference.

"There are many Greek words in the Tarantine dialect. The archbishop caused a copy of these words, as collected by the Abbate Tommai, to be transcribed for me; most of which I here enclose.

"There is a kind of manufacture here, which has descended from mother to daughter, probably from the times of the Greeks. A species of shell-fish, called *pinna*, the least of which are some inches and the largest may be an ell long, afford a tuft of fine hair, or threads, of polished green colour. The archbishop had the goodness to send for some women, to work while we were present. The art is simple. The tufts are taken from the fish, are washed twice with soap, three times in clear water, then heckled, and afterward spun from the distaff: after which they take three threads, wind them, and out of them knit gloves, stockings, and entire garments. They have the gloss of the cloth called *drap de vigogne*, sit easily, and look handsomely. They likewise take two such threads for knitting, and add a third of silk; and the manufacture is then more durable, but less beautiful.

"These stuffs lose their gloss, and their green colour, when they are placed by the side of woollen garments. All aromatics likewise are still more injurious to them; and they are best preserved when worn with linen. After the gloss has been lost, by wear, it may be restored, by lemon juice, and water.

"A wo-

"A woman, who shewed us the manufacture, sent me small samples of the raw thread; also in its different states: washed, heckled, spun, and knit.

"I gave her a trifle, she blushed, and, with true cordiality and sensibility, requested that, before my departure, she might bring me a pair of gloves. The next day she came to the archbishop, and entreated him to intercede with me to take the gloves, which she brought me the same evening.

"I must not forget to tell you of a singular request. A monk came, when I was present, sent by the young novices, to the archbishop, and whispered him to petition me to petition the monk that he might grant them permission to go into the town in the evening, and see the illumination, in honour of the saint. Accordingly, the archbishop petitioned me, I petitioned the monk, and he complied."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

SHORT ACCOUNT of the MODERN GREEK LANGUAGE, its ORIGIN and SYSTEM.

[From DALLAWAY'S CONSTANTINOPLE ANCIENT and MODERN.]

“**B**ETWEEN the Romeika, or modern Greek language, and the ancient, a similar analogy may be found, as between the Latin and the pure Italian; for languages, no less than governments, have their revolutions and their periods. The Greek claims the highest antiquity, and perhaps after the Arabic has been preserved longer than any other; from the irruption and domination of other nations its purity has been eventually corrupted, as from Grecian conquests the Egyptian lapsed into the Coptic, and the Arabic into the Syriac.

“When Constantine established his new capital, so many Roman citizens followed him, that the Greek language adopted many Latinisms, and, once corrupted, the more readily admitted the idiom and words of the French and Venetian invaders, at the commencement of the thirteenth century. The establishment of the Ottoman empire extended the change, by the adoption of so many Turkish phrases and words, and the Romeika, or vernacular dialect, as it now

prevails, was universally established. Not that one mode of expression only is in use. The inhabitants of the Morea and the coasts of the Adriatic partake much of the Venetian; the islanders of the Archipelago and the Smyrniotes mix Venetian with Turkish. The Greeks of the Fanal speak almost classically, whilst those of the opposite town of Pera have the most vulgar pronunciation.

“The leading cause of deviation from the ancient Greek has been the great use of contractions, and the blending by that means several words into one.

“At what era the modern pronunciation was adopted it would be difficult to determine with any degree of precision. The more learned of the inhabitants of the Fanal strongly contend, that however their language has been debased by the alloy of others, that the pronunciation of the remotest times is continued to them, pure and without variation. This question, so much agitated at the revival of literature, is foreign to my present purpose, and it may be necessary

cessary to subjoin the more prominent distinctions*. Certain it is, that the modern Greek, pronounced as the ancient in England, would be as unintelligible to them as the Italian at Rome or the French at Paris, if we spoke or read them exactly as they are spelled, giving the letters and syllables the same power as to those in our own language.

"The Romeika resembles in its construction the Italian and French, and rejects the transposition of the

ancient Greek or Latin. It retains the articles and inflection of cases, but has neither duals nor aorists. The tenses are formed by the verbs substantive.

"A summary account, which my present limits allow me only to offer of a language so little known in Europe, may be considered as no unacceptable curiosity by some readers.

"The grammar of Simon Portius was the earliest attempt. Pere

* * The ancient alphabet and character are retained by the moderns, who are ill versed in or negligent of orthography, both in their epistolary correspondence and monumental inscriptions. Their printed books are tolerably correct. Some of them write the character very neatly. In their books for the church service the capital letters are grotesquely made and ornamented, departing entirely from the antique and simple form.

"Without entering into too wide a digression, I shall remark only the different powers given to letters which in the combination of syllables produce a sound so different from that which we have been accustomed to hear given them.

"B, connected with syllables, is pronounced as our *v*, and is expressed by the modern Greeks by a π after a μ : βασιλεύς, *vasilēs*—ἀμφοτε, *ambotes*.

"Δ and Θ, as the hard or soft *th* of the English: δὲ, *then*. Mr. Knight, in his ingenious treatise entitled 'An Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet,' 4to. 1791, observes, that 'the ancient manner of pronouncing Θ, was indisputably that which is still preferred by the modern Greeks, the Copts, and the English, that is, by a constrained aspiration between the tongue and upper teeth. All the other European nations pronounce it as a mute consonant, and throw the aspiration on the next succeeding vowel.' P. 13. Δ is syllabically formed by τ after ν: πάντα, *paṇta*.

"E has a sound of frequent recurrence, and with a certain nicety of articulation is expressed indiscriminately with the diphthongs *ai* and *oi*; which mode seems to have been adopted from the French. It has a broad tone, as *e* in *être*, or our *a* in *faté*.

"Φ for *f*, as in *philosophy*—the diphthong *au* is universally *au*, as αὐτός, *autos*.

"Γ has a soft tone between the *g* and *y* of the English; as Παγία *Panagia*. Two γγ are *ng*, as in the ancient ἄγγελος.

"I medial as *ee*, and final as *y* in *humanity*.

"K incipient as with us. X incipient very guttural.

"N final is generally quiescent, and when preceded by two vowels, the latter is likewise sunk: το νερὸν, *to nerō*—το κρασίον, *to krasion*.

"O and Ω are used indiscriminately. The double *oo* is the diphthong *ou*, as in the French.

"Π after μ is *b*, and before τ *f*, as πάντα, *esta*.

"Τ, incipient, medial, or final, as *ee*.

"Η and the diphthong *ai* have likewise the same sound.

"ΟΥ has the force of *oui* in French, and corresponds with the English *uv*.

"As a mechanical mode of facilitating pronunciation, the following management of the organs of speech is recommended, as tending to the acquirement of those sounds which are most frequent in the Romeika.

"Χ, χ before a consonant, as in χριστός, is best pronounced by drawing the tongue to the throat, and holding it suspended under the palate with the lips a little open.

"Ζ as *dth*, which is effected by forcing the tongue against the upper row of teeth.

"Γ incipient as *gh*, more gutturally than in English.

"Θ softer than Δ, which sound is produced by placing the point of the tongue between the teeth, almost closed with a kind of hissing.

"But perfection must depend upon an accurate ear, colloquial facility, and long practice.

Thomas

Thomas, a capuchin of Paris, composed another; and Spon has affixed to his voyage a meagre vocabulary, which he calls 'Petit Dictionnaire.' Mavro Kordato's 'Lexicon' (as I have before observed) contains the most systematic analysis. There are grammars extant of Romeika, French and Italian, for the use of the natives who acquire those languages. That of Benardino Pianzola, of Turkish, Romeika, and Italian, printed in the Roman character, is that in most general acceptance.

"With no pretensions to philological accuracy, I offer a summary sketch, noticing the leading discriminations, from classical Greek, and its analogy to the Italian and French, in grammatical construction.

"ARTICLES. The modern Greeks retain the articles ο, η, το, as used by the ancients, which are constantly prefixed to nouns, as demonstrative of genders, of which the neuter is admitted as one. Pleurals feminine are made by the article αι and the ancient dative, as αι ημεραις *days*.

"NOUNS are declined by articles, prepositions, and inflections. Nouns masculine and feminine have universally but three different terminations in both numbers, and the neuter but two only. There are five declensions arranged according to the termination of the nominative case.

"ADJECTIVES are always prefixed to nouns, as in English, excepting by the intervention of a verb, and are declinable with articles peculiar to the three genders. There are likewise five declensions.

"COMPARATIVES and SUPERLATIVES change the positive as the ancients—σοφος, σοφοτερος, σοφοτατος, adding likewise the prepositions *παρα* and *απο*; ο ανθρωπος

σοφοτατος *παρα* της αλλης, *a very wise man*.

"DIMINUTIVES are much used in conversation, by the modern Greeks as by the Italians. They join ει and αι to masculine or neuter nouns, and ιτα and ελα to feminine; as, ανθρωπειν, παιδαρι, *a little man—a little boy*; ψυχουλα, χοριττα, *a little soul—a little girl*; but especially to proper names, as Πητρουκι, Ζωιττα.

"PRONOUNS. The genitives of pronouns personal are always added to nouns: πατηρμυ, πατηρε πατηρης, πατηρμας, πατηρσας, πατηρες—*my, his, her, our, your, their father*.

"Personal relatives are declinable, and the others are supplied by the invariable pronoun ος. There are likewise demonstratives and interrogatives, &c. as in the ancient Greek.

"VERBS. There are four kinds derivative—auxiliary ειμι, *I am*, θελω, *I will*, and εχω, *I have*, which form the tenses of the other; and anomalous, or impersonal, which are but few.

"The derivative verbs are active, passive, and deponent only, and are divided into two classes, barytone and circumflex, the former of which have the accent placed on the last syllable but one, as γραφω, *I write*; and in the passive on the last syllable but two, as γραφομαι, *I am written*. The latter are accented on the final syllable, as αγαπω, *I love*; and in the passive on the last but one, as αγαπαμαι, *I am loved*. The difference of conjugations is determined by the first person present and the first person perfect of the indicative mood. The barytones have four and the circumflex three conjugations.

"There is no infinitive mood, from which tenses in other languages are deduced; but the potential with a conjunction is substituted,

ἀναγράφω, *to write*. The active participle resembles the Italian gerund — γραφοντας, *writing*; and the passive is pure Greek — γραφομενος, *written*.

"ADVERBS are mostly determined by α — πολλά καλὰ, *very well*.

"PREPOSITIONS all govern an accusative case.

"These slight observations may

communicate, merely as a matter of curiosity, some idea of the structure of a language upon which the character of barbarism has been often fixed with less justice than that of system and refinement upon the Italian and Spanish. The deviations from the original tongues have sprung from the same causes, and are nearly equal."

On the LATIN TERMS used in NATURAL HISTORY, by the REV. JOHN BRAND, A. M. & C.

[From the third Volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the LINNEAN SOCIETY.]

"THE Latin has been adopted as the language of natural history; but the Latinity of the natural historians has undergone no small censure.

"By the adoption of the Latin as the common language of the science, in the degree in which it obtains, new discoveries in it are propagated with great facility. Other branches of philosophy have not had the same good fortune; and every European nation is become philosophical: and thus, as Mons. D'Alembert has observed, he who devotes himself to the cultivation of any one of them, if he would keep his knowledge up to the level of its state, is reduced to the necessity of flinging away a very valuable part of his life, in acquiring seven or eight languages.

"But the latinity of the terms in which natural history is written, has been censured: upon this charge the following remarks may be made.

"Such terms must be either primitives or derivatives; now either of these may be barbarisms, when not found in any good Latin au-

thor; or *improprieties* (*verba impropria*, Quint.), when, though so found, they are not to be found used in the same sense. This must be admitted: but it is here contended, that it does not on this account *alone* follow that they are so. This is proved from the practice of the ancient grammarians in the invention of technical terms, in conjunction with the authority of Tully.

"First, the use of a Latin primitive or derivative, in a sense in which it does not occur in any pure Roman writer, is not necessarily an impropriety, technically so called; for if a considerable variation from such an established sense were so, the very grammatical terms of the Roman writers would fall under that censure, as for instance (*articulus*) an article, (*verbum*) a verb. When these terms were first used by grammarians, there was a great variation from their pre-established sense, and their primary significations—a joint, a word.

"It is likewise certain, that if grammar had not been reduced into an art among the Romans, these terms

terms would not have been now found in their technical senses in their writings. And if a writer of this age, having reduced the art into a system, had presented the world with the first Latin Grammar, and had given the same names, *verbum*, *articulus*, to the same things, his offence against pure latinity, or the pre-established good use of those words, would have been of the same magnitude as that of the original Latin grammarians, and no more; the same innovations in a language, living or dead, being of equal quality: yet the charge against the propriety of the terms used by such a writer, would be the same in kind as that brought against the natural historians; but it must have fallen to the ground—nor would it have been in degree less strong; for bolder extensions in the sense of Latin terms, are not, that I recollect, to be found in the Lexicon of our technical language. These fastidious grammatical exceptions are, in principle, exceptions both to the art and the philosophy of grammar. If the naturalists err in this point, they err with the grammatical fathers (*cum patribus*).

“Secondly, What I have to say about derivatives not used in Latin writers, will be contained in a short comment on a passage in the Academic Questions of Cicero, where he asserts the rights and privileges of those who treat on philosophical subjects in a language not yet enriched with proper terms, and exemplifies his principles in the formation of a new derivative, an authority from which I apprehend no appeal will be made. The translation of this passage is as follows. The original is placed at the end of this article*.

“*Varro*. ‘You will allow me the same liberty which has always been assumed by the Greeks, who

‘have long pursued these researches; that to unusual subjects I may apply terms which never have been in use.

“*Atticus*. ‘Certainly: but if our Latin language will not furnish them, you may have recourse to the Greek.

“*Varro*. ‘I am obliged to you; but I will endeavour to express myself in Latin, confining myself to such terms of Greek derivation as are already naturalized among us, as philosophy, rhetoric, physics, dialectics. I have therefore formed the new term *Qualitas*, to express the sense of the Greek word *Ποιότης*; which even among them is not a word of common use, but confined to the philosophers. In like manner, none of the terms of the logicians are found in the popular language; and the same is true of the terms of almost all the arts: to new things new names must be given, or those of others transferred to them. If the Greeks take this liberty, who have cultivated the sciences for ages, how much stronger is the reason it should be granted to us, in our first attempt to treat upon them!

“*Cicero*. ‘It seems to me, that you will do a work of utility to the public, if you not only increase the stock of our ideas, which you have already done, but also that of our words.

“*Varro*. ‘We shall therefore hazard the use of new words when necessary, and by your authority.’

“And where the same necessity, arising from the same source, exists, the same liberty is to be taken. And as Cicero, on this point, is an unexceptionable authority, let us examine his practice, to see to what degree it may be carried. The word *Qualitas*, derived from *Quale*, is now familiarized to the ear. The first boldness of this derivative is only perceived by reflection; but its degree

degree will strike us more immediately, if we take the English words *what*, or *such* (as), which answer to the Latin pronominal adjective *Quale*, and add one of the substantive terminations [hood] or [ness] to either, to make a philosophical term of it. I ask the severe grammarians, who protest against the class of new derivatives in the philosophical language of Linnaeus, to produce among them a bolder example of the creation of a new term.

"And by the same authority, we may defend his imposing new significations on old words; for in a few lines after the conclusion of the extract, there occurs a liberty of this kind, and as remarkable as the former; for Cicero there gives a new sense to the pronominal adjective *Quale*, in correspondence to that of his new derivative *Qualitas*; using it substantively to signify any being or thing, as compounded of substance and accident, or matter and qualities: 'Et ita effeci quæ appellant qualia; e quibus in omni natura coherente, et continuata cum omnibus suis partibus, effectum esse mundum.'

"It deserves to be remarked respecting these innovations, that this assertion of the legitimacy of the practice in all like cases is here put by Cicero into the mouth of Varro, the greatest critic and grammarian of the Augustan age; who wrote on the Latin language, and addressed his works to Cicero himself.

"Hence it appears, that philosophy is not restrained to the use of the common terms of any language; nor, for the same reason, to those of the historians, orators, dramatic writers, poets, &c. of that language, either separately or conjointly: but, as every art has terms of its own, so has every branch of science.

"That he who enriches any

science with a number of new discoveries, confers a second general benefit, by enriching the language in which he treats of them, by all such terms as shall be requisite to do it in the best manner.

"Cicero, repeating his new term *quality*, adds with great philosophical pleasantry, 'Faciamus tractando usitatus hoc verbum, et tritius.' And it may be said of the terms of natural history, that our elegant classical scholars will find their asperities wear off very soon, if, by adding to their former acquisitions a knowledge of this new philosophy, they make themselves practically versed in the use of them. There may remain some precisely descriptive, which may be yet added; some reformation may be wanted in those which may have been hastily adopted; and from them we may expect it.

"It is to be observed, that these arguments defend the liberty, not the licentiousness, of introducing new terms; and defend it upon the footing of necessity only; and therefore extend that liberty no further than such necessity actually extends.

"I had thought to have finished here; but having made so much use of the authority of the great ornament of the Roman forum, the sentiments of the elegant expositor of our own laws on this subject are not to be passed by. These, with a minute change to avoid the introduction of fresh matter, are as follows: 'This is a technical language calculated for eternal duration, and easy to be apprehended both in present and future times; and on these accounts best suited to preserve those memorials which are intended to perpetuate [every discovery in natural history]. It is true indeed, that many of the terms of art with

‘ which it abounds, may, as Mr. Selden observes, give offence to some grammatical and squeamish stomachs, who would rather choofe to live in ignorance of things most useful and important, than to have their delicate ears wounded by the use of a word unknown to Cicero, Sallust, or the other writers of the Augustan age.’

“ * Cic. Op. omnia, Gronovii. Acad. Quest. L. 1.

“ 24. *** Dabitur enim profectò, ut in rebus inusitatis, quod Græci ipsi faciunt, a quibus hæc jamdiu tractantur, utamur verbis interdum inauditis.

“ 25. Nos verò, inquit Atticus. Quin etiam Græcis licebit utare, cum voles, si te Latina forte deficient. Bene sanè facis: sed enitar ut Latine loquar, nisi in hujus modi verbis, ut philosophiam, aut rhetori-

cam, aut physicam, aut dialecticam appellem, quibus, ut aliis multis, consuetudo jam utitur pro Latinis. Qualitates igitur appellavi, quas ποιοτητας Græci vocant: quod ipsum apud Græcos non est vulgi verbum, sed philosophorum, atque id in multis. Dialecticorum vero verba nulla sunt publica; suis utuntur. Et id quidem commune omnium ferè est artium. Aut enim nova sunt rerum novarum facienda nomina, aut ex aliis transferenda, quod si Græci faciunt, qui in iis rebus tot jam sæcula versantur, quanto id magis nobis concedendum est, qui hæc nunc primum tractare conamur?

“ 26. Tu verò, inquam, Varro, bene etiam meriturus mihi videris, de tuis civibus, si eos non modo copia rerum auxeris ut effecisti, sed etiam verborum. Audebimus ergo, inquit, novis verbis uti, te auctore. **”

OBSERVATIONS on the NATURE of the CHINESE LANGUAGE.

[From Sir GEORGE STAUNTON'S ACCOUNT of the EMBASSY to CHINA.]

“ THE sounds of several letters in most alphabets, such as B, D, R, and X, are utterly unknown in the Chinese tongue. The organs of speech in a native of China are not in the habit of pronouncing them. In endeavouring to utter one of these, another to which the same organ has been habituated is generally sounded: instead of the letter R, the liquid L is usually pronounced by a Chinese; who thus occasionally falls into ridiculous mistakes. A Chinese dealer in rice, for example, is sometimes heard to offer for sale what few persons would be disposed to purchase.

“ The nice distinctions between the tones and accents of words nearly resembling each other in sound, but varying much in sense, require, no doubt, a nicety of ear to distinguish, and of vocal powers to render, them exactly. To succeed in making those distinctions perfectly, a stranger should begin to learn them at an early age, while his organs are flexible and acute. A material aid, however, towards taking each word in its proper sense is afforded often by the general context of the sentence in which they are used. An English reader, for example, will scarcely recollect, when in conversation,

versation, he had any difficulty in determining whether the idea of sun (which shines), or that of son (obeying his father), was meant to be conveyed, though the words are not to be distinguished in the pronunciation. Synonymous words are also very frequently introduced in Chinese dialogue, as has been before observed, to prevent any doubt about the intended sense. If, however, in an intricate discussion, any uncertainty should still remain as to the meaning of a particular expression, recourse is had to the ultimate criterion of tracing with the finger in the air, or otherwise, the form of the character, and thus ascertaining at once which was meant to be expressed.

"The learner of Chinese is, besides, not puzzled with many minute rules of grammar, conjugation, or declension. There is no necessity of distinguishing substantives, adjectives, or verbs: nor any accordance of gender, number, and case, in a Chinese sentence. That language furnishes, indeed, a practical proof, that the laborious structure, and intricate machinery of the Greek and Arabic tongues, are by no means necessary either for a complete communication on all the business of life, or even to the grace of elocution, or to the harmony of verse. The beginning or end of words is not altered, as it is in the Greek verb alone, in above one thousand instances, by the times of performing the action meant to be expressed, or the cases in which the things mentioned are intended to be placed. A very few particles denote the past, the present, and the future; nor are those auxiliaries employed when the intended time may be otherwise inferred with certainty. A Chinese who means to declare his intention of departing to-morrow,

never says that he *will* depart to-morrow; because the expression of the morrow is sufficient to ascertain that his departure must be future. The plural number is remarked by the addition of a word, without which the singular always is applied. Neither the memory, nor the organs of speech are burthened with the pronunciation of more sounds to express ideas, than are absolutely necessary to mark their difference. The language is entirely monosyllabic. A single syllable always expresses a complete idea. Each syllable may be sounded by an European consonant preceding a vowel, sometimes followed by a liquid. Such an order of words, prevents the harshness of succeeding consonants sounding ill together; and renders the language as soft and harmonious as the Italian is felt to be, from the rarity of consonants, and the frequency of its vowel terminations.

"The first sounds emitted probably by man, were exclamations consisting of single sounds, or monosyllables. The names, or sounds, by which men may be first supposed to have distinguished other animals, when occasion offered to designate them in their absence, were attempts at an imitation of the sounds peculiar to those beings; and still, in Chinese, the name, for example, of a cat, is a pretty near resemblance of its usual cry. It occurred as naturally to endeavour, in speaking, to imitate the voice, if practicable, as it was in writing, to sketch a rude figure of the object of description. It is observable, that the radical words of most languages, separated from the servile letters, which mark their inflections, according to their conjugations or declensions, are monosyllabic. A part of each radical word is retained in

composition to denote the meaning and etymology of the compound, which thus becomes polysyllabic; but the Chinese grammarians, aware of the inconvenience resulting from the length and complication of sounds, confined all their words, however significant of combined ideas, to single sounds; and retained only in writing, some part, at least, of the form of each character denoting a simple idea, in the compound characters conveying complex ideas.

"There is in the Chinese a certain order, or settled syntax in the succession of words in the same sentences; a succession fixed by custom, differently in different languages; but founded on no rule or natural order of ideas, as has been sometimes supposed; for though a sentence consists of several ideas, to be rendered by several words, these ideas, all exist and are connected together in the same instant: forming a picture, or image, every part of which is conceived at once. The formation of Chinese sentences is often the simplest and most artless possible, and such as may naturally have occurred at the origin of society. To interrogate, for example, is often, at least, to require the solution of a question, whether the subject of doubt be in a particular way, or the contrary; and accordingly, a Chinese inquiring about his friend's health, will sometimes say, *bou, poo bou*? The literal meaning of which is, 'well, not well?' A simple character, repeated, stands, sometimes for more than one of the objects, which, singly, it denotes; and sometimes for a collective quantity of the same thing. The character of *moo*, singly, is a tree; repeated, is a thicket; and tripled, is a forest.

"In Chinese, there are scarcely fifteen hundred distinct sounds. In

the written language, there are at least eighty thousand characters, or different forms of letters; which number, divided by the first, gives nearly fifty senses, or characters, upon an average, to every sound expressed; a disproportion, however, that gives more the appearance, than the reality, of equivocation and uncertainty to the oral language of the Chinese. Johnson's English Dictionary affords instances of words taken in upwards of one hundred different senses, without any doubt being thereby felt in English conversation; where, indeed, if there were, no recourse can be had for ascertaining its precise sense, as in the Chinese, to the form of the written character peculiar to each sense in which the word is received.

"The number of words in any language, or at least of senses in which each word is understood, must depend chiefly on the state of civilization to which the people that use it are arrived; and in some degree also, on the population of the country, and on the arts flourishing among them. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Chinese dictionary should contain, at least eighty thousand characters. Perhaps if every sense in which an English term is sometimes received, were considered as a distinct word, and the vast variety of those employed in the different arts and occupations of life were taken into the account, the number would not be much fewer than that of the Chinese.

"The characters of the Chinese language were originally traced, in most instances, with a view to express either real images, or the allegorical signs of ideas: a circle, for example, for the sun, and a crescent for the moon. A man was represented by an erect figure, with lines to mark the extremities. It was evident that the difficulty and tedious-

ness of imitation will have occasioned soon a change to traits more simple, and more quickly traced. Of the entire figure of a man, little more than the lower extremities only continue to be drawn, by two lines forming an angle with each other. A faint resemblance, in some few instances, still remains of the original forms in the present hieroglyphic characters; and the gradation of their changes is traced in several Chinese books. Not above half a dozen of the present characters consist each of a single line; but most of them consist of many, and a few of so many as seventy different strokes. The form of those characters has not been so flux as the sound of words, as appears in the instance of almost all the countries bordering on the Chinese sea, or Eastern Asia, where the Chinese written, but not the oral language, is understood; in like manner as one form of Arabic figures to denote numbers, and one set of notes for music, are uniform and intelligible throughout Europe, notwithstanding the variety of its languages.

"A certain order or connection is to be perceived in the arrangement of the written characters of the Chinese; as if it had been formed originally upon a system to take place at once, and not grown up, as other languages, by slow and distant intervals. Upwards of two hundred characters, generally consisting each of a few lines or strokes, are made to mark the principal objects of nature, somewhat in the manner of bishop Wilkin's divisions, in his ingenious book on the subject of universal language, or real character. These may be considered as the genera, or roots of language, in which every other word, or species, in a systematic sense, is referred to its proper genus. The heart is a ge-

nus, of which the representation of a curve line approaches somewhat to the form of the object; and the species referable to it include all the sentiments, passions, and affections, that agitate the human breast. Each species is accompanied by some mark denoting the genus, or heart. Under the genus 'hand,' are arranged most trades and manual exercises. Under the genus 'word,' every sort of speech, study, writing, understanding, and debate. A horizontal line marks a unit; crossed by another line, it stands for ten, as it does in every nation which repeats the units after that number. The five elements of which the Chinese suppose all bodies in nature to be compounded, form so many genera, each of which comprehends a great number of species under it. As in every compound character, or species, the abridged mark of the genus is discernible by a student of that language, in a little time, he is enabled to consult the Chinese dictionary, in which the compound characters, or species, are arranged under their proper genera. The characters of these genera are placed at the beginning of the dictionary, in an order, which, like that of the alphabet, is invariable, and soon becomes familiar to the learner. The species under each genus follow each other, according to the number of strokes of which each consists, independently of the one, or few, which serve to point out the genus. The species wanted is thus soon found out. Its meaning and pronunciation are given through other words in common use, the first of which denotes its signification, and the other, its sound. When no one common word is found to render exactly the same sound, it is communicated by two words, with marks, to inform the inquirer that the consonant of the first word, and the

vowel of the second, joined together, form the precise sound wanted.

“ The composition of many of the Chinese characters often displays considerable ingenuity; and serves also to give an insight into the opinions and manners of the people. The character expressive of happiness, includes abridged marks of land, the source of their physical, and of children, that of their moral enjoyments. This character, embellished in a variety of ways, is hung up almost in every house. Sometimes written by the hand of the emperor, it is sent by him as a compliment, which is very highly prized; and such as he was pleased to send to the ambassador.

“ Upon the formation, changes, and allusions of compound characters, the Chinese have published many thousand volumes of philological learning. No where does criticism more abound, or is more strict. The introduction, or alteration of a character is a serious undertaking; and seldom fails to meet with opposition. The most ancient writings of the Chinese are still classical amongst them. The language seems in no instance to have been derived from, or mixed with, any other. The written, seems to have followed the oral, language soon after the men who spoke it were formed into a regular society. Though it is likely that all hieroglyphical languages were originally founded on the principles of imitation, yet in the gradual progress towards arbitrary forms and sounds, it is probable that every society deviated from the originals, in a different manner from the others; and thus for every independent society, there arose a separate hieroglyphic language. As soon as a communication took place between any two

of them, each would hear names and sounds not common to both. Each reciprocally would mark down such names, in the sounds of its own characters, bearing, as hieroglyphics, a different sense. In that instance, consequently, those characters cease to be hieroglyphics, and were merely marks of sound. If the foreign sounds could not be expressed but by the use of a part of two hieroglyphics, in the manner mentioned to be used sometimes in Chinese dictionaries, the two marks joined together, become in fact a syllable. If a frequent intercourse should take place between communities, speaking different languages, the necessity of using hieroglyphics merely as marks of sound, would frequently recur. The practice would lead imperceptibly to the discovery that, with a few hieroglyphics, every sound of the foreign language might be expressed; and the hieroglyphics, which answered best this purpose, either as to exactness of sound, or simplicity of form, would be selected for this particular use; and, serving as so many letters, would form, in fact, together what is called an alphabet. This natural progression has actually taken place in Canton, where, on account of the vast concourse of persons, using the English language, who resort to it, a vocabulary has been published of English words in Chinese characters, expressive merely of sound, for the use of the native merchants concerned in foreign trade; and who, by such means, learn the sounds of English words. To each character is annexed a mark, to denote that it is not intended to convey the idea, but merely the foreign sound attached to it. The habit of applying the sound, instead of the meaning of hieroglyphics, to foreign words, led to the application

tion of them likewise as sounds, to assist the memory in the pronunciation of other hieroglyphics in the same language, but not in common use; and the repeated application of them for those purposes may be at length supposed to have effaced their original use. Thus the passage from hieroglyphic to alphabetic writing may naturally be traced, without the necessity of having 'recourse to divine instruction, as some learned men have conjectured, on the ground that the art of writing by an alphabet is too refined and artificial for untutored reason.' It is, indeed, equally natural to suppose that no such art could have preceded the establishment of hieroglyphic, as that a mixture of other nations superinduced the invention of alphabetic language. The exclusive existence of the former still in China is a proof and an instance, that the number of foreigners who had ever found their way among them, as the Tartars, for example, however warlike and victorious, bore so very small a proportion to the vanquished, that it introduced no more a change in their language, than in their usages and manners.

"The Chinese printed character is the same as is used in most manuscripts, and is chiefly formed of straight lines in angular positions, as most letters are in Eastern tongues; especially in Shanscrit, the characters of which, in some instances, admit of additions to their original form, producing a modification of the sense. A running hand is used by the Chinese only on trivial occasions, or for private notes, or for the ease and expedition of the writer; and differs from the other as much as an European manuscript does from print. There are books with alternate columns of both kinds of writing,

for their mutual explanation to a learner.

"The principal difficulty in the study of Chinese writings, arises from the general exclusion of the auxiliary particles of colloquial language, that fixed the relation between indeclinable words, such as are all those of the Chinese language.—The judgment must be constantly exercised by the student, to supply the absence of such assistance.—That judgment must be guided by attention to the manners, customs, laws, and opinions of the Chinese, and to the events and local circumstances of the country, to which the allusions of language perpetually refer. If it, in general, be true that a language is difficult to be understood in proportion to the distance of the country where it is spoken, and that of him who endeavours to acquire it; because in that proportion the allusions to which language has continually recourse are less known to the learner; some idea may be conceived of the obstacles which an European may expect to meet in reading Chinese, not only from the remoteness of situation, but from the difference between him and the native of China in all other respects. The Chinese characters are, in fact, sketches or abridged figures, and a sentence is often a string of metaphors. The different relations of life are not marked by arbitrary sounds, simply conveying the idea of such connection; but the qualities naturally expected to arise out of such relations become frequently the name by which they are respectively known. Kindred, for example, of every degree, is thus distinguished, with a minuteness unknown in other languages. That of China has distinct characters for every modification, known by them, of objects in the physical and intellectual world.

world. Abstract terms are no otherwise expressed by the Chinese, than by applying to each the name of the most prominent objects to which it might be applied, which is likewise, indeed, generally the case of other languages. Among the Latins the abstract idea of virtue, for example, was expressed under the name of valour, or strength (*virtus*), being the quality most esteemed amongst them, as filial piety is considered to be in China. The words of an alphabetic language being formed of different combinations of letters, or elemental parts, each with a distinct sound and name, whoever knows and combines these together, may read the words without the least knowledge of their meaning; not so hieroglyphic language, in which each character has, indeed, a sound annexed to it, but which bears no certain relation to the unnamed lines or strokes, of which it is com-

posed. Such character is studied and best learned by becoming acquainted with the idea attached to it; and a dictionary of hieroglyphics is less a vocabulary of the terms of one language with the correspondent terms in another, than an encyclopedia, containing explanations of the ideas themselves, represented by such hieroglyphics. In such sense only can the acquisition of Chinese words be justly said to engross most of the time of men of learning amongst them. The knowledge of the sciences of the Chinese, however imperfect, and of their most extensive literature, is certainly sufficient to occupy the life of man. Enough, however, of the language is imperceptibly acquired by every native, and may, with diligence, be acquired by foreigners, for the ordinary concerns of life; and further improvements must depend on capacity and opportunity."

On the COALITION attempted by some BRITISH ARTISTS, between POETRY and PAINTING.

[From the PHILANTHROPE: after the Manner of a Periodical Paper.]

"A Coalition of a very pleasing nature has been attempted by some British artists, between poetry and painting. Poetry and painting are no doubt congenial arts. They have some principles or essential qualities in common, and denote similar energies in the mind of the poet and painter.

"It is therefore exceedingly pleasing to see the fine fancy of the poet, particularly the bold and striking imagery of Shakespeare, as ex-

hibited in the Shakespeare gallery, realized by the pencil; and displayed, as it were, not only to mental, but actual vision.

"But the observation is no less just in criticism than in morals, that where we enjoy a great deal of pleasure, we also encounter a good deal of danger. Pleasing as on many occasions may be the effects of this combination between two of the most elegant arts, it ought not to be attempted in any instance, with-

without cautious deliberation and acute discernment. In particular, much discernment and good taste are required for ascertaining what passages in a poem are proper subjects for painting. Here the admirers of painting and the partisans of its alliance with poetry may be inclined to ask, are not all fine passages in a poem fit to be delineated by the painter; are not the arts congenial, and are they not produced by similar energies? They are admitted to be congenial; but some distinctions must be attended to. Let it be particularly attended to and remembered, that what is highly poetical is not always picturesque. Many fine thoughts of the poet, and many objects presented by him to the mind, cannot by all the creative power of lines, colours, and shades be rendered visible. Can any grief be more natural than that of Cordelia when she is informed how cruelly her sisters have treated their father? But who can pourtray the feelings that shrink from notice, as the sensitive plant from the touch; that veil themselves with reserve; that fly even from consolation, and hide themselves in the secret mazes and mysterious sanctuaries of the heart?

Kent. Did your letters pierce the queen to any demonstration of grief?

Gent. I say she took 'em, read 'em in my presence;
And now and then an ample tear
trill'd down
Her delicate cheek: it seem'd she
was a queen
Over her passion, which, most rebel
like,
Sought to be king over her.

Kent. O, then it moved her.

Gent. But not to rage. Patience
and sorrow strove
Which should express her goodliest:
You have seen

Sun-shine and rain at once. Those
happiest smiles

That played on her ripe lip seem'd
not to know

What quests were in her eyes,
which parted thence,

As pearls from diamonds dropt.—
In brief,

Sorrow would be a rarity most be-
lov'd,

If all could so become it.

Kent. Made she no verbal ques-
tion?

Gent. Once or twice,
She heav'd the name of father,
Pantingly forth, as if it prest her
heart,

Cry'd, Sisters! Sisters! What! i' th'
storm of night

Let pity ne'er believe it! then she
shook

The holy water from her heav'nly
eyes,

And then retir'd to deal with grief
alone.

“ In like manner, the sublime and awful vision in the book of Job, the indistinct form of the spirit, the portentous silence, and the solemn voice, shake and appal the soul; but set at defiance all the skill and dexterity of the most ingenious artist.

“ In thoughts from the visions of
‘ the night, when deep sleep falleth
‘ on men, fear came upon me, and
‘ trembling, which made all my
‘ bones to shake. Then a spirit
‘ pass'd before my face; the hair
‘ of my flesh stood up; it stood still,
‘ but I could not discern the form
‘ thereof; an image was before
‘ mine eyes; there was silence, and
‘ I heard a voice.’

“ In fact, persons of real candour, who are capable of discerning, and of giving attention to the beauties of nature, will acknowledge the existence of many fine and striking landscapes which cannot

not be imitated or displayed by the painter. Exquisite scenery, without being picturesque, may be distinguished both for beauty and grandeur. Or shall we say, as I have heard asserted by some fashionable connoisseurs, that nothing in external nature, no combination whatever of water, trees, and verdure, can be accounted a beautiful object, unless it can be transferred to the canvass. Contrary to this, it may at least be doubted, whether many delightful passages, if I may so express myself, both at the Leasowes and among the lakes in Cumberland, though gazed at with tenderness, or contemplated with admiration, would not baffle all the power of the pencil. Though poetry ought to be like painting, yet the maxim or rule, like many other such rules and maxims, is not to be received without due limitation.

"It is therefore the duty of the painter, who by his art would illustrate that of the poet, to consider in every particular instance, whether the description or image be really picturesque. I am loth to blame where there is much to commend, and where the artist possesses high and deserved reputation. But will it not be admitted that the picture by Reynolds, which represents the death of cardinal Beaufort as described by Shakespeare, is liable to the censure of injudicious selection in the choice of a subject? Or is it possible for any colouring or delineation to convey the horror of the situation so impressively as in the words of the poet?

Sal. Disturb him not, let him pass peaceably.

King. Peace to his soul, if God's good pleasure be!—

Lord Cardinal, if thou thinkest on Heaven's bliss,

Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope.—

He dies, and makes no sign:—O God, forgive him!

"The subject is entitled to more particular consideration. — Certain dispositions of mind produce great effects on the body; agitate the whole frame; impress or distort the features. Others again, more latent, or more reserved, suppress their external symptoms, scorn or reject, or are not so capable of external display; and occasion no remarkable, or no immediate change in limb, colour, or feature. Such peculiar feelings and affections, averse to render themselves visible, are not fit subjects for that art which affects the mind, by presenting to the eye the ressemblant signs of its objects. Despair is of this number: such utter despair as that of Cardinal Beaufort. It will not complain, for it expects no redress; it will not lament, for it desires no sympathy; brooding upon its hopeless affliction, it neither weeps, nor speaks, 'nor gives any sign.' But, in the picture under review, the painter represents the chief character in violent and extreme agitation. Nor is even that agitation, if we allow despair to display agitation, of a kind sufficiently appropriated. Is it the fullen anguish, the suppressed agony, the horrid gloom, the tortured soul of despair? No: It is the agitation of bodily pain. The poor abject sufferer gnashes his teeth, and writhes his body, as under the torment of corporal suffering. The anguish is not that of the mind.—No doubt, at a preceding moment, before his despondency was completely ratified, the poet represents him as in great perturbation; but the affliction is from the pangs of death.

War. See how the pangs of death do make him grin.

"But

" But after his despair receives full confirmation from the heart-searching speech of Henry, his feelings are seized with horror, and his agony will ' give no sign.' For the moment of the picture is not when Beaufort is said to be grinning with mortal anguish ; but the more awful moment, when having heard the request of Henry, he sinks, of consequence, into the deepest despondency. Before that, it would have been no other than the picture of a man, of any man whatever, expiring with bodily pain. If indeed the picture is to express any thing peculiar or characteristic, it must be despair formerly excited, but now ratified and confirmed by the speech of Henry.

King. Lord Cardinal, if thou
thinkest on Heaven's blifs,
Hold up thy hand, make signal of
thy hope. —
He dies, and makes no sign :—O
God, forgive him !

" In short, the passage, highly sublime and affecting, as it must be acknowledged, is more poetical than picturesque : and the artist has wasted, on an ill-chosen subject, his powers, rather of execution in this instance, than of invention. Surely we see no masterly invention in the preternatural being placed behind or beside the Cardinal ; for though the poet has said, in the character of Henry, that a ' busy meddling fiend ' was laying siege to his soul ; yet as the speaker did not actually see the fiend, there was no occasion for introducing him, like the devil in a puppet-show, by the side of his bed. Nor is there much invention in the stale artifice of concealing the countenance of the king, because his

feelings could not be painted. In fact, the affectionate astonishment and pious horror of Henry were fitter for delineation, than the silent, sullen, and uncommunicative despair of Beaufort.

" The rage of delineating to the eye all that is reckoned fine in writing may be illustrated also, in the performances of other able and famous artists. In Gray's Ode on the Spring, we have the following allegorical description :

Lo! where the rosy-bosom'd hours,
Fair Venus' train, appear,
Disclose the long expecting flowers,
And wake the purple year.

" The hours accordingly, adorned with roses disposed as the poet describes them, are represented on canvass, as a company of jolly damsels, twiching or pulling another very beautiful and buxom female, who is represented as sleeping on a bank, and clothed with a purple petticoat. Seeing such things, it is impossible not to think of Quarles's or Hugo's emblems. The thought, ' who shall deliver me from this ' body of sin and death,' is presented to the eye, in one of them, by the figure of a man enclosed within the ribs of a monstrous and hideous skeleton. In truth, the inventor of the prints in some editions of the Pilgrim's Progress (where, among others, Christian is represented as trudging along like a pedlar, with a burden on his back) is entitled to the merit of priority in the extravagance of such inventions ; for let it be remembered, that it is only against extravagancies and misapplications, and not against the invention itself, that I have ventured to remonstrate."

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MEANS OF CONFINING HEAT, and directing its OPERATIONS.

[From the Fourth NUMBER of COUNT RUMFORD'S EXPERIMENTAL ESSAYS, POLITICAL, ECONOMICAL, and PHILOSOPHICAL,]

“ **T**HAT heat passes more freely through some bodies than through others, is a fact well known; but the cause of this difference in the conducting powers of bodies, with respect to heat, has not yet been discovered.

“ The utility of giving a wooden handle to a tea-pot or coffee-pot of metal, or of covering its metallic handle with leather, or with wood, is well known: but the difference in the conducting powers of various bodies with regard to heat, may be shown by a great number of very simple experiments;—such as are in the power of every one to make at all times and in all places, and almost without either trouble or expence.

“ If an iron nail and a pin of wood, of the same form and dimensions, be held successively in the flame of a candle, the difference in the conducting powers of the metal and of wood will manifest itself in a manner in which there will be no room left for doubt. As soon as the end of the nail, which is exposed in the flame of the candle, begins to be heated, the other end of it

will grow so hot as to render it impossible to hold it in the hand without being burnt; but the wood may be held any length of time in the same situation without the least inconvenience; and, even after it has taken fire, it may be held till it is almost entirely consumed; for the uninflamed wood will not grow hot, and, till the flame actually comes in contact with the fingers, they will not be burnt. If a small slip or tube of glass be held in the flame of the candle in the same manner, the end of the glass by which it is held will be found to be more heated than the wood, but incomparably less so than the pin or nail of metal;—and among all the various bodies that can be tried in this manner, no two of them will be found to give a passage to heat through their substances with exactly the same degree of facility.

“ To confine heat is nothing more than to prevent its escape out of the hot body in which it exists, and in which it is required to be retained; and this can only be done by surrounding the hot body by some covering composed of a substance

france through which heat cannot pass, or through which it passes with great difficulty. If a covering could be found perfectly impervious to heat, there is reason to believe that a hot body, completely surrounded by it, would remain hot for ever; but we are acquainted with no such substance; nor is it probable that any such exists.

"Those bodies in which heat passes freely or rapidly, are called *conductors* of heat; those in which it makes its way with great difficulty, or very slowly, *non-conductors*, or bad conductors of heat. The epithets, good, bad, indifferent, excellent, &c. are applied indifferently to *conductors* and to *non-conductors*. A good conductor, for instance, is one in which heat passes very freely; a good non-conductor is one in which it passes with great difficulty; and an indifferent conductor may likewise be called, without any impropriety, an indifferent non-conductor.

"Those bodies which are the worst conductors, or rather the best non-conductors of heat, are best adapted for forming coverings for confining heat.

"All the metals are remarkably good conductors of heat;—wood, and in general all light, dry, and spongy bodies, are non-conductors: glass, though a very hard and compact body, is a non-conductor. Mercury, water, and liquids of all kinds, are conductors; but air, and in general all elastic fluids, steam not even excepted, are non-conductors.

"Some experiments which I have lately made, and which have not yet been published, have induced me to suspect, that water, mercury, and all other non-elastic fluids, do not permit heat to pass through them from particle to particle, as it undoubtedly passes through solid bodies, but that their apparent con-

ducting powers depend essentially upon the extreme mobility of their parts; in short, that they rather transport heat than allow it a passage. But I will not anticipate a subject which I propose to treat more fully at some future period.

"The conducting power of any solid body in one solid mass, is much greater than that of the same body reduced to a powder, or divided into many smaller pieces: an iron bar, or an iron plate, for instance, is a much better conductor of heat than iron filings; and saw-dust is a better non-conductor than wood. Dry wood-ashes is a better non-conductor than either; and very dry charcoal reduced to a fine powder is one of the best non-conductors known; and as charcoal is perfectly incombustible when confined in a space where fresh air can have no access, it is admirably well calculated for forming a barrier for confining heat, where the heat to be confined is intense.

"But among all the various substances of which coverings may be formed for confining heat, none can be employed with greater advantage than common atmospheric air. It is what nature employs for that purpose; and we cannot do better than to imitate her.

"The warmth of the wool and fur of beasts, and of the feathers of birds, is undoubtedly owing to the air in their interstices; which air, being strongly attracted by these substances, is confined, and forms a barrier which not only prevents the cold winds from approaching the body of the animal, but which opposes an almost insurmountable obstacle to the escape of the heat of the animal into the atmosphere. And in the same manner the air in snow serves to preserve the heat of the earth in winter. The warmth
of

of all kinds of artificial clothing may be shown to depend on the same cause; and were this circumstance more generally known, and more attended to, very important improvements in the management of heat could not fail to result from it. A great part of our lives is spent in guarding ourselves against the extremes of heat and of cold, and in operations in which the use of fire is indispensable; and yet how little progress has been made in that most useful and most important of the arts, — the management of heat!

“ Double windows have been in use many years in most of the northern parts of Europe, and their great utility, in rendering the houses furnished with them warm and comfortable in winter, is universally acknowledged, — but I have never heard that any body has thought of employing them in hot countries to keep their apartments cool in summer; — yet how easy and natural is this application of so simple and useful an invention! — If a double window can prevent the heat which is in a room from passing out of it, one would imagine it could require no great effort of genius to discover that it would be equally efficacious for preventing the heat without from coming in. But natural as this conclusion may appear, I believe it has never yet occurred to any body; at least, I am quite certain that I have never seen a double window either in Italy, or in any other hot country I have had occasion to visit.

“ But the utility of double windows and double walls, in hot as well as in cold countries, is a matter of so much importance that I shall take occasion to treat it more fully in another place. In the mean time, I shall only observe here, that

it is the confined air shut up between the two windows, and not the double glass plates, that renders the passage of heat through them so difficult. Were it owing to the increased thickness of the glass, a single pane of glass twice as thick would answer the same purpose; but the increased thickness of the glass of which a window is formed, is not found to have any sensible effect in rendering a room warmer.

“ But air is not only a non-conductor of heat, but its non-conducting power may be greatly increased. To be able to form a just idea of the manner in which air may be rendered a worse conductor of heat, or, which is the same thing, a better non-conductor of it than it is in its natural unconfined state, it will be necessary to consider the manner in which heat passes through air. Now it appears, from the result of a number of experiments which I made with a view to the investigation of this subject, and which are published in a paper read before the Royal Society, that though the particles of air, each particle for itself, can receive heat from other bodies, or communicate it to them, yet there is no communication of heat between one particle of air and another particle of air. And from hence it follows, that though air may, and certainly does, carry off heat, and transport it from one place, or from one body to another, yet a mass of air in a quiescent state, or with all its particles at rest, could it remain in this state, — would be totally impervious to heat; or such a mass of air would be a perfect non-conductor.

“ Now if heat passes in a mass of air merely in consequence of the motion it occasions in that air, — if it is transported, — not suffered to pass, — in that case, it is clear that what-

whatever can obstruct and impede the internal motion of the air, must tend to diminish its conducting power: and this I have found to be the case in fact. I found that a certain quantity of heat which was able to make its way through a wall, or rather a sheet of confined air $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch thick in $9\frac{1}{2}$ minutes, required $21\frac{1}{2}$ minutes to make its way through the same wall, when the internal motion of this air was impeded by mixing with it $\frac{1}{36}$ part of its bulk of eider-down, — of very fine fur, or of fine silk, as spun by the worm.

“ But in mixing bodies with air, in order to impede its internal motion, and render it more fit for confining heat, such bodies only must be chosen as are themselves non-conductors of heat, otherwise they will do more harm than good, as I have found by experience. When, instead of making use of eider-down, fur, or fine silk, for impeding the internal motion of the confined air, I used an equal volume of exceedingly fine silver-wire flattened, (being the ravellings of gold or silver lace,) the passage of the heat through the barrier, so far from being impeded, was remarkably facilitated by this addition; the heat passing through this compound of air and fine threads of metal much sooner than it would have made its way through the air alone.

“ Another circumstance to be attended to in the choice of a substance to be mixed with air, in order to form a covering or barrier for confining heat, is the fineness or subtilty of its parts; for the finer they are, the greater will be their surface in proportion to their solidity, and the more will they impede the motions of the particles of the air. Coarse horse-hair would be found to answer much worse for this purpose than the fine fur of a beav-

er, though it is not probable that there is any essential difference in the chymical properties of those two kinds of hair.

“ But it is not only the fineness of the parts of a substance, and its being a non-conductor, which render it proper to be employed in the formation of covering to confine heat; — there is still another property, more occult, which seems to have great influence in rendering some substances better fitted for this use than others; and this is a certain attraction which subsists between certain bodies, and air. The obstinacy with which air adheres to the fine fur of beasts and to the feathers of birds, is well known; and it may easily be proved that this attraction must assist very powerfully in preventing the motion of the air concealed in the interstices of those substances, and consequently in impeding the passage of heat through them.

“ Perhaps there may be another still more hidden cause which renders one substance better than another for confining heat. I have shown by a direct and unexceptionable experiment, that heat can pass through the Torricellian vacuum, though with rather more difficulty than in air (the conducting power of air being to that of a Torricellian vacuum as 1000 to 604, or as 10 to 6, very nearly); but if heat can pass where there is no air, it must in that case pass by a medium more subtile than air; — a medium which most probably pervades all solid bodies with the greatest facility, and which must certainly pervade either the glass or the mercury employed in making a Torricellian vacuum.

“ Now, if there exists a medium more subtile than air, by which heat may be conducted, is it not possible that there may exist a certain affinity

nity between that medium and sensible bodies? A certain attraction or cohesion by means of which bodies in general, or some kinds of bodies in particular, may, some how or other, impede this medium in its operations in conducting or transporting heat from one place to another? — It appeared from the result of several of my experiments, of which I have given an account in detail in my paper before mentioned, published in the year 1786 in the lxxvith vol. of the Philosophical Transactions, that the conducting power of a Torricellian vacuum is to that of air as 604 to 1000: — but I found by a subsequent experiment, (see my second paper on heat, published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1792,) — that 55 parts in bulk of air, with 1 part of fine raw silk, formed a covering for confining heat, the conducting power of which was to that of air as 576 to 1284; or as 448 to 1000. Now, from the result of this last-mentioned experiment, it should seem that the introduction into the space through which the heat passed, of so small a quantity of raw silk as $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the volume, or capacity of that space, rendered that space (which now contained 55 parts of air and 1 part of silk) more impervious to heat than even a Torricellian vacuum. — The silk must therefore not only have completely destroyed the conducting power of the air, but must also at the same time have very sensibly impaired that of the ethereal fluid which probably occupies the interstices of air, and which serves to conduct heat through a Torricellian vacuum: for a Torricellian vacuum was a better conductor of heat, than this medium, in the proportion of 604 to 448. But I forbear to enlarge upon this subject, being sensible of

the danger of reasoning upon the properties of a fluid whose existence even is doubtful; and feeling that our knowledge of the nature of heat, and of the manner in which it is communicated from one body to another, is much too imperfect and obscure to enable us to pursue these speculations with any prospect of success or advantage.

“ Whatever may be the manner in which heat is communicated from one body to another, I think it has been sufficiently proved that it passes with great difficulty through confined air; and the knowledge of this fact is very important, as it enables us to take our measures with certainty and with facility for confining heat, and directing its operations to useful purposes.

“ But atmospheric air is not the only non-conductor of heat. All kinds of air, artificial as well as natural, and in general all elastic fluids, steam not excepted, seem to possess this property in as high a degree of perfection as atmospheric air.

“ That steam is not a conductor of heat, I proved by the following experiment: a large globular bottle being provided, of very thin and very transparent glass, with a narrow neck, and its bottom drawn inward so as to form a hollow hemisphere about 6 inches in diameter; this bottle, which was about 8 inches in diameter externally, being filled with cold water, was placed in a shallow dish, or rather plate, about 10 inches in diameter, with a flat bottom formed of very thin sheet brass, and raised upon a tripod, and which contained a small quantity (about $\frac{2}{3}$ of an inch in depth) of water; a spirit lamp being then placed under the middle of this plate, in a very few minutes the water in the plate began to boil, and

and the hollow formed by the bottom of the bottle was filled with clouds of steam, which, after circulating in it with surprising rapidity 4 or 5 minutes, and after forcing out a good deal of air from under the bottle, began gradually to clear up. At the end of 8 or 10 minutes (when, as I supposed, the air remaining with the steam in the hollow cavity formed by the bottom of the bottle, had acquired nearly the same temperature as that of the steam) these clouds totally disappeared; and, though the water continued to boil with the utmost violence, the contents of this hollow cavity became so perfectly invisible, and so little appearance was there of steam, that, had it not been for the streams of water which were continually running down its sides, I should almost have been tempted to doubt whether any steam was actually generated.

“ Upon lifting up for an instant one side of the bottle, and letting in a smaller quantity of cold air, the clouds instantly returned, and continued circulating several minutes with great rapidity, and then gradually disappeared as before. This experiment was repeated several times, and always with the same result; the steam always becoming visible when cold air was mixed with it, and afterwards recovering its transparency when, part of this air being expelled, that which remained had acquired the temperature of the steam.

“ Finding that cold air introduced under the bottle caused the steam to be partially condensed, and clouds to be formed, I was desirous of seeing what visible effects would be procured by introducing a cold solid body under the bottle. I imagined that if steam was a conductor of heat, some part of the heat in the

steam passing out of it into the cold body, clouds would of course be formed; but I thought if steam was a non-conductor of heat,—that is to say, if one particle of steam could not communicate any part of its heat to its neighbouring particles, in that case, as the cold body could only affect the particles of steam actually in contact with it, no cloud would appear; and the result of the experiment showed that steam is in fact a non-conductor of heat; for, notwithstanding the cold body used in this experiment was very large and very cold, being a solid lump of ice nearly as large as an hen's egg, placed in the middle of the hollow cavity under the bottle, upon a small tripod or stand made of iron wire; yet as soon as the clouds which were formed in consequence of the unavoidable introduction of cold air in lifting up the bottle to introduce the ice, were dissipated, which soon happened, the steam became so perfectly transparent and invisible, that not the smallest appearance of cloudiness was to be seen any where, not even about the ice, which, as it went on to melt, appeared as clear and as transparent as a piece of the finest rock crystal.

“ This experiment, which I first made at Florence, in the month of November, 1793, was repeated several times in the presence of lord Palmerston, who was then at Florence, and Mons. de Fontana.

“ In these experiments the air was not entirely expelled from under the bottle; on the contrary, a considerable quantity of it remained mixed with the steam even after the clouds had totally disappeared, as I found by a particular experiment made with a view to ascertain that fact; but that circumstance does not render the result of this experiment less curious, on the contrary I think

it tends to make it more surprising. It should seem that neither the mass of steam, nor that of air, were at all cooled by the body of ice which they surrounded, for if the air had been cooled (in mass), it seems highly probable that the clouds would have returned.

"The results of these experiments compared with those formerly alluded to, in which I had endeavoured to ascertain the most advantageous forms for boilers, opened to me an entirely new field for speculation and for improvement in the management of fire. They showed me that not only cold air,

but also hot air, and hot steam, and hot mixtures of air and steam, are non-conductors of heat; consequently that the hot vapour which rises from burning fuel, and even the flame itself, is a non-conductor of heat.

"This may be thought a bold assertion, but a little calm reflection, and a careful examination of the phenomena which attend the combustion of fuel, and the communication of heat by flame, will show it to be well founded; and the advantages which may be derived from the knowledge of this fact are of very great importance indeed."

ACCOUNT of a METHOD of making SOAP of WOOL, with OBSERVATIONS respecting its Use in various ARTS. By M. CHAPTAL.

[From the ANNALES DE CHIMIE, and inserted in the Seventh Volume of the REPERTORY of ARTS and MANUFACTURES.]

"I Have already shewn the manner of making, at all times, in every place, and at a small expence, a saponaceous liquor which may be conveniently used, instead

of soap, for domestic purposes. (See the Report of Messrs. Pelletier, d'Arcet, and Le Lievre, on the art of making soap*.) I shall now present to the public a supplement to

"* As that part of the report referred to by M. Chaptal appears to be of general utility, we shall here give a translation of it.

"A very good way of using soap is, to employ it in a liquid state; that is, dissolved in water. In consequence of which, M. Chaptal proposes that saponaceous liquors should be prepared, which may be used instead of solutions of soap; and, in order to be able to procure such liquors, at all times, in all places, and at a small expence, he advises one or the other of the following methods to be practised. We shall describe them exactly as M. Chaptal communicated them to us, with observations thereon, made by himself.

"First Method.

"Take the ashes produced from the combustion of wood which has not been soaked, and make a ley of them, according to the usual manner; mixing with the ashes a handful or two of quick-lime, well pounded, or recently slaked. Let the ley stand till it is grown clear, by the settling or swimming of the foreign substances contained therein; then pour it into another vessel, and keep it for use. When it is proposed to make use of this ley, take any quantity of oil, and pour upon it thirty or forty times as much of the ley. Immediately a liquor as white as milk will be formed, which, by being well

to my former work, instructing them how to prepare, as a substitute for soft-soap, (which is at present made use of in fulling almost every

shaken, or stirred, lathers and froths like a good solution of soap. This liquor is to be poured into a washing-tub, or other vessel, and to be diluted with a greater or less quantity of water; after which, the linen, meant to be washed, is to be steeped therein, to be rubbed, and wrung, in the usual way.

“ Observations.

“ 1. It is better that the ley should not be made until the time when it is to be used: if it is left to stand in open vessels, its power is weakened, and its nature is changed.

“ 2. Fresh wood-ashes are preferable to old ones, particularly if the latter have been exposed to the air; in that case, they have no longer their usual power, and we must, in order to make them serve our purpose, mix with them a greater proportion of quick-lime.

“ 3. Those ashes also are preferable which are produced from hard wood: those which are left after the burning of floated wood cannot be made use of with equal success.

“ 4. Fat oils, of a thick consistence, are most proper for the purpose here spoken of: fine thin oils are by no means fit for it.

“ 5. If stinking oil be made use of, it is apt to give a bad smell to the linen; this may be removed by passing the linen carefully through a strong pure ley; but, in general, this smell goes off as the linen becomes dry.

“ 6. When the mixture of oil with the ley is of a yellow colour, it must be diluted with water.

“ 7. When the oil rises in the ley, and swims upon the surface of it, in the form of small drops, it shews that the oil is not fit for the purpose, not being thick enough; or else, that the ley is too strong, or not sufficiently caustic.

“ 8. To prevent the quick-lime from losing its power, and that we may always have some to use when we want it, it may be broken into small pieces, and kept in bottles well dried, and well corked.

“ Second Method.

“ Floated wood, which is made use of in many parts of France, produces ashes which contain very little alkaline salt, and which are consequently very improper for making leys; in that case, barilla, or potash, may be used instead of them.

“ Take barilla, and break it into pieces about the size of a walnut; put these into a vessel of any kind, and pour upon them twenty times their weight of water: the water is to be left upon the barilla till it appears, by putting a little upon the tongue, to be slightly salt.

“ Some oil is then to be put into an earthen vessel, and forty times as much of the barilla-ley is to be poured upon it: the mixture, which soon becomes milky, is to be well shaken, or stirred; and, after being diluted with more or less clean water, according to its strength, and the purpose for which it is intended, is to be made use of like a solution of soap in water.

“ Instead of barilla, pot-ash may be employed, but it requires a small quantity of pounded quick-lime to be mixed with it.

“ Observations.

“ 1. Alicant or Carthagena barilla may be used without any mixture of lime; but the bad barilla of our country requires to have mixed with it a greater or less proportion of lime, according to its degree of strength and purity.

“ 2. When barilla, of whatever kind it may be, is in a state of efflorescence, it cannot be employed without a mixture of lime.

every kind of woollen stuff,) a kind of soap which costs little, and which may be easily made in every woollen manufactory.

"In all manufactories of cloth, blankets, and other woollen goods, it is the custom to full the stuff, as soon as it comes from the loom. The intention of this operation is, not only to scour the cloth, &c. but also to render it more compact; and, in performing it, about thirty pounds of soft-soap are used to eighty pounds of woollen stuff. In the south of France, before the revolution, soft-soap cost twenty livres the hundred weight. A great part of our oil, and also of that of Italy, is consumed in making it; so also are the wood-ashes of the fires used for domestic purposes, in those countries where it is made.

"From what has been said, it is obvious how advantageous it would be to the manufacturer, and to commerce in general, to be able to supply conveniently the place of soft-soap, by an article, the preparation of which is neither difficult nor expensive. Besides the saving which would take place in the manufacturing of woollen goods, great advantage would arise from the ashes of our wood-fires being left, either for domestic uses, or for salt-works, or for manufactories of green glass; and, at the same time, the oil now used in making soap would remain, to be wholly employed for purposes wherein it is impossible to find a substitute for it.

"In all times, both the manu-

facturer and the government have sought how to get rid of the above-mentioned inconveniences. Fullers earth, pure alkalies, and other things, have by turns been made use of. The first performs the operations of bleaching and fulling very imperfectly: the second dissolve the cloth; and the manufacturers of Lodeve still recollect, with terror, a quack sent there by the government, some years ago, who proposed to make use of mineral alkali or barilla, instead of soap.

"To the inconveniences already mentioned we may add, that instead of rendering the cloth sufficiently soft and pliable, the substitutes just spoken of leave it in a degree of harshness, which nothing but soap completely removes. It is necessary, therefore, that any substance proposed to be used, instead of soft-soap, should possess the power of scouring, of fulling, and of softening, the cloth. The composition I am now about to describe unites all these advantages: experiments have, by my desire, been made with it, at Lodeve, by M. Michel Fabriguette, a person as well versed in philosophical pursuits as in manufacturing of cloth.

"The whole process consists in making a caustic alkaline ley or lixivium, with wood-ashes or pot-ash; in causing the ley to boil; and then dissolving therein as great a quantity of old woollen rags; or shreds of cloth, as the ley will dissolve. By this means a kind of soft-soap is produced, of a greyish-green

"3. If the barilla-ley is too strong, the oil is apt to swim on its surface; it must then be diluted with a proper quantity of water.

"4. Fat oil is most fit for this purpose: fine light oils should not be used.

"5. When the saponaceous liquor is greasy, and the linens washed in it are so likewise, they must be passed through a pure barilla-ley, to have their greasiness removed; which ley should first be warmed a little, to encrease its effect.

"6. When the water which was poured upon the barilla is all used, fresh water may be poured upon the remaining barilla. This water will acquire a saline taste, like the first: thus, the same barilla may serve for several successive operations.

colour,

colour, the ingredients of which are well combined with each other, and which is very soluble in water. It has an animal smell, which, however, the cloths get rid of, by being washed, and exposed to the air.

"The various experiments I have made on this subject have been attended with the following results:

"1. As soon as the wool is thrown into the boiling ley, its fibres adhere to each other, and a very slight degree of agitation is sufficient to render its solution complete.

"2. In proportion as fresh wool is added, the ley gradually acquires colour and consistence.

"3. The soap has more or less colour in proportion to the cleanliness and whiteness of the wool made use of.

"4. Hair of a coarser kind, which happens to be mixed with the old wool, is dissolved with more difficulty.

"5. The quantity of wool which ley is capable of dissolving depends upon its strength, its causticity, and its degree of heat. Two pounds, three ounces, and three quarters, of caustic alkaline ley, at twelve degrees of concentration, and at the boiling-heat, dissolved ten ounces and a half of wool. The soap, when cold, weighed one pound and four ounces.

"A similar quantity of alkaline ley, of the same degree of causticity and heat, in which I dissolved four ounces of wool, did not thereby acquire sufficient consistence to be capable of being used for the various purposes for which this soap is intended.

"Another similar quantity of ley, of four degrees of concentration, could not dissolve more than

two ounces and seven drams of wool. The soap was of a good consistence, and, when cold, weighed fourteen ounces.

"6. In proportion as the wool is dissolved in the ley, the solvent power of the alkali grows weak, and at last it will dissolve no more. When we observe that the wool, upon being stirred in the liquor, is no longer dissolved, it is then time to stop the process.

"I shall now point out what means are to be employed, in every woollen manufactory, to prepare the soap which will be wanted in it.

"On the Choice and Preparation of the Materials.

"The materials requisite to form this soap are only two; alkaline substances, and wool.

"The alkaline substances may be procured from the ashes of any fires where wood is burnt; and the ley is to be made according to the common well-known process.—Quick-lime is to be flaked with a small quantity of water, and the paste formed thereby is to be mixed with the ashes, (they being first passed through a sieve,) in the proportion of one-tenth part of quick-lime, by weight, to the quantity of ashes made use of. The mixture should be put into a stone vessel; (as wooden vessels not only colour the ley, but are themselves much injured by it;) and water is then to be poured upon it, in such quantity as to cover it, and rise some inches above it. These are to be left together for a certain time, and then the ley is to be drawn off by an aperture, made for that purpose, at the bottom of the vessel. It is best not to draw off the ley, till the moment when it is to be used: its strength should be from four to fif-

teen degrees; but the degree of concentration is a matter of very little consequence, since all the difference that results from making use of a weak ley or strong one, is, that a greater or a less quantity of wool will be dissolved.

"The pot-ash of commerce may also be made use of; it is to be employed in the same manner as the wood-ashes, but with one third of its weight of quick-lime.

"With respect to the choice of the wool, every one knows, that in the making of woollen cloths, blankets, and all other kinds of woollen goods, a series of operations are performed, from the first washing of the wool to the finishing of the cloth, &c. in each of which there occurs a loss, more or less considerable, of a portion of the original material. The water in which the wool is washed, the floor on which it is spread, and the warehouse in which it is deposited, exhibit sufficient proofs of this; so also do the operations of beating, carding, spinning, and weaving the wool, and those of shearing, combing, and fulling the cloth. It is indeed true that the scattered wool, produced from these various processes, is collected with some care; but many of them are of such a nature, that the waste wool resulting from them, either is dirty, and mixed with other substances, or it is cut so short, that it is rendered incapable of being again used: in either case, the manufacturer throws it on the dunghill. The making of the soap here described furnishes him with the means of bringing all these into use; nothing more being requisite than to collect them in the baskets in which the wool is washed, and to wash them carefully; as well for the sake of cleaning them, as to separate from them all foreign sub-

stances. When washed, they may be laid by till wanted.

"We may also, with equal advantage, make use of the cuttings and shreds of woollen cloth, which are found in the shops of woollen drapers, tailors, &c. and likewise of all sorts of garments, or other woollen articles, after they have been worn till they will serve no longer.

"On the Preparation of the Soap.

"When the ley is made, and the wool procured, nothing remains to be done, but to bring the ley to a boiling-heat in a common caldron. When it is brought to that degree of heat, the wool is to be thrown in, a little at a time, and the mixture is to be stirred, that the solution may go on the faster. A fresh quantity of wool should not be added, until the preceding quantity is dissolved; and the process should be stopped, as soon as we find that the liquor will not dissolve any more wool.

"It has been ascertained, by trials in the large way, made by Michel Fabriguette, with soap of this kind, which he prepared according to my instructions, that such soap scours the cloths, sets them, and softens them, perfectly well; but there are some observations to be made, respecting its use, which are too important to be omitted.

"First, when this soap is not prepared with sufficient care, or when it is made with dirty or coloured wool, it is apt to give the cloths, &c. a greyish tinge, which it is very difficult to remove. If the cloth is intended to be dyed, this tinge is of no consequence; but it would injure that fine white colour, which, in certain cases, is intended to be given, or to be preserved.

This

This tinge, however, may be prevented, by a very careful selection of the materials for making the soap which is meant to be employed for such delicate purposes.

"Cloths, &c. fulled with this soap, acquire, as was said before, an animal smell, which, without being very strong, is nevertheless unpleasant; but, water and air never fail to remove it.

"Having succeeded in fulling woollen cloths by the use of this soap, I attempted to use soda, in the place of pot-ash, and thus to form (according to the process above described) a hard soap, fit for the operations of dyeing cottons; and my experiments succeeded beyond my expectations.

"Forty-six pounds of soda-ley (of eight degrees) dissolved, in a boiling-heat, five pounds of wool; and afforded, when cold, sixteen pounds fourteen ounces of soap, sufficiently hard to keep its form.

"The first quantities of wool thrown into the soda-ley are easily dissolved; but it may be observed, that the liquor gradually grows thicker, and that the dissolution becomes more difficult and slower.

"The ley, by the wool first dissolved in it, acquires a green colour; it afterwards grows black; and the soap, when cold, still retains a blackish green colour.

"This soap has been made use of, in every different manner, and under every form, in my manufactory for dyeing cottons; and I am now satisfied that it may be employed, instead of the saponaceous liquor we are accustomed to make from ley of soda and oil, for the purpose of preparing the cottons. I have constantly observed, that if such a quantity of this soap be dissolved in cold water as will render the water milky, and the cotton be worked

therein, in the usual well-known manner, it will, by being passed three times through the liquor, and dried each time, be as strongly disposed to receive the dye, as cotton which has been seven times passed through the saponaceous liquors commonly used. This will not be thought very astonishing, when it is considered that animal substances are very fit for disposing thread and cotton to receive the colours with which they are to be dyed; and that the intention of several of the operations performed upon them, previous to their being dyed, is merely to impregnate them with such substances.

"It is necessary to remark, that cotton, by being passed through a solution of this soap, acquires a grey tinge, very much like that which is given to; it by aluming; although the common saponaceous liquors give it a beautiful white colour. This grey colour, however, is no disadvantage to cotton which is intended to be dyed, as we have already remarked with respect to woollen cloths.

"In confirmation of what I have said above, respecting the advantage to be derived from making use of this soap, I may add, that after having impregnated some cotton with it, according to the usual method, I made it pass through all the processes which wool undergoes, in order to be dyed of a scarlet colour. The consequence was, that the cotton was thereby dyed of a deep and very agreeable flesh-colour; whereas, cotton which had not been prepared in that manner, came out of the bath almost of its natural colour. This first trial promises advantages which I mean to pursue.

"It may be right to observe, that this soap of wool may advantageously be made use of, instead of

common soap, for domestic purposes. I have employed it, with the greatest success, in washing linen; and it is particularly efficacious in scouring woollen garments, &c. I have no doubt that the facility and economy with which its preparation is attended, will cause its use to be extended to many other purposes; in the mean time, I thought it right to give an account

of the various ways in which I have applied it.

"I shall only add, that as the soap here described gives to woollens and cottons a grey tinge, which is very difficult to remove, it follows that it cannot be used for washing linen, unless it be made of white wool, carefully selected, and well washed."

INTERESTING ACCOUNT of the EFFECTS produced on the HUMAN BODY, by the INTERNAL USE of NITROUS ACID, and of the BENEFIT derived from it in the CURE of DISEASES, by Mr. SCOTT, of BOMBAY.

[From Drs. DUNCANS' ANNALS of MEDICINE for the Year 1796.]

"THE following interesting article of medical news has not probably fallen into the hands of many of our readers; and to all of them it will, we doubt not, appear so singular as to deserve particular attention. If the observations made by Mr. Scott shall be confirmed by the experience of others, the nitric acid will afford a most valuable remedy for combating diseases, against which, the remedies commonly employed are often attended with so much inconvenience.

The acid that I now employ for internal use, is procured from a mixture of three parts of alum, and one of nitre. I have no objection to my name being used on this subject; for I really believe, that such a remedy would be highly useful to mankind, if judiciously employed, especially in warm climates, where a tendency to animalization gives a particular character to all our diseases.

I am, &c.

W. SCOTT.

LETTER TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS,

Bombay, 6th May, 1796.

"I embrace an opportunity of sending you a short account, that I have just published, of the effects of the nitrous acid on the human body. As I have long made use of this active agent, and in a great variety of cases, I am persuaded that I have not been deceiving myself. Another paper will shortly be published on this subject, which I shall also take the liberty of sending you.

Account of the Effects of the Nitrous Acid on the Human Body, extracted from the Bombay Courier, April 30, 1796.

The following attempt to extend a little the limits of the healing art, is inscribed as a tribute of respect to the character of Dr. James Anderson, physician-general at Madras.

"In August 1793, I employed myself for some time in making experiments on the bile, a secretion that is connected in a great degree with

with many of the diseases of this country. I wished to unite some of the calces of mercury with the resinous matter of that fluid; for I imagined that I might discover some chemical affinity between those substances, and be able to see by what means this metal is so singularly qualified for removing obstructions of the liver.

"I had collected, for experiment, a quantity of the resinous base of the bile of a buffalo, which I had separated very carefully from its soda, and from the lymphatic matter with which it is united. I had put a dram or more of this substance into a vessel, to which I added about half of the same weight of the red calx of mercury, with ten or twelve ounces of water. On heating the whole together, I was surprised to observe, that the base of the bile became remarkably more soluble in the water. I cannot say that I observed the red colour of the calx in any great degree altered; but it is known to retain its brilliancy with different quantities of oxygen. I filtrated this bitter solution, which deposited the base of the bile, as the water, evaporated in the ordinary heat of the atmosphere. I shall at another time consider this subject with a little more attention.

"M. Fourcroy has observed, that water dissolves a small portion of the base of the bile. In this experiment, a considerably larger quantity was taken up than water could have dissolved, which I attribute to the oxygenation of the resin by the pure air of the calx. I had some reason to think, that obstructions of the liver do often consist of a deposition of the resin of the bile, which, I now began to suppose, might be rendered soluble in the animal fluids, by the pure air of the mercurial preparations that are given for the disease. I have seen

livers, on the dissection of the dead, of a pearl colour, and much enlarged, which, I suspect, were composed in a good measure of this resinous matter. I have even found it, from accurate trials, in a considerable quantity, in the substance of a liver that was apparently without disease. Is the well-known effect of new grafs, in dissolving the biliary calculi of the gall-bladder, that cattle get in the winter-time, to be accounted for from the pure air of green and ascescent vegetables?

"It is acknowledged, that all the calces of mercury which are used in medicine, contain a quantity of pure air; but I know of no direct experiment having been hitherto made, to prove that the effect of mercury in diseases of the liver, or in other maladies, depends on this principle, and not on the metal itself. The experiments, that I had made on the base of the bile, inclined me to wish to take myself a quantity of pure air, united to some substance for which it has no great attraction. I reflected on the different ways that are employed by chemists to oxygenate inanimate matter; for I believed, that the same chemical attractions would produce a similar effect in the living body, although they might be disturbed in their operation by the vitality of the machine, and the variety of the principles of which it is composed.

"The nitric acid, as may be supposed, was one of the first substances that occurred to me as fit for my purpose; for it is known to contain about four parts of vital air, united to one of azote, with a certain proportion of water. These principles can be separated from each other by the intervention of many other bodies, as chemists find every day in their operations. I was led, besides, to give a preference to the nitric acid, from observing, that it dissolves

solves very completely the resinous base of the bile. I have since found, that the celebrated M. Fourcroy had made the same observation before me.

" Before I began to take the nitric acid, I consulted all the accounts of it, that I could procure, with a view of learning something of its effects on the human body. The result of this inquiry was but little satisfactory; for I only found that it had been given as a diuretic, in very insignificant quantities, or recommended in general terms, where the mineral acids are supposed to be useful. I did not think myself warranted to administer it to others from such imperfect information; but I resolved to take it myself; and I thought I was particularly qualified to determine its effects, as I had reason, for a long time before, to complain of my liver.

" In September 1793, I began to take the nitric acid. I mixed about a dram of the strongest that I could procure, with a sufficient quantity of water; and I was happy to find, that I could finish that quantity in the course of a few hours, without any disagreeable effects from it. The following is the journal that I kept of myself at the time.

" 11th September, 1st day. Took at different times about a dram of strong nitric acid, diluted with water. Soon after drinking it, I feel a sense of warmth in my stomach and chest; but I find no disagreeable sensation from it, nor any other material effect.

" 2d. I have taken to-day a considerable quantity of acid, diluted with water, as much as I could easily drink during the forenoon.

" 3d. I have continued the acid. I feel my gums affected from it, and they are somewhat red, and enlarged between the teeth. I slept ill;

but could lie for a length of time on my left side, which, from some disease in my liver, had not been the case for many months before. I perceive a pain in the back of my head, resembling what I have commonly felt when taking mercury.

" 4th. My gums are a little tender. I continue the acid as before. I still find a pain in my head, and about my jaws, like what arises from mercury. I perceive no symptoms of my liver-complaint.

" 5th. I have taken the acid; and always feel an agreeable sense of heat after drinking it. I spit more than usual.

" 6th. I continue the acid. I observe my mouth sorer to-day, and spit more.

" 7th. I think I am now sufficiently oxygenated. I feel my mouth so troublesome, that I shall take no more acid.

" From this time my mouth got gradually well, and I found my health considerably improved.

" I now began to suppose, that I had discovered a remedy for that chronic disease of the liver, which is so much more common here than the acute hepatitis. I thought that it might in some respect be preferable to mercury, as it did not appear to produce the inconveniences that arise from the use of that metal. I have given it since to a number of people, who had taken mercury for hepatic obstructions, without being effectually cured; and I have found it in many cases produce the most agreeable consequences. If it were proper on this occasion to be more particular in detailing the cases in which I have administered this remedy, I believe I could make it very probable that I have not been deceiving myself. In the acute hepatitis, I have hardly employed it; for where the life of a person is in immediate danger, I have thought

it my duty to make use of remedies that are established.

"I have, with the best effect oxygenated several people with the nitric acid, who were much reduced by tedious intermittents. That kind of fever is often connected with diseased liver or spleen. In consequence, I think, of this remedy, I have seen them recover their natural colour from a leaden or bilious hue, and regain their strength from a long continued weakness. I believe, if given in a sufficient quantity, it would be very useful in the fever of this country, which has been called bilious, or nervous, or putrid, and for which mercury appears to be a specific.

"I have met with two instances only in this country of diabetes. They were both natives, and in the decline of life. I cured them both by mercury, after many other remedies had been tried. One of these men had a relapse of his disease, which I removed a second time with the nitric acid. I thought this a satisfactory correspondence in the effects of the two remedies. May they not both be useful in that disease?

"The great resemblance that I perceived in myself, between the effects of mercury and of the nitric acid, made me anxious to know if the acid would remove the various symptoms of syphilis. In September 1793, it was administered, at my desire, by my friend Mr. Anderson, surgeon of the 77th regiment, to a person who had a head-ach that came on every night, and which had long been suspected to arise from lues. He had taken several courses of mercury on this account, which carried away all the uneasy symptoms; but they as constantly returned after a certain period. On using the acid for about a fortnight, he got perfectly free

from his head-ach, and he remained very well for a few months, as was usual to him after mercury.

"I have now had a pretty extensive experience of the good effects of the nitric acid in syphilis; and I have reason to believe, that it is not in general less effectual than mercury in removing that disease in all its forms, and in every stage of its continuance. I think that in some cases it has even superior powers; for I have succeeded completely with the acid, when mercury, administered both in this country and in Europe for years together, had failed of success. We appear to be able to carry the degree of oxygenation of the body to a greater length by means of the nitric acid, and to continue it longer than we can do by mercury.

"A mass of mercury, in the circulation, produces many disagreeable effects, that make it often necessary to give over its use before it has answered its intention: but the nitric acid may be taken a long time without any material injury to the health; nor are its effects on the month, in producing inflammation, and a flow of saliva, so disagreeable as from mercury.

"A man could hardly offer to his species a greater blessing than a new remedy against any of the host of diseases that assail us; but the reputation of specifics, with the exception of a few instances, has arisen only from the weakness of the human mind. Am I too deceiving myself, and attempting to lead others into error?

"As the acid that I distil is not strong, and is of unequal strength at different times, I am regulated chiefly by the taste in giving it. I put half or three fourths of a Madeira glassful of it in two pints of water, or I make two pints of water as acid as it can well be drunk. This quantity

tity is finished every twenty four hours, taking about a Madeira glassful only at a time.

"I have sometimes removed syphilitic symptoms with the acid in five days; more commonly, I think, they give way in a fortnight; but sometimes, though seldom, they continue for twenty days without any apparent relief. I must confess, that in some cases I have failed altogether; but in those cases, mercury had long been given to little purpose; the bones were highly diseased, and the habit probably of a peculiar kind. I have cured syphilis with the acid, under a variety of forms, where no other remedy had ever been employed, and for above two years I have seen no relapse in those cases. I have administered it against the primary symptoms of the disease, and I have given it for exostoses, for carious bones, for nocturnal pains, for eruptions and ulcers

of the skin, and for all the train of misery that is attendant on lues. I have the pleasure to see, that several of my friends have begun to use the nitric acid in syphilis, and in other diseases. An account of their experience, which every body will esteem the most respectable authority, will make the subject of a future paper.

"I hope this slight account will induce medical practitioners to try the effect of the nitric acid in syphilis, a disease which, in this climate, is so frequently the disgrace of their art. Too often the miserable wretch is but worn down sooner by the very remedies that are called in for his relief.

"Quæstæ que nocent artes; cessere magistri,

"Phyllirides Chiron, Amythaoniusque Melampus.

"VIRG. GEORG. III."

LETTER describing the good EFFECTS of inspiring VITRIOLIC ÆTHER
in CASES of PHTHISIS PULMONALIS.

[From the same Work.]

"DR. Richard Pearson, of Birmingham, has transmitted to many of his friends the following circular letter, dated July 1, 1796, respecting a particular practice in phthisis pulmonalis, which, he thinks, he has employed with great benefit.

"Having, for the last two years, prescribed the vapour of vitriolic æther to patients labouring under phthisis pulmonalis, and having, both in hospital and private practice, experienced the best effects from its use in this frequent and formidable disease, I am preparing to

lay before the public a report of the cases in which it has been given, accompanied with remarks on some other remedies that may be employed with advantage in the cure of consumptions. Being desirous, in the recommendation of a new medicine, to have my own evidence supported by the concurrent testimonies of other practitioners, I take the liberty of calling your attention to this subject, and of submitting to your notice my method of using this application, which is simply this: I direct the patient to pour one or two tea-spoonfuls of pure

pure vitriolic æther, or of æther impregnated with cicuta in the manner hereafter described, into a tea-cup or wine-glass, and afterwards to hold the same up to the mouth, and draw in the vapour that arises from it with the breath, until the æther is evaporated. This is repeated three, four, or five times, in the course of a day, for a month or six weeks, more or less according to circumstances. The first effects of this application are, an agreeable sensation of coolness in the chest, an abatement of the dyspnoea and cough, and, after ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, easier expectoration. The ultimate effects, provided other proper measures be not neglected, for this is not to supersede the use of other medicines, but to be employed in conjunction with them, are, a removal of the local inflammation, a cleansing and healing of the ulcerated lungs, and a suppression of the hectic fever. To assert that all these beneficial consequences will flow from its application in every species and degree of phthisis pulmonalis, would be adopting the language of quacks, and insulting the understanding of every one experienced in the profession: but to say that some of these good effects are likely to result from its use in most instances, and most of them in a great number of instances, is asserting only what an experience of two years, in a situation where the opportunities of making trial of it have been very frequent, has fully confirmed.

"The salutary operation of the æther applied to the lungs in the form of vapour, I have found to be greatly promoted by several volatile substances that are soluble in it but, by none more so than the cicuta. By macerating a sufficient quantity of the dried leaves of this plant in æther, for the space of three or four

days, or at most a week, and occasionally shaking them together, a very saturated tincture is obtained, which may be inhaled in the same manner, and in the same doses, as the pure æther. My proportions are a scruple or half a dram of the powdered leaves to every ounce of æther. The narcotic particles of the cicuta, conveyed in this manner, along with the æther, to the diseased lungs, act as a topical application with the best effect: hence æther, thus impregnated, succeeds in most instances better than when it is employed alone. The only unpleasant circumstance attending the inhalation of this æthereal tincture of cicuta, is a slight degree of sickness and giddiness which, however, soon go off.

"It cannot be expected that I should here point out every symptom, or set of symptoms, which indicate or forbid the use of this application: I shall only remark, that it appears to be best suited to the florid, or what is commonly termed the serophulous consumption. Where the pulmonic affection is complicated with the mesenteric obstruction, or diseases of the other viscera, or a dropical condition, it affords but transitory relief: and in the very last stage of the disorder, the proper time of using it is past.

"Should you be induced, sir, by this address to make trial of the vapour of vitriolic æther, impregnated with cicuta, in phthisical cases, I shall be glad to be favoured with your remarks and observations upon it, whether in its favour or not. All communications on this subject are requested to be sent before the 1st of January next, as after that time the treatise will be printed.

"(Signed)

"RICHARD PEARSON, M. D.

"Birmingham, 1st July 1796."

CURIOUS

CURIOUS FACT in the HISTORY of the common MOLE, by ARTHUR
BRUCE, Esq. &c.

[From the third volume of the TRANSACTIONS of the LINNEAN SOCIETY.]

“**T**HAT the mole does, in common with other quadrupeds and man, possess that spirit of curiosity which prompts to emigration and even to transmarine expeditions, I found out last summer from the best authenticated facts.

“In visiting the Loch of Clunie, which I often did, I observed in it a small island at the distance of 180 yards from the nearest land, measured to be so upon the ice. Upon the island, lord Airly, the proprietor, has a castle and a small shrubbery. I observed frequently the appearance of fresh mole-casts, or hills. I for some time took it to be the water-mouse, and one day asked the gardener if it was so? No, he said, it was the mole; and that he had caught one or two lately. But that five or six years ago he had caught two in traps; and for two years after this he had observed none. But about four years ago, coming ashore in a summer's evening in the dusk,

the 4th or 5th of June, 10 o'clock P. M. he and another respectable person, lord Airly's butler, saw at a small distance upon the smooth water some animal paddling to, and not far distant from the island. They soon, too soon! closed with this feeble passenger, and found it to be our common mole, led by a most astonishing instinct from the nearest point of land (the castle hill) to take possession of this desert island. It was at this time for about the space of two years quite free from any subterraneous inhabitant; but the mole has for more than a year past made its appearance again, and its operations I was witness to.

“In the history of this animal I do not at present recollect any fact so striking; especially when we consider the great depth of the water, both in summer and winter—from six to ten, fifteen, and some places as deep as thirty or forty feet, all round the island.”

ANTIQUITIES.

REMARKS on the OPINIONS entertained by different COMMENTATORS,
with respect to the SITUATION of the HELL of HOMER.

[From the first Volume of COUNT STOLBERG'S TRAVELS.]

“ **B**E it granted that Virgil was right in following antient tradition, and profiting by the natural gloom of the places, and the dismal ideas of the religion of the people concerning these places, the *religio loci*, as he elsewhere terms it: let it be proved, and nothing more can be proved, that the entrance to his hell was at Avernus: it yet appears to me, however great the authorities may be to the contrary, that the opinions of those are unfounded who suppose the hell of Homer to have the same situation. There is scarcely any hypothesis which acuteness may not render probable: as this seems to have been rendered. Cluverius himself, a very intelligent reader and commentator of the antients, encourages this dream.

“ Homer,” says he, “ makes Ulysses sail from the country of Circe, to that of Cimmeria in one day; and likewise with a north wind. Put these circumstances together, and he could only sail to these parts. The grove of Proserpine and the gloomy palace of Pluto, as mentioned by Homer,

‘ were at the lake of Avernus; and the narrow shore was what was called the dam of Hercules: that leads from the Tyrrhene sea to the Lucrine lake.’

“ In his treatise on the wanderings of Ulysses, he says, ‘ By the ocean, Homer here understands the Lucrine lake and that of Avernus.’

“ Various circumstances are thus brought together; and, in a certain sense, it would give me great pleasure now to be personally present on the places where these scenes have passed. How interesting would it be, for a passionate admirer and lover of Homer, to visit those countries that have been honoured by his boldest flights! But the most interesting of all things is truth.

“ By the ocean of Homer, we now generally understand the ocean properly so called. Our learned Voss has taught us that Homer, and other poets, who lived long after Homer, by the word *oceanus*, understood the great stream: which, according to their opinion, flowed round the earth. Now, in whichever sense we understand it, we shall

shall find how impossible it was that the poet, in the above passage, could describe the Lucrine lake and the lake of Avernus by the term *oceanus*.

"He was unacquainted with the Avernus, for he did not go up the country; and before Agrippa had levelled the high shore of this lake, on the side next the sea, and had united it with the Lucrine lake, it was not visible from the sea.

"And even if Homer had ascended this high shore, he would have been convinced of the small circumference of the lake, and certainly would not have called it the ocean.

"That in later ages, though long before the time of Virgil, the residence of the dead was sought for in this country, I very well know. It was later ages that dedicated to Proserpine her grove, and to Pluto his gloomy palace. Livy tells us that Hannibal led a part of his army to Avernus, under the pretext of sacrificing there; but in reality to make an attempt upon Puteoli, and the Roman garrison that it contained.

"I believe it is a very ancient opinion that Homer led his Ulysses to this place. The idea was flattering to the Greeks, who inhabited these coasts; and very slight grounds would make it credited, by the people of Cumæ, Puteoli, Baiæ, and Parthenope: the present Naples.— They were likewise interested in a political view: it made them respected. Beside, offerings no doubt were brought to their temples; and the nature of the country favoured the prejudice. The inundating, noxious, vapour-exhaling, water of the sea and the rivers, the at that time fiery Epomeus of the island of Ithia, the caverns exhaling sulphur, the volcanic traces of the country, where the inhabitants stumbled as it

were over the ruins of nature, the frequent earthquakes, and add to these the vicinity of all the delights of nature contrasted with all her horrors, these circumstances, taken collectively, gave rise to, and food for, the imaginary fables and terrors of the empire of death: an empire in which, according to the relation of Homer, the abodes of the blessed border on the confines of the damned.

"As an attentive reading of the *Æneid* has long vindicated Virgil from the absurdity of having placed his entire hell in regions well known upon earth; so likewise, had the travels of Ulysses been attended to in the same spirit, they would not have led the reader to discover the shades of death in this place. Without having recourse to the strange confusion of the lake of Avernus with the ocean, this hypothesis is self-destructive.

"What reason could Ulysses have to return from the shades of hell to Circe? Had he passed the Avernus, his navigating back to the goddess was unnecessary. His route led him southward, to the island of the Sirens: Why did he sail back to the north, when he must a second time have necessarily sailed past the Avernus? Why did Circe tell him, when he entreated her to send him back to Ithaca, that he must previously go another way, *ἀλλήν ὁδόν*, to the abode of Pluto, Aidaes; and to the terrible Proserpine, Persephoneia; to question the soul of the prophet Tiresias? Ulysses informed his companions of this other voyage. The intelligence grieved them to the heart; so that they wept and tore their hair. And why? The danger of the descent into hell was the task only of Ulysses: but this unknown voyage, over seas which none of them had yet

navigated, was equally terrible to them all.

"Neither did these clamours in the least agree with a voyage to the shores of *Avernus*, which lay in their way: and the second visit to *Circe* was still more absurd. Should it be answered that *Ulysses* returned to inter *Elpenor*, who had broken his neck in the palace of the goddess, and whom, oppressed by other cares, he had left unburied, his meeting with the soul of *Elpenor* in the lower regions will shew the error of this opinion. He entreated *Ulysses* to remember him, and to see him buried: 'for I know,' said he, 'that thou wilt land on the *Ææan* island.'

"*Ulysses* promises a ready compliance, as a thing easily to be performed. Had he been excited by other cares, which had induced him to leave him unburied the first time, a ceremony that at the utmost would have required only the delay of a few days in order to afford him this token of his affection, what could now induce him to perform such a voyage for his sake? *Elpenor* well knew that *Ulysses* would not unnecessarily wander over an unknown sea: but would more willingly return by a route that he had already navigated, and afterward continue a coasting voyage.

"Where then was the hell of *Homer* situated? In answer to this I must refer you to the map of *Voss*, which contains the countries described by *Homer*; and to his own inquiries concerning ancient geography. The empire of death may be concealed in that terrific and dismal gloom in which the poet found it, among the records of tradition: or he might have purposely enveloped it in the darkness of amazement, and of horror. As sagacious in the conduct of his poem as he was rich

in imagination, he might welcome this holy horror as the proper element for the creation of his boldest imagery. The characteristic marks of melancholy and gloom predominate through the whole of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*.

"Whether the people of *Cimmerium* and their city, as described by the poet—

"There in a lonely land and gloomy cells
The dusky nation of *Cimmeria* dwells.
The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances, or retreats.
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round
in shades.

POPE, *Od. b. xi. 15.*

whether the dark kingdom of this benighted people was the creation of *Homer*, or, which to me is much more probable, the picture of more early fable, I cannot determine: but it does not appear to me that this passage is applicable to the *Cimmerii* of Italy; who lived under ground. The latter, whether they actually buried themselves in subterranean caverns or not, were probably so called from the *Cimmeri* described by *Homer*.

"I shall again have occasion to speak of the *Cimmerii* of Italy; and of the light under which they have been considered by the last commentators on the ancients; particularly the *Italians*.

"Whoever has a just notion of the state of geography among the Greeks in much later times than those of *Homer*, whoever is familiarized with *oceanus*, in the *Prometheus* of *Æschylus*, with the *Arimaspi*, and with the daughter of *Phorcus*—he, I say, who is but slightly acquainted with the ancient Ionic bards, the contemporaries of *Homer*, will know that they might

K imagine

imagine those places, though they were but a day's sail beyond the promontory of Circe; that is, a day's sail to which the goddess lent favourable winds, to be the limits of the earth. Later times have thrown back Cimmerian darkness farther to the north. Hence the inhabitants of Jutland, and the Danish islands, have at length been called the Cimbri.

"The fables of the ancients have frequently wandered from place to place; and the motley multitudes of system-makers have been eager to wander in their company.

"Great shade of the greatest of poets, out of whose ever youthful imagination the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* sprang, blooming, wouldst thou not, from thy real not fabulous Elysium, look down, and laugh, didst thou three thousand years after the existence of thy Cimmerii, who were thy own offspring, behold a tribe of learned insects, industrious book-worms, point out out thy empire of hell on the map of Homan? An empire which thou, with all the caution of wisdom, hast placed beyond the ken of cold curiosity, in the necromantic darkness of legend; whose non-existing phantoms, embodied by thee, are pointed to as realities, and as the traces of geographical truth!

"During the whole peregrinations of Ulysses from people to people, we can follow him without difficulty. How greatly is the poetical truth of the *Odyssey* realized by this circumstance! The wonderful phenomena of Scylla and Charybdis, which deterred the companions of the hero from near enquiry, contribute to the poetical fiction of their being living monsters. The Læstrygons, a wild people inhabiting the northern shores of Sicily, were probably by the contemporaries of the poet supposed to

be giants: and was it a poet's business to represent them as common men?

"How sublime was the, shall I call it poetical fiction, or, tradition of the island; which was governed by the prince and lord of the winds, *Æolus*! Homer took good care, that we might have no trace of any such island, to leave it floating in the sea. Both modern and ancient commentators suppose the largest of the Lipari islands, near Sicily, to be the place. What I have said of the Læstrygons is equally applicable to the Cyclops. Homer might well, three thousand years ago, with apparent probability people an island with giants in which only two hundred years ago Fazello, a valuable Sicilian author, was persuaded of the truth of the skeletons of giants having been found near Trapani, in the year 1342; and that one of them was the giant Eryx, slain by Hercules.

"The cautious poet likewise left the situation of the island of Ogygia, the residence of the goddess Calypso, so undetermined that some have supposed it to be Malta, others Gozo near Malta, others again a little island below the bay of Taranto, and others an island near Albania, the ancient Epirus.

"Yet who so determinate and circumstantial as Homer, when he can by that means promote poetical effect? Who so lively, in describing and producing the scenery, when he can thus give greater animation and reality to his characters? Who knows like him to favour poetical illusion by light clouds, or by dark, that now conceal, now magnify and render objects dreadful, and now glimmer round them; while they communicate those tender trembling lights, which enchant the curiosity that they excite?

"Children

"Children cry for the rainbow; and the childish in understanding are dissatisfied with the poet, whose

narrative is not as circumstantially barren as a gazette, or as talkative as the tales of old women."

INVESTIGATION of the SITE of TROY.

[From DALLAWAY'S CONSTANTINOPLE, ANCIENT and MODERN.]

"THE distance from the Grecian camp to the site of Troy, has supplied those who contend against its existence with many plausible objections. It is, however, certain that the present village of Koum-kaleh is situate on a sand bank of more than a mile in extent, which will reduce the distance, supposing it to be an accretion from the Hellespont, to less than eight English miles from Bounâr bashi, where the Scæan gate once stood. The advanced works both of Greeks and Trojans lessened the intermediate space. If the Grecian camp was between the shore and the junction of the Simoeis and Scamander, then known only by the latter name, the united river will answer to all the epithets given to it by Homer.

"We began our survey of the plain of Troy. Crossing the Simoeis over a long wooden bridge near its embouchure, we passed over an extensive level of ploughed fields, and Gouldû-sui, a brook which empties itself into the sea near In-tepé, or the tomb of Ajax Telamonius. This tumulus is now irregularly shaped. Near the top is a small arched way almost choaked up with earth, which was the entrance into the vault, and over it a broken wall, where was once a small sepulchral fame, called the Aiantèum. The whole seems to be of a much more modern date than the death of Ajax.

Marc Antony removed his urn and ashes into Ægypt, which were afterward restored with funeral honours by Augustus, when it is probable that the present vault was made, and the superstructure erected. This compliment was paid to his manes to gratify the Ilian citizens, who considered him as their tutelary. The city of Ilium was about two miles distant, near the junction of the Scamander and Simoeis, and owed its origin to Alexander and Lysimachus, who repaired the temple of Minerva, and surrounded it with a wall. It is not improbable that when Alexander was enthusiastically investigating the site of ancient Troy, that the priests of Minerva should attach him, from policy, to this spot for the foundation of a city which had likewise superior maritime advantages. Mænæus, governor of Ilium, went out to meet Alexander in his Persian expedition, and presented him with a golden crown. It was first taken by Charidemus Orites; and subsequently besieged by Fimbria, the general engaged in the cause of Marius, and levelled with the ground; this injury was afterward severely revenged by Sylla. They enjoyed the patronage of Julius Cæsar. It excites no wonder, that after so long possession of it by the Turks, not a stone should remain, yet some contend against the existence of

Troy, because no vestiges were discoverable when Alexander founded the second city, whilst they admit the latter fact equally unauthorised by present appearances.

"From this spot we had a most interesting prospect independent of its local history; the magic of which, and its effects on the mind, are beautifully described by Lucan. The left skreen is a low ridge of hills; the middle distance is the great area, upon which the Greeks were encamped; beyond was the scene of many of the great events of the war; and the offkip and skirting line were composed of the promontory of Tenedos, Beshiktepe, Sigëum, the village of Koum-kaleh, down to the water edge, and a broad winding reach of the Hellespont, into which the opposite headland and castle were brought forward with considerable effect. The sea then spreads very widely, and the view is closed by the blue mountains of Imbros. The length and extent of this island have been extremely mistaken, as scarcely a map is extant which describes it above half its real size. We rode about half an hour over heathy ground, much elevated, to Halyleli, near the village of Thimbrik-keuy, and at the instant of our passing, a Turkish wedding was celebrating among the villagers; the business is summary. The parents of both parties, or the bridegroom for himself, settle the contract, which implies what dower he shall give the bride. This arrangement made, the bridegroom assembles his friends; they mount horses, and are accompanied by music, such as a very rude hautboy, or pipe, and a drum, can make. The bride is demanded, and has likewise a cavalcade of her female relatives, when they return home animated with the same mu-

sic. They feast separately on pilay, and retire at an early hour, when the ceremony is concluded.

"The succession of five tumuli, under the distant horizon, tends more than any other proof to ascertain the Trojan war. About an hour and a half from Bournabashi, on an easy eminence facing the west, we discovered vestiges of an ancient city. On the right are standing seven granite pillars several feet high, but it rather appears that they are not placed in their original order. On the other side, we saw a small block of marble with an inscription, a few inches above the ground, which being dug up, we found to be of the date of the Roman emperors, and too much mutilated to be decyphered satisfactorily.

"From the detail of topographical notices given by Homer, and from a comparison of the circumstances he mentions, the strongest assurances will follow not only of the existence, but the locality of Troy. To insist that the poem should be historically exact, would be to make no allowance for the liberty of a poet. That it is topographically so, an examination of the present face of the country will amply prove, and it is equally an object of classical curiosity, whether Troy existed or not, since the fable, if such it must be, is invariably accommodated to the scene of action.

"With respectful deference to a name so long esteemed in the republic of letters as that of Mr. Bryant, I humbly but totally dissent from his scepticism on this subject. For it is not to the tasteless system of Le Bossu in his Essay on the Epic, who has preceded Mr. Bryant in a similar hypothesis, that the opinion of many ages, and the satisfaction of ocular inspection, can be readily conceded. To establish a conviction

on the mind, that the tale of Troy divine is a mere invention, may require yet more than the most laborious learning can lend to conjecture, and could it avail, we might lose in the pleasures of the imagination, as much as we should gain by truth, could his arguments establish it, and lament with the enthusiast in Horace,

"—demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error."

"As the setting sun was more brilliant than for many days past, the village of Bounâr-bashi opened upon us very pleasantly from the ford of the Simoeis, which we passed within a furlong of the chiftlik of Hadji Mehmèt Aghà, the present proprietor of a domain producing near £.5000 sterling per annum, and including little less space, and the identical ground of the kingdom of old Priam. His house is mean, but many columns were dispersed about it, which had been collected from the sites of adjacent cities.

"From the village the hill rises rapidly, and soon becomes an insulated mountain. In the front of the house, at a small distance, is the first source of the Scamander, which is said, by M. Chevalier, to be the hot spring, upon which he grounds the strongest proof of his hypothesis respecting the locality of the city of Troy. It is at least tepid; and the agha told us that in the winter months, especially during frost, it was hot, and smoked. Homer must be allowed the privilege of a hot spring, and a river full to the brink, if they happen once within the year. The lofty wall of Troy and the Scæan gate intersected the modern village of Burnâ-bashi.

"Ascending the hill, thickly strewn with loose stones for the

space of a mile, the first object on the brow is a stony hillock, which Chevalier, with no apparent reason, calls the tomb of Hector. It has been opened and examined, but we could not learn the result.

"There are others covered with grass, appropriated likewise to Trojan heroes. Upon this area and the intermediate ground from the village, there is undoubtedly space enough for such a city as Troy is described to have been. The level falls abruptly on the south, with a precipitate cliff, into a very deep ravine, forming a mural rock as compact and regular as the remaining walls of Constantinople, now almost covered at its base by the stream and sands of the Simoeis, for the length of forty or fifty yards, and completing a fortification, rendered impregnable by nature, which will account for a ten years' siege, and the superlative epithet of walls constructed by the gods themselves. Mr. Wood discovered no place, amongst Ida, correspondent to that description; and Mr. Bryant would seek for it (did he purpose an actual inspection) only in his favourite Egypt. This division of rifted rock from the groupe of forest mountains, of which Ida is composed on the east and north sides, does not exceed a hundred and fifty yards, and is scarcely farther asunder at the top, sinking as perpendicularly as an artificial channel. The face of the ground exhibits nothing worthy remark; bushes and huge unhewn stones only are to be seen. The whole view of the plain of Troy, from the height said to have been the citadel, is of uninterrupted extent, with the winding Simoeis, and the grand horizontal line marked by Ujeck Tepee and the Sigeon promontory, and turning to the left, by the two in the island of Tenedos. We then returned to the chiftlik, and bade adieu to the

hospitable aghà, who possessed, in a great degree, that trait of a true musulman, urbanity to strangers.

"For several hours we traced with the utmost attention the course of the Scamander from the cold or second source, which is a collection of small springs, through the morafs, where for some miles it is positively hid, till we reached the new canal, and saw plainly the ancient bed. The banks of this river, where exposed, are verdant and beautiful, and watered to the brink. M. Chevalier's topography and general idea, after a fair investigation, we acknowledged to be ingenious and plausible.

"We then fixed ourselves at Giawr-keuy, or cape Janissary, a poor village consisting entirely of Greeks, the site of the far-famed Sigæum, which has likewise the name of Yenî-cheyr. It is singular that Greeks should still occupy that ancient station.

"From this eminence we looked over the plain, the whole scope of which we commanded; its broadest diameter may be five or six, and its longest twelve miles, to Atchè-keuy. It is naturally verdant and fertile, and now very generally cultivated, excepting near the marsh, which occupies a fifth part. Homer gives frequent evidence of his having personally visited and examined this celebrated spot, of which he sometimes enters into minute descriptions. The rivers are particularly characterised. Simoeis has broad sands, with a sudden and rapid current; Scamander is transparent, and regularly full, within a narrow channel, and so they continue to be till their junction, before they reach the sea. Whatever change the former may have occasioned in the present appearance of the plain, the analogy taken from those of Ephesus and

Miletus, upon which Mr. Wood has rested his opinion that Troy was situated so much higher amongst the hills of Ida, seems to be ill founded; for the Simoeis has, at no season, either the size or declension from its source that the Càyster and Meander are known to have. The soil exhibits no marks of volcanic fire, nor can it be reasonably presumed, from any present appearance, that the face of the country could have been changed by an earthquake, upon which circumstance as presupposed another hypothesis is built. Of all the proofs adduced by M. Chevalier, the tumuli, so connected with the Rhætæan and Sigeon promontories, and the outposts of the Grecian camp, are the most satisfactory. The site is likewise confirmed by four others, which, to whatever heroes they may be conjecturally attributed, with no additional weight to the argument, give a certain degree of internal evidence, and ascertain the scene of great military transactions, or vicinity to a large city. In those rude and primæval ages, heroes had no other monuments, nor could any more lasting have been devised.

'Ingens

'Aggeritur tumulo tellus.'

VIRG. ÆN. l. iii. v. 62, 63.

"We found the bas relief, and the celebrated Sigeon inscription, written with the letters invented by Cadmus, and the lines written alternately backward and forward, a mode of the highest antiquity, and used likewise for the laws of Solon, according to Suidas. M. Choiseul's attempt to remove it, sanctioned by firhmans, and the interest of Hafsân Pashâ, could not prevail against the ancient prejudices of the villagers. It is accurately described by Chishul, Shuckford, and Chandler, and is now

now placed at the door of a low hut, consecrated as a chapel. The letters are nearly worn out, having been so long used as a bench to sit on. Advancing some furlongs over the promontory, we saw the barrow (beshic tepée) called the tomb of Antilochus by Strabo. On the other side of the village, under the brow of the hill, crowned by half a dozen windmills, near the sea, are two smaller tumuli, generally supposed to be those, one of which is attributed by the ancient geographers to the illustrious friends Achilles and Patroclus, and the other to Peneleus the Boeotian. Since the opening and discoveries made in the former, by order of the French ambassador, M. le comte de Choiseul Gouffier, in 1787, some dervishes have built their convent against it, and placed a clay cabin on the top. They now use the barrow as a cemetery.

" M. Chevalier has informed us,

' that towards the centre of the monument two large stones were found, leaning at an angle one against the other, and forming a kind of tent, under which was presently discovered a small statue of Minerva seated in a chariot with four horses, and an urn of metal filled with ashes, charcoal, and human bones. This urn, now in the possession of le comte Choiseul, is encircled in sculpture with a vine branch, from which are suspended bunches of grapes, done with exquisite art.' Two pages of learned commentary succeed this assertion, which introduces a curious hypothesis respecting early Grecian sculpture.

" From information gained from the only person present at the opening of the barrow, whose simple detail the favour of a friend enables me to subjoin *, it is probable that nothing was found which could justify

* EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE DARDANELLES.

' I had a very interesting conversation with the son of the late French consul, Sig. Solomon Ghormezano, relative to the opening of the tomb of Achilles, near the Sigean promontory. He said that he had been employed by count Choiseul Gouffier to examine the tumulus and to search for remains, and that he worked at it by night, deceiving the agha and people with the hopes of discovering a spring of water, so necessary to the inhabitants of Yeni-cheyr. Two months elapsed in this work, as no other person superintended. He frequently wished to decline it in despair, but was directed to persevere. At length he discovered the place where the reliques were deposited. He immediately collected the whole, and communicated his success to his employer, filling a large chest with what he had found. Mr. Choiseul enjoined him to bring them to him, and not to trust them out of his sight; but he repaid his trouble with thanks only. He was induced to reserve several small specimens, which he obligingly showed and explained to us, as Mr. Choiseul was no longer formidable.

' I subjoin a list of them.

' 1. Pieces of burned bones. 2. Pieces of a metal vase. I enquired particularly concerning the vase, and in what state it was originally found. He replied, that it was broken, and had had a small ornament only, round the rim; but that enough remained to determine the shape, and that it was of considerable size. What I saw was so entirely destroyed by rust that no plausible conjecture could be formed from it. 3. Charcoal, made of vine branches. 4. A piece of mortar and stone, which appeared to have passed through fire. 5. A piece of metal of a triangular shape. 6. Pieces of very fine pottery, well painted, with wreaths of flowers of a dark olive colour. He observed that some of the pieces of pottery seemed to have composed large vases, beside which were several small cups, some of which were intire, and resembled Etruscan ware. It might have been a funeral ceremony to have emptied these to the memory of the deceased, and then to have placed them in the tomb.

' He delivered likewise to Mr. Choiseul a fragment of brass about a foot and a half

K 4 long

justify such an account. Extreme age, and the pressure of the ground, had crumbled into atoms of rust all the metallic substances. The urn, or vase, M. Fauval, an ingenious artist now residing at Athens, received from M. Choiseul in its decayed state, and made a model from it, which has been exhibited to several connoisseurs, as much to their surprise as satisfaction; and 'the goddess with her chariot and four

'horses' seem to prove that the Troad continues to be the land of invention. If Pococke's opinion be just, that Beshic tepee, on the Siagean ridge, on account of being more conspicuous at sea, was the true sepulchre of Achilles and Patroclus, and the two on the shore those of Antilochus and another hero, Chevalier's account is description instead of truth.'

STATE of the PEOPLE, and of CIVILIZATION in SCOTLAND, at the latter end of the 14th, and at the beginning of the 15th CENTURY.

[From the First Volume of PINKERTON'S HISTORY of SCOTLAND, under the HOUSE of STUART.]

"**W**HETHER education, climate, or government, produce most effect on national character, is an important problem, discussed by many able writers, but hitherto not sufficiently resolved. It

'long, and in the middle, being the thickest part, about the circumference of a quart bottle, and weighing seven or eight pounds. It was, at first, called the hilt of a sword, but afterward Mr. Choiseul declared it to be the statue of a man, with a lion under each foot.

'7. A small piece of a transparent substance, belonging, as he said, to a kind of tube worked and closed at one end. It may not be easy to conjecture for what use this was intended. From his description of it, I collect, that it was about a foot long and two inches in diameter, ornamented with branches in chased or embossed work, and of so transparent a nature, that objects might be clearly seen through it. It had received but slight injury, having only a small fracture at the upper end.

'He then acquainted us with the different strata of earth he had dug through in opening the tomb. On the outside was a kind of sea sand, the same as that near it; then yellowish soil, solid but light; coloured earths, black and yellow, each stratum being two feet deep, with large stones. On the foundation of the barrow apparently was a large slab, extending, as he supposed, over the whole, as wherever he dug he still found it. In the middle was a hole twelve feet square, around which was raised a wall three feet high, which was the sepulchre containing the reliques. By the weight of the earth all was pressed together, which accounts for the confused and broken state in which the things were discovered. On the outside of this stone was strewed a quantity of lime, and then of charcoal, supposed to be the ashes of the funeral pile.

'When the barrows were closed up, count Choiseul placed a sheet of lead on the bottom inscribed "Ouvrage fait par le Comte de Choiseul Gouffier l'an 1787"!!! Mr. Chevalier's ignorance of modern Greek led him into a curious mistake. The two contiguous barrows are called 'dthèo tepe,' the two tombs. Mr. Chevalier hearing this name from the villagers, immediately conjectures away with his 'Διὸς τεπέ,' and puzzles himself with mythology.

'October, 1795.'

must however be granted by all, that each has its share in exciting or depressing mental energy, in establishing general industry or indolence, in promoting public happiness or misery. But of these grand causes education seems deservedly to claim the pre-eminence. To deny the power of climate, would be to forget that man is 'subject to the skyey influences;' yet his industry, or care, may generally overcome or elude its effects: and soil is almost equally subservient to labour. Government exerts a more pervading influence; even the peasant in his cottage is oppressed by the burning heat of despotism, or the blasting storms of anarchy. The rewards of his labour cease amid the general distress: the caprice of some little tyrant, for slaves are ever tyrants where they can, or the revenge of a foe, may assail his hovel; and while his family perishes in penury, the labourer joins the mountain robbers, and falls the victim of those laws which afforded him no protection. Even moderate governments affect domestic life, and individuals, more than is commonly conceived; a war, a tax, an unwise law, becomes an universal misfortune; while the benignity, and skill, of the rulers enlarge the happiness of all. The influence, like that of the electric element, is rarely unveiled to the popular eye, though the subtle fluid operate most widely on the public health.

"In the oriental legislations the connexion between laws and manners is often indissoluble: and the laws become perpetual, by being grafted on the habits of that creature of habit, man. In Europe, on the contrary, the laws and manners are proverbially distinct. Jurisdiction punishes crimes, but rewards not virtues; far less can it improve

domestic morals, or diffuse the light of instruction over a benighted nation. These are the sacred provinces of education, a cause of national character more prevalent than either of the former, as it strikes the very root of offence, and sows lasting seeds of intelligence and worth.

"But education, on the extensive scale here implied, remains an experiment even to the most civilized nations; and its effects must neither be regarded as speedy, nor infinite. Even infants display, some a perverse, others a placid disposition: and it is doubtful whether any care or art can eradicate, or subdue, the inborn temper. If the bad habits of an individual prove often unconquerable by reason or virtue, how deeply must such habits be rooted in a whole people, where example operates like a contagion?

"Hence it is that the spirit, and manners, of the people ought to present the main object of political discussion on any particular state, and the more especially where government and education have little force. In whatever form of administration, only a part can shine upon the public theatre, and thus attract the notice of history. The mass of the nation remains in obscurity, even in enlightened ages; and philosophy can only estimate its history by that of its manners, for which the best materials are to be found, not in the pages of the annalist, but in poems, novels, and romances. Barren however as are the annals of the poor, their state may always be justly estimated by that of the actors, who vaunt and vanish in the historic scene; and from the progress of nations, as savage, barbarous, or civilized. The monkish page presents but a small

small pulse, yet from it the health, or sickness, of the whole body may be gathered with considerable certainty.

"In Scotland, at the period now under review, the people were slowly advancing from barbarism towards civilization. A peace of some duration had taken place before the accession of the house of Stuart; and the consequent intercourse with England, a country then rapidly progressive in the arts of life, must have increased the national energy. Yet the feudal fetters continued to be firmly riveted: every man was the soldier, or the menial attendant of his chief; and flocks, herds, agriculture afforded only subservient occupations. While the single science of the great was war, their sole amusement hunting, their chief magnificence a numerous train, it is no wonder that the poor were ferocious and idle, secure during health of a maintenance from their lords, and in sickness of monastic charity. Courage, honesty, frankness, attachment to their chiefs, constituted the chief virtues of the peasantry; temperance, and sobriety were the virtues of the soil: spirituous liquors, that bane of the poor, were as yet unknown in Europe, except among the stores of the physician. Nor had religious fanaticism, that unintermitting intoxication, yet poisoned the popular mind with habitual gloom: the poor chiefly knew the christian religion from its charity, from the public exhortations of the preaching friars, and from the gay exhibitions of the Roman catholic system.

"By more polished foreigners Scotland continued to be regarded as a country completely barbarous. The author of the Dittamundi allows that it is rich in fish, flesh, and milk, but,

Molto è el paese alpestro e peregrino,
E ha la gente ruvida e selvatica.

'Mountainous and strange is the country,
'And the people rough and savage.'

"The long and severe ordinances of Robert II. against murderers, and their receivers and supporters, afford a proof that this charge was not unfounded. And the orders to the army, not to pillage their own countrymen, present another instance of barbaric manners. The *Ketherani*, Kerns, or marauding highlanders, by continual inroads into the low countries greatly obstructed the progress of industry and civilization; and this intestine evil, more pernicious than foreign invasion, continued to a late period. Strangers to that industry which excites the Swiss peasant to cultivate the precipice, and the Norwegian to derive that support from the sea which the land refuses, the highlanders supplied their wants by rapine: and the civil animosity was increased by the difference of origin, language, and manners; so that the difficulties with which the government had to struggle, and the obstacles against order, were perhaps greater in Scotland than in any other European kingdom. The example of Henry II. of England, who planted a Flemish colony in Wales, escaped the observation, or exceeded the power, of our monarchs: and the complete transposition of the population of a province, though an expedient far from unknown to the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, appears to surpass the wisdom, or the enterprize of any later government.

"Though the peasantry were in fact the slaves of their lords, by menial or by feudal bondage, yet few instances occur of absolute villanage; and it is believed no example

ple appears in our records, of an estate fold with the farmers, labourers, and families, attached to the soil. The appellation *busbond*, given to the Scottish farmers, seems indeed to imply that they were considered as bond slaves of their lord's house, or as fixed to their own particular farm-houses; yet what little evidence remains teaches us to consider them rather as slaves in custom, than in law. The *busbond lands*, or farms, were divided into tillage and pasturage; were always small, and the farmers of course poor. The cotter who rears his hovel of turf and straw, under an old thorn, and cultivates three or four acres of the common, would in these ages have been styled a farmer. Large farms undoubtedly advance agriculture; and perhaps the numerous labourers employed are as useful and valuable members of society, as if each farmed a small portion of land.

"With the accession of the house of Stuart, a stronger light begins to arise on the internal state of Scotland. Barbour wrote his celebrated poem in 1375; and in narrating the actions of Robert I. he presents many pictures of the times and manners, the lapse of half a century being imperceptible in the slow progress of civilization. But the curiosity of Froissart a stranger has preserved the strongest features; and his visit to Scotland forms an epoch in the history of national manners. From his account it appears that the French, themselves regarded by the Italians as barbarians, shuddered at the penury and barbarity of Scotland. Even in the *Douce Escocbe* or low lands, (for the highlanders of *la Sauvage Escocbe* were considered as we now do American savages,) a remarkable ignorance prevailed of the commonest arts of life. The

meanest articles of manufacture, horse-shoes, harness, saddles, bridles, were all imported ready made from Flanders. The houses of the common people were composed of four or five posts to support the turf walls, and a roof of boughs: three days sufficed to erect the humble mansion. A contemporary historian adds, that 'the country was rather desert than inhabited, was almost wholly mountainous, and more abundant in savages than in cattle.'

"The English education of James I. contributed to the civilization of his kingdom. Yet even in his reign the picture by Enca Silvio, afterwards pope Pius II. is far from flattering. 'Concerning Scotland he found these things worthy of repetition. It is an island joined to England, stretching two hundred miles to the north, and about fifty broad; a cold country, fertile of few sorts of grain, and generally void of trees, but there is a sulphureous stone dug up which is used for firing. The towns are unwalled, the houses commonly built without lime, and in villages roofed with turf, while a cow's hide supplies the place of a door. The commonalty are poor and uneducated, have abundance of flesh and fish, but eat bread as a dainty. The men are small in stature, but bold; the women fair and comely, and prone to the pleasures of love; kisses being there esteemed of less consequence than pressing the hand is in Italy. The wine is all imported; the horses are mostly small ambling nags, only a few being preserved entire for propagation, and neither curry-combs nor reins are used. The oysters are larger than in England. From Scotland are imported into Flanders hides, wool, salt fish, and pearls. Nothing gives the Scots

Scots more pleasure than to hear the English dispraised. The country is divided into two parts, the cultivated low-lands, and the region where agriculture is not used. The wild Scots have a different language, and sometimes eat the bark of trees. There are no wolves. Crows are new inhabitants, and therefore the tree in which they build becomes royal property. At the winter solstice, when the author was there, the day did not exceed four hours. In another place, Silvio observes that the fabulous tale of the barnacles, the invention of dreaming monks, had passed from Scotland to the Orkneys: and that coals were given to the poor at the church doors, by way of alms, the country being denuded of wood.

"The vigorous administration of James I. imparted tranquillity and happiness to the people; and was often regretted by them during the distractions of the subsequent reigns. Till this period, the statutes were concealed from the nation in the darkness of the Latin language; the good sense of this monarch ordered them to be issued in the Scottish tongue, while in England the laws were to be dictated in Latin and French till the reign of Richard III. Thus religion, and law, the sole rules of popular conduct, were veiled from the people; but there is no absurdity which man has not reduced to practice. The statutes of James are wisely ordained to advance civilization, and the sanguine theorist may exult in their effects; but they rather proclaim the intelligence of the monarch, and of his ecclesiastic ministers, than the national advancement. Ordinances prepared in the cabinet by wise and good men, were passed by the lords of the articles; while the peers and landholders, with

whom the jurisdiction lay, either did not attend, or voted with a smile. And the frequent repetition of the same laws, even so late as the reigns of James IV. and V, conspires with the records of history to convince us, that the statutes rather indicate the evils that did exist, than the remedy of these evils. The roots of national habits are too deep to be affected by the thunder of laws, the slow divulsion of education can alone explode them.

"Among the statutes of the first James, the following are the most pertinent to the present discussion. That no private wars be allowed; that none travel with more attendants than they maintain; that no *forjars* shall force their residence upon the clergy or farmers; that in burghs, and on high ways, inns be erected; and that no beggars be permitted, except distinguished by a badge importing the leave of the magistrates: and the hospitals for the poor and sick are ordered to be reformed. A remarkable law ordains, that all idle persons, without means of livelihood, shall be imprisoned, till they give security, and shall within forty days betake themselves to some service or craft. The trial of the causes of the poor is declared to be gratuitous.

"The institution of inns, repeatedly enforced, was perhaps calculated to save the monasteries from the frequent intrusion of numerous guests; but the necessity of such laws indicates a radical defect in civilization. The first object of the Romans, after the conquest of a barbaric country, was to open high ways through it; for on mutual and easy intercourse all civilization depends. Yet this first and indispensable step is unknown in our statutes. Some regulations appear concerning ferries; but till within these

fifty years the roads in Scotland were hardly passable. And while the Swiss cuts his way through the Alps, our mole hills in the highlands present insuperable barriers. The civilization of a country is always in exact proportion to the number, and condition, of its highways. The omission of this one law was radical, and obstructed all the others.

"In the burghs a greater degree of civilization must have prevailed than in the country; but the inhabitants of the burghs were few, compared with the general population. Froissart estimates the houses in Edinburgh, then the capital, at four thousand; they were small wooden cottages, covered with straw; for modern Edinburgh, with its houses of ten or twelve stories, cannot date higher than Mary's reign, when all the French customs of Scotland really commenced. By a common calculation the inhabitants of the capital, in the reign of Robert II. hardly exceeded sixteen thousand.

"For some unknown cause, James I. prohibited the election of deacons of crafts; perhaps they abused their power in exciting sedition; perhaps the genuine spirit of a corporation began to operate in monopoly, and oppression. But a warden and council are ordered to regulate prices, the warden to be chosen by the council of the burgh, and not, as the deacons, by the craftsmen themselves. Masons, carpenters, smiths, taylor, weavers, are the only trades mentioned in the statute. The institution of corporations by patent seems unknown in Scotland, till the reign of James IV. the crafts embodied and regulated themselves; and the attention of government was hardly diverted to

them, except to prevent imposition. They would have charged for holidays, and undertaken more work than they could accomplish, while one craftsman would refuse the work neglected by another. The sole intention of these acts seems to have been to break the monopoly.

"James I. has himself delineated the manners of the common people, in his poem called *Peblis to the Play*. This play was probably an annual festival, in honour of the saint to whom the church was dedicated, or on some other occasion; and such wakes are yet known in the north of England. The humour and jollity of the meeting end in tumult and uproar, but display a very different character to the gloomy fanaticism of the two succeeding centuries. From this singular poem, among other articles of manners, we learn that the women wore kerchiefs and hoods, and tippets; the music arose from the bagpipe; the men sometimes wore hats of birch-twigs interwoven, the hat being any high covering of the head, while the bonnet was flat. A tavern, with fair table linen, and a regular score on the wall, are introduced: the reckoning twopence halfpenny a piece, is collected in a wooden trencher. The *cadger*, or packman who carries fish, &c. through the country, on his little horse; the salmon dance, consisting in exertions of high leaping; and other anecdotes of popular manners, diversify the piece.

"The dress of the common people consisted chiefly of a doublet and cloke, and a kind of short trowse; the head was covered with a hat of basket-work, or felt, or with a woollen bonnet; while the legs and feet remained bare. Shirts were hardly known even to the great.

great. The female dress was a kerchief or a hood, and a tippet about the neck: the kirtle, or close gown, was rarely accompanied either with the *wylicot* or under petticoat, or with the mantle; and the feet were naked.

"As the state of society was rather pastoral than agricultural, milk, and its various preparations, formed a chief article of food. Meat boil-

ed with oatmeal, or fish, supplied more solemn meals. Bread and vegetables were little used, a circumstance to which it may perhaps be imputed that the leprosy was not uncommon. The chief fish was the salmon, concerning the capture of which many regulations occur in the acts of parliament, and which also formed a grand article in the Scottish exports."

[159]

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

An ACCOUNT of the MEANS employed to obtain an overflowing WELL; in a LETTER to the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOSEPH BANKS, BARONET, &c. from Mr. BENJAMIN VULLIAMY.

[From the Second Part of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS of the ROYAL SOCIETY of LONDON, for the YEAR 1797.]

"SIR,
PERMIT me, in compliance with your request, to give you a short account of the well at Norland House, belonging to Mr. L. Vulliamy; a work of great labour and expence, executed entirely under my direction, and finished in November, 1794.

"Before I began the work, I considered that it would be of infinite advantage, should a spring be found strong enough to rise over the surface of the well; and though I thought it very improbable, yet I resolved to take from the beginning the same precautions in doing the work, as if I had been assured that such a spring would be found. But although this very laborious undertaking has succeeded beyond my expectation, yet from the knowledge I have acquired in the progress of the work, I am of opinion that it will very seldom happen that the water will rise so high; nor will people, I believe, in general, be so indefatigable as I have been in overcoming the various difficulties that did and ever will occur, in bringing such a work to perfection.

"In beginning to sink this well, which has a diameter of four feet, the land springs were stopped out in the usual manner, and the well was sunk and steined to the bottom. When the workmen had got to the depth of 236 feet, the water was judged not to be very far off, and it was not thought safe to sink any deeper. A double thickness of steining was made about 6 feet from the bottom upwards, and a borer of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter was made use of. A copper pipe of the same diameter with the borer was driven down the bore-hole to the depth of 24 feet, at which depth the borer pierced through the rock into the water; and by the manner of its going through, it must probably have broken into a stratum containing water and sand. At the time the borer burst through, the top of the copper pipe was about three feet above the bottom of the well: a mixture of sand and water instantly rushed in through the aperture of the pipe. This happened about two o'clock in the afternoon, and by twenty minutes past three o'clock the water of the well stood within 17 feet of the surface. The water

water rose the first 124 feet in eleven minutes, and the remaining 119 feet in one hour and nine minutes. The next day several buckets of water were drawn out, so as to lower the water four or five feet; and in a short time the water again rose within 17 feet of the surface. A sound-line was then let down into the well in order to try its depth. To our great surprise the well was not found by 96 feet so deep as it had been measured before the water was in it; and the lead brought up a sufficient quantity of sand to explain the reason of this difference, by shewing that the water had brought along with it 96 feet of sand into the well. Whether the copper pipe remained full of sand or not, is not easy to be determined; but I should rather be inclined to think it did not.

"After the well had continued in the same state several days, the water was drawn out so as to lower it eight or ten feet; and it did not rise again by about a foot so high as it had risen before. At some days interval water was again drawn out, so as to lower the water as before; which at each time of drawing rose less and less, until after some considerable time it would rise no more; and the water being then all drawn out, the sand remained perfectly dry and hard. I now began to think the water lost; and, consequently, that all the labour and expence of sinking this well, which by this time were pretty considerable, had been in vain. There remained no alternative but to endeavour to recover it by getting out the sand, or all that had been done would be useless; and although it became a more difficult task than sinking a new well might have been, yet I determined to undertake it, because I knew another well might

also be liable to be filled with sand in the same manner that this was. The operation of digging was again necessarily resorted to, and the sand was drawn up in buckets until about 60 feet of it were drawn out, and consequently, there remained only 36 feet of sand in the well: that being too light to keep the water down, in an instant it forced again into the well with the same violence it had done before; and the man who was at the bottom getting out the sand, was drawn up almost suffocated, having been covered all over by a mixture of sand and water. In a short time the water rose again within 17 feet of the surface, and then ceased to rise, as before. When the water had ceased rising, the sounding-line was again let down, and the well was found to contain full as much sand as it did the first time of the water's coming into it.

"Any further attempt towards recovering the water appeared now in vain; and most people would, I believe, have abandoned the undertaking. I again considered that the labour and the expence would be all lost by so doing; and I determined without delay to set about drawing the sand out through the water, by means of an iron box made for that purpose, without giving it time to harden as before. The labour attending on this operation was very great, as it was necessary continually to draw out the water, for the purpose of keeping it constantly rising through the sand, and thereby to prevent the sand from hardening. What rendered this operation the more discouraging was, that frequently after having drawn out six or seven feet of sand in the course of the day, upon sounding the next morning the sand was found lowered only one foot in
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the well, so that more sand must have come in again. This, however, did not prevent me from proceeding in the same manner during several days, though with little or no appearance of any advantage arising from the great exertions we were making. After persevering, however, for some considerable time, we perceived that the water rose a little nearer to the surface, and I began to entertain some hope that it might perhaps rise high enough to come above the level of the ground; but when the water had risen a few feet higher in the well, some difficulties occurred, occasioned by accidental circumstances, which very much delayed the progress of the work; and it remained for a considerable time very uncertain whether the water would run over the top of the well or not.

"These difficulties being at length surmounted, we continued during several days the process before mentioned, of drawing out the sand and water alternately; and I had the satisfaction of seeing the water rise higher and higher, until at last it ran over the top of the well, into a temporary channel that conveyed it into the road. I then flattered myself that every difficulty was overcome; but a few days afterwards I discovered that the upper part of the well had not been properly constructed, and it became necessary to take down about 10 feet of brickwork. The water, which was now a continued stream, rendered this extremely difficult to execute. I began by constructing a wooden cylinder 12 feet long, which was let down into the well, and suspended to a strong wooden stage above, upon which I had fixed two very large pumps, of suffi-

cient power to take off all the water that the spring could furnish, at 11 feet below the surface. The stage and cylinder were so contrived as to prevent the possibility of any thing falling into the well; and I contrived a gage, by which the men upon the stage could always ascertain to the greatest exactness the height of the water within the cylinder. This precaution was essentially necessary, in order to keep the water a foot below the work which was doing on the outside of the cylinder, to prevent the new work from being wetted too soon. After every thing was prepared, we were employed eight days in taking down 10 feet of the wall of the well, remedying the defects, and building it up again; during which time ten men were employed, five relieving the other five, and the two pumps were kept constantly at work during one hundred and ninety-two hours. By the assistance of the gage, the water was never suffered to rise upon the new work until it was made fit to receive it. When the cylinder was taken out, the water again ran over into the temporary channel that conveyed it into the road.

"The top of the well was afterwards raised 18 inches, and constructed in such a manner as to be able to convey the water five different ways at pleasure, with the power of being able to set any of these pipes dry at will, in order to repair them whenever occasion should require. The water being now entirely at command, I again resolved upon taking out more sand, in order to try what additional quantity of water could be obtained thereby. I cannot exactly ascertain the quantity of sand taken

out, but the increase of water obtained was very great; as instead of the well discharging thirty gallons in a minute, the water was now increased to forty-six gallons in the same time.

"If you think, sir, that the above account of an overflowing well, the joint production of na-

ture and art, is deserving your attention, I feel myself much gratified in the pleasure I have in giving you this description of it; and have the honour of being with the greatest regard,

"Sir, &c.

"B. VULLIAMY."

ECONOMY of the VINEYARDS of the celebrated TOKAY WINE.

[FROM TOWNSON'S TRAVELS IN HUNGARY, &c.]

"THE vines when first planted are cut down at a knot, to within a span of the soil, and the superfluous young shoots are cut off every spring at the same place: by this means a head is formed, which increases yearly; sometimes they are very large, but the best size is that of a child's head. When the vines have repaid by their fruit the industrious labourer for his trouble, which is late in autumn, the stumps are covered an inch or two thick with soil, and then each represents a mole-hill. Often, it is said, the husbandman is seen following his gatherers occupied in this work, lest early frost or snow should prevent its being done; sometimes even the branches, if designed for layers, are covered. Some vine-dressers take out the sticks and lay them in bundles, others leave them standing. As soon as the winter is over, and the weather begins to grow milder, which is about the middle of March, and often at the beginning, the stumps are again uncovered, and the soil about them turned up: this labour is followed by the dressing, which is generally done as soon as the season will permit;

that is, at the end of March, or at the beginning of April. Time, severe winters, and spring frosts, cause ravages in the vineyards: to make good these deficiencies, fresh vines must be raised. This is done in different ways, by transplanting, and more commonly by planting the cuttings of known good and sound vines; and this is the next business to be performed. The cuttings (the points of which soon withering must be cut away) should be put knee-deep in the soil, with a little dung, the other end to be only a span above ground, which should be covered up till it is probable it has begun to shoot, and the spring weather is no longer to be feared. Or they are raised by layers. Here the soil is dug out from about the stump and roots till the hole is a foot and a half deep; these then are trod to the bottom of it, so that the branches, where they are inserted in the stump, are under ground, and the remaining part is laid down and covered with the soil mixed with a little dung, so that their points only reach a few inches above the surface of the soil. To each of these branches, which in time be-

comes

comes a new vine, a stick is given. Then follows the severest labour of the vineyard, the digging or turning up the soil: this is repeated three or four times before the vintage. Soon after the first digging, the sticks are driven in; to which the shoots, when they are about two feet long, are lightly bound: when they are grown to five feet they are better bound, once pretty fast above, and once looser in the middle. Weeds by this time again begin to grow, and the soil is again turned up to destroy them, and to keep it light: but during the flowering of the vine, nothing is done; nature is left entirely to herself. This being over, the sticks are driven firmer in the ground; the vines which may have come untied are better secured; the too luxurious growth is taken away, and the vines are so ordered that they may require no farther care till the vintage; only the soil is once more turned up. Now the husbandman's toil is over, and he waits for the blessing of Providence in a fine vintage—with anxiety—for very uncertain are his profits.

“ Though in warm seasons the earliest grapes are ripe in the middle of August, it is the latter end of September before the greater part are eatable; and as the grapes for pressing must be fully ripe, the vintage is delayed as long as possible; generally to the feast of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, which is the 28th of October; and if the weather is fine, the later the better, on account of having the greater quantity of the half-dried luscious grapes, or, as they are here called, troken-beers; which are absolutely necessary to form the *ausbruche*, that kind of Tokay wine which is so much esteemed, and

which is called by us Tokay. As soon as the grapes begin to grow ripe, guards are placed in the vineyards, not only to prevent the grapes from being stolen, but to drive away the birds from them.

“ At last the season of rejoicing comes, the vintage. In every country this a time of mirth and gaiety; but particularly so about Tokay. Many of the great nobility, though they have no estate here, and live in distant parts of Hungary, have a vineyard here, and business as well as pleasure brings many of them at this season; and the dealers in this article come likewise to make their contracts, and the friends of all concerned, from a tacit invitation, come to join in the general festivity: the vintage is preceded by fairs, so that during this season all is life and bustle.

“ To the troken-beers, or half-dried luscious grapes, Tokay, that is, the Tokay *ausbruche*, is indebted for all its richness: but these depend greatly on the weather; every year does not produce them either in the same quantity or quality; in some years they fail altogether. If the frosty mornings set in too soon, and, before the grapes are ripe, destroy the connection between them and the vines, the *ausbruche* is harsh and sour; yet frosty mornings, when not too soon, are advantageous to them: if wet weather sets in at the time they ought, through the influence of the sun, to lose their watery parts, and to be turned to sirup, it may easily be conceived what will be the consequence. These troken-beers are always trifling in quantity compared with the other grapes; and in some years, as I have just said, there are none at all.

“ The season for gathering being

come, young and old, with merry hearts and active hands, repair to the vineyards, and ease the vines of their precious loads: but in doing this, the troken-beers are picked from the rest, and kept apart; and they are often sold to those who make *aufbruche*, by those who do not. The spoil carried home, the ordinary grapes are trod apart, and the juice is taken out, and then the remaining juice is pressed out from the skins and stalks: both are commonly put together in tubs, no difference being generally made between the juice trod out and that pressed out. This when fermented forms the common wine; which is not sent out of the country as a delicacy, and never reaches our island. The troken-beers are likewise trod, and then have the consistency of honey: to this is added the common juice; and as the richness of the *aufbruche* or *maschlafs* depends on the greater quantity of the juice of the troken-beers, the proportions vary according to the intent of the owner. The common proportion for an *antal* of *aufbruche*, which contains seventeen or eighteen English gallons, is two bushel of troken-beers; and for a cask of *maschlafs*, which is only a less rich liquor, the same quantity is taken: but then the cask is about equal to two *antals*; so that only half the quantity of troken-beers are used to make *maschlafs* as are used to make *aufbruche*. But as the police does not interfere in this matter, and every one does as he thinks proper, these two liquors are often very near alike, and the principal difference then consists in the size of the casks.

"The mixture being made, it is strongly stirred together. By this operation the seeds are separated from the flesh of the grapes, and

come to the top, and are taken out with a net or sieve: thus it remains in the same vessel, covered over for a couple of days, till fermentation begins; and this is suffered to continue about three days, according to the weather; that is, till the fermentation has properly mixed the fleshy pulp of the troken-beers with the common juice: it should be stirred every morning and evening, and the seeds carefully taken out. If the fermentation is continued too long, the wine receives from the skins a disagreeable brown colour, and forms a deal of yeast and sediment in the cask. Nothing now remains to be done, but to pour this liquor through a cloth or sieve into the barrels in which it is to be kept. The residuum is then pressed: some even after this, pour the common juice upon this pressed residuum; but if the press is good the common wine gains little by it.

"When a considerable quantity of the troken-beers remains a short time together, some of their thick juice or sirup is expressed and runs out: this is carefully collected as a great delicacy; it is called *essence*, and has the consistence of treacle. No art is used to fine these wines, nor to make them keep. The barrels should be kept full, and their outsides free from wet and mildew.

"*Aufbruche* is not exclusively made about Tokay: there is a Saint George, a Ratchdorf, and a *menische aufbruche*, and this latter I prefer to that of Tokay; it is red: some is made likewise in the county of Oedenberg.

"The best wine does not long remain in the place of its growth: a great part of it is soon sent into the cellars of the nobility in other parts of Hungary; and the greatest quantity is to be found in the counties

ACCOUNT of the FERMENT for BREAD used at DEBRETZIN. [165]

ties of Zips and Liptau in the north, from whence it is sent into Poland. The Polish magnates are the best customers, particularly for the *auf-bruché*, which is the dearest European wine that is: here in the country, a bottle of the best is valued always at about a ducat, that is near half-a-guinea. I dined once at the coffee-house at Pest with a few friends: we had only a plain dinner, for which we paid but a moderate price: besides common wine we had some Tokay: when the waiter came to be paid, he asked each how many glasses he had

drank of it, and then added twenty creutzers (about eight-pence) for each glass to the score of every drinker of Tokay.—Tokay is no doubt a fine wine, but I think no ways adequate to its price: there are few of my countrymen, except on account of its scarceness, who would not prefer to it good claret or Burgundy, which do not cost above one-fourth of the price. Some of the sweetish Spanish wines, begging its pardon, are in my opinion equally good; and unless it be very old, it is too sweet for an Englishman's palate."

ACCOUNT of the FERMENT for BREAD used at DEBRETZIN.

[From the same Work.]

"**L**IGHTER, whiter, and better flavoured bread than that made here I never ate; nor did I ever see elsewhere such large loaves. Were I not afraid of being accused of taking advantage of the privilege of travellers, I should say they were near half a yard cubed. As this bread is made without yeast, about which such a hue and cry is often raised, and with a substitute which is a dry mass, that may be easily transported, and kept half a year or more, I think it may be of use to my country, for me to detail the Debretzin art of making bread. The ferment is thus made: two good handfulls of hops are boiled in four quarts of water; this is poured upon as much wheaten bran as can be well moistened by it; to this are added four or five pounds of leaven: when this is only warm, the mass is well worked together to mix the different parts. This mass is then put in a warm place for

twenty-four hours, and after that it is divided into small pieces about the size of a hen's egg or a small orange, which are dried by being placed upon a board and exposed to a dry air, but not to the sun: when dry they are laid by for use, and may be kept half a year. This is the ferment, and it is to be used in the following manner: for a baking of six large loaves, six good handfulls of these balls are taken and dissolved in seven or eight quarts of warm water. This is poured through a sieve into one end of the bread-trough, and three quarts more of warm water are poured through the sieve after it, and what remains in the sieve is well pressed out; this liquor is mixed up with so much flour as to form a mass of the size of a large loaf: this is strewed over with flour, the sieve with its contents is put upon it, and then the whole is covered up warm, and left till it has

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risen enough, and its surface has begun to crack : this forms the leaven. Then fifteen quarts of warm water, in which six handfulls of salt have been dissolved, are poured through the sieve upon it, and the necessary quantity of flour is added, and mixed and kneaded with the leaven ; this is covered up warm, and left for about an hour. It is then formed into loaves, which are kept in a

warm room half an hour ; and after that they are put in the oven, where they remain two or three hours according to the size. The great advantage of this ferment is, that it may be made in great quantities at a time, and kept for use. Might it not on this account be useful on board of ships, and likewise for armies when in the field ?

The EFFECTS of BENEFICENCE more extensive than are foreseen, or intended, illustrated in the STORY of DR. CLEMENT.

[From the PHILANTHROPE.]

“ **M**R. Eden of Wildrose-hall had made his fortune in India. A very short time before his return to England, having seen at Calcutta an amiable and beautiful young lady, the cousin and companion of lady Alwin, the wife of colonel Alwin ; and never considering her small or no dowry as any objection, he asked, and received her hand. He regarded her beauty, amiable dispositions, and elegant accomplishments as sufficient dowry ; nor was he disappointed in his choice, for she was as deserving as she was fair. On his return to Britain, he purchased a fine house and extensive park in the western part of Essex ; and having nothing wherewithal to accuse himself during his residence in the East, and being therefore as easy in mind as in external circumstances, he flattered himself with the prospect of happiness.

“ One dark autumnal evening, soon after he had taken possession of his villa, while sitting in his parlour during a dreadful storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, a

post-chaise drove up to his door ; and a servant informed him, that an old gentleman, wished for permission to pass the night in his house. He learned too that the stranger was just come from the Continent ; that he was on his way from Colchester to London ; that the driver, not well acquainted with the country, and confounded with the violence of the tempest, had mistaken the lane that led to Wildrose-hall for the road to Rumford ; and that the gentleman was so very ill, that he could not venture to go even as far as the nearest inn. It is needless to say, that he was received with the kindest welcome. For, besides that Mr. Eden's humanity would have so inclined him ; there was something particularly interesting in the gray hair, dignified courage, open countenance, and dejected air of the stranger. He remained some days at the hall till he somewhat recovered, and in that time the prepossessions of Eden in his behalf grew into strong attachment.

“ I have been indeed unfortunate,

‘nate,’ said the old gentleman, giving some account of himself as soon as his strength permitted him; ‘and I know not that my misfortunes are at an end. I was happily established in the early part of my life as a physician in the North of England. By the death of a maternal uncle in the island of Antigua, and whose name I was by his will appointed to assume, I succeeded to a considerable fortune. It was necessary, however, that I should go thither to receive the investiture and possession of his property and estates. The vessel in which I sailed was seized by a Moorish pirate; was carried to Barbary; and I was never heard of, I believe, by my friends: for the governor of Mogadore learning my profession, sent me immediately, to Fez, to render what assistance I could to the emperor of Morocco, who was at that time afflicted with a dangerous malady. I was willing, from every consideration, to give him all the aid in my power; and hoped that if I was successful, my freedom might be the price of my services. But I was cruelly disappointed. My success in restoring the emperor to health, made him conceive me so necessary to his welfare, that he would not suffer me to depart: so that observing my impatience, he allowed me to have no communication with any person whatever, who could give notice of my situation to any of the British consuls. In all other respects I must do him the justice of acknowledging, that I was treated with the utmost kindness, and lived even in a state of barbarous luxury. After the emperor’s death, my situation for some time underwent no change, for

‘his successor considered me as no less necessary to himself than I had been to his father. At length, however, my melancholy was growing into despondency; I had been eighteen years in a state of captivity; my health was visibly impaired, and the young emperor, with an humanity which I must commend, consented to my departure. Nor did he part with me without expressions of friendship; and an ample compensation, not for the bondage I had endured, but for the services I had rendered him. I returned by Italy and Germany, on account of the troubles in France; and coming from Hamburgh to Colchester, I am not more afflicted with fatigue and weakness, than with anxiety to receive intelligence of my family, which consisted, at the time I left them, of a wife, and infant of three years old. If they survive, I may yet be happy: I left them in easy circumstances, and to the care of an affectionate friend. But if they survive not!’ he sighed, and his voice faltered, ‘if they survive not! would to heaven that I also were dead! or had never returned!’

“Eden’s sympathy, and desire of affording him relief, need not be doubted. He inquired by what address he might procure him the important information he so anxiously wished for. ‘I have already written,’ said he, ‘from Colchester, and have also written from this place. I persuade myself that in the space of a day, or few hours, I shall be certified of my happiness, or utter misery. I was Dr. Clement in the city of Leeds.’—‘Merciful heaven!’ interrupted Eden. ‘Dr. Clement of Leeds! my friend, my deliverer,

‘and my protector!’ he fell on his neck, and embraced him. The stranger was overwhelmed with amazement. ‘And have you forgotten me?’ cried Eden; ‘the poor boy whom you saved from ignominious punishment; received into your family, educated and sent abroad?’—‘Frank!’ said the venerable old man, scarcely able to speak for tears; ‘Frank, whom I sent to school?’ ‘The same, the same,’ said Eden; ‘poor Frank Eden! whom you saved and protected; who am now, by the blessing of heaven, in wealth and esteem: and glad, beyond the power of expression, at now meeting, and under my own roof, with my kind benefactor.’

“Francis Eden had been a poor man’s son. His parents having died while he was yet an infant; and being left to the care of a distant relation, it need not be a matter of surprise, if at ten years old his education should have been neglected, and his habits unpromising. In fact, he had been carried before a magistrate for attempting to take some fruit from a gentleman’s garden. The poor orphan was to have been punished and sent to the workhouse. Dr. Clement was present. Moved by his ingenuous appearance, by his tears and helpless condition, he interposed; took him home to his house; found him worthy of his attention; had him educated; and recommended him to a merchant in London. By him, being found deserving, he was sent out to India; where by the most able, upright, and honourable conduct, he realized such a sum as enabled him to return with splendor.

“But neither splendor of outward circumstances, nor high reputation, nor even the consciousness

of virtue, had been able to secure his felicity. His friend perceived it. Sitting under a walnut-tree in the shrubbery adjoining to the house, while they expected the return of Dr. Clement’s dispatches, ‘You seem thoughtful,’ said he to Eden; ‘too thoughtful for the happiness of your condition.’ Eden looked at him with some surprise; sighed: fixed his eyes on the ground: ‘You have observed it then?’ he said. ‘Indeed, my friend, I am afraid I am not happy. And to you, I will use no reserve. Yet I cannot express the cause; it is so strange; so unexpected; but so sufficient to spoil my peace. My wife—and then he paused; was unable to speak.—Clement gazed with amazement. He was also terrified. Hideous images possessed his fancy. He was afraid and loth to make any inquiry. He had thought the wife of his friend in all respects excellent. She was indeed reserved; and had something dejected in her appearance. But she was withal so correct in her deportment, so respectful to her husband, so attentive to his friend.—‘It is impossible! she must be good!’ he thus rallied his recollection; banished suspicion; was ashamed of his fears; and with some indignation, not against Eden, but against himself, ‘is she not excellent?’ he exclaimed. ‘Most excellent!’ replied his friend, ‘most lovely! most engaging! blameless as an angel of light! and yet I fear’—and he groaned with anguish—‘I fear I am not her choice.’ His friend, in the kindest and most affectionate manner, wished for more information.

“Her delicacy of mind,’ said Eden, ‘is indeed most afflicting. She had no fortune; was under-
‘stood

‘ stood to be of respectful paren-
 ‘ tage; had been entitled to high
 ‘ expectation; had lost her parents;
 ‘ and had become dependent. Sa-
 ‘ tisfied in every respect concerning
 ‘ her sentiments and her deport-
 ‘ ment; penetrated with her beau-
 ‘ ty and her accomplishments; and
 ‘ observing how much it pained
 ‘ her to expatiate on the circum-
 ‘ stances of her early life, I have hi-
 ‘ therto, as we have not been long
 ‘ united, refrained from being very
 ‘ minute in my inquiry into parti-
 ‘ culars: the more so, that on all
 ‘ such occasions, she seems to feel
 ‘ herself more indebted to me than
 ‘ perhaps her own feelings, and I
 ‘ am sure more than mine, can en-
 ‘ dure. This indeed is the source
 ‘ of my suffering. She appears to
 ‘ have continually in her thoughts,
 ‘ that I have raised her to opu-
 ‘ lence from a state of dependence.
 ‘ She does not set sufficient value
 ‘ on her deserts; and is too deeply
 ‘ impressed with the sense of great
 ‘ obligation. She respects me in-
 ‘ deed too much; is grateful, but
 ‘ does not love. Her love is lost
 ‘ in excessive gratitude: what can
 ‘ I do? All my endeavours to make
 ‘ her easy, all my desires of pleas-
 ‘ ing, give additional weight to the
 ‘ kindness that has oppressed her.
 ‘ I almost despair of meeting in her
 ‘ with that friendship and affec-
 ‘ tion which can subsist between
 ‘ those persons only who think
 ‘ themselves somewhat equal. And
 ‘ if so, such is my disposition, that
 ‘ our connection cannot be happy.’
 — ‘ Have you ever,’ said Clement,
 with great anxiety, ‘ have you ever
 ‘ spoken to her on this very in-
 ‘ teresting and important subject?’

“ Mrs. Alwin,” answered Eden,
 ‘ has done so; not however, as at
 ‘ my suggestion; but in conse-
 ‘ quence, as it were, of their mu-

‘ tual attachment; and has receiv-
 ‘ ed from her the most ingenuous,
 ‘ yet painful confession of her in-
 ‘ firmity. She tells her, that feel-
 ‘ ing high obligation, she cannot
 ‘ view me on such a footing of e-
 ‘ quality as would justify the free-
 ‘ dom, ease, and familiarity which
 ‘ I so sincerely desire.’ — ‘ Has she
 ‘ any other relation,’ said Cle-
 ‘ ment, ‘ than the family of Mrs.
 ‘ Alwin?’ — ‘ I know not that she
 ‘ has,’ answered Eden. ‘ Her fa-
 ‘ ther, whose name was Fitzalleyn,
 ‘ had some property in this coun-
 ‘ try; but much more in one, I
 ‘ know not which, of our Ameri-
 ‘ can islands. While yet an infant
 ‘ she lost her mother; and her fa-
 ‘ ther, for some reason that I never
 ‘ knew, or do not remember, had
 ‘ before that time gone abroad,
 ‘ and has never been heard of.
 ‘ Meantime her estate in the West
 ‘ Indies has been so much embez-
 ‘ zled, or so unproductive, that it
 ‘ has served her in little stead; and
 ‘ those persons who had charge of
 ‘ what property she had at home,
 ‘ having become bankrupt, she fell
 ‘ into those circumstances which
 ‘ are as painful to remember as to
 ‘ endure. The only person who
 ‘ shewed her any friendship was
 ‘ Mrs. Alwin, who treated her in-
 ‘ deed as a sister, and whom she ac-
 ‘ companied to Calcutta.’

“ Clement seemed to give slight
 attention to the concluding part of
 the narrative. ‘ He was lost in the
 deepest abstraction; he groaned;
 struck his hand on his forehead;
 and his bosom heaved with extreme
 agitation. Eden observing, asked
 ‘ if he was indisposed?’ He did not
 answer; did not seem to have heard
 him; rose from his seat; and walk-
 ed about in extreme perturbation.
 Then turning abruptly, ‘ I must see
 ‘ Mrs. Eden.’ ‘ She shall wait
 ‘ upon

‘upon you,’ said Eden, tenderly, but with astonishment. ‘She is my daughter,’ exclaimed the stranger. ‘Has not that occurred to you?’ ‘But no! I must not say so. Alas! I may be mistaken. Yet I, on leaving England, took the name of Fitzalleyen; left my daughter an infant; was never heard of! Her mother dead!’ So saying, he fell back on the seat, and found relief in a flood of tears. The state of Eden’s feelings defies words and description. His astonishment, however, some transient doubts, and some fears soon rebuked by his hopes, and his hopes themselves, were instantly absorbed in all the ravishment of expectation. The dear object of his faithful and most tender regard must be the child of his earliest friend, of his deliverer, of his protector! She was now to feel herself on that footing of equality, which, in the extreme, and somewhat blameable delicacy of her sentiments, she held essential to the ease and confidence of mutual love. If any obligation remained, he was to be the person obliged. He assured his friend ‘that it must be so; and as far as youth could resemble age, that his daughter resembled him; and urged him therefore to give immediate intimation to his dear Matilda.’ — ‘Matilda was the name of my child,’ said Clement, now recovered from agitation, and in a tone of acquiescing complacency. ‘But still there may be some mistake; and the consequences of disappointment in a matter so intimately interesting to us both, and to your dear Matilda, might be unspeakably fatal.

‘The probabilities are as you say; but we must not yield to them rashly.’

“A servant now announced to them the arrival of Mrs. Alwin. Her father was one of the persons to whom Clement, who was his kinsman, and not knowing that he was the father of Mrs. Alwin, had addressed himself for information. He sent by his daughter, who flew on the wings of friendship, the very joyful intelligence, which Eden and his honoured benefactor had already, the one with eagerness, and the other with caution, ventured in some degree to anticipate. Yet the joy of Clement, while he blessed his affectionate child, was mingled with sad remembrance, and with the tender recollection of her amiable mother. Time, however, and the consolation he now received, restored him to becoming composure; beams of the gentlest serenity shone on his hoary locks; for his children continued virtuous; and were rewarded with as much enjoyment as virtue can here expect.

“Whatsoever opinion may be formed of the preceding story, which is founded on facts, and whatsoever sentiments it may tend to excite, I persuade myself that one reflection in particular will arise unsuggested in the breasts of my philanthropical friends; for they will reflect with pleasure, that the indulgence of a philanthropical temper, and the performance of benevolent actions, may produce effects so beneficial, as to mock calculation; and in ways beyond the reach of conjecture; and at times when expectation is dead.”

POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET LAUREAT.

I.

O'ER the vex'd bosom of the deep,
When rushing wild with frantic haste,
The winds with angry pinions sweep
The surface of the wat'ry waste,
Though the firm vessel proudly brave
The inroad of the giant wave,
Though the bold seaman's firmer soul
View unappall'd the billowy mountains roll,
Yet still along the murky sky
Anxious he throws th' enquiring eye,
If haply through the gloom that round him low'rs
Shoot one refulgent ray, prelude of happier hours.

II.

So Albion, round her rocky coast,
While loud the rage of battle roars,
Derides Invasion's haughty boast,
Safe in her wave-encircled shores,
Still safer in her dauntless band,
Lords of her seas or guardians of her land,
Whose patriot zeal, whose bold emprise,
Rise as the storms of danger rise;
Yet, temp'ring Glory's ardent flame
With gentle Mercy's milder claim,
She bends from scenes of blood th' averted eye,
And courts the smiles of Peace 'mid shouts of victory.

III.

She courts in vain! — The ruthless foe,
Deep drench'd in blood, yet thirsting still for more,
Deaf to the shrieks of agonizing woe,
Views with rapacious eye each neighb'ring shore.
Mine be th' eternal sway, aloud he cries,
Where'er my sword prevails, my conqu'ring banner flies.

IV. Genius

IV.

Genius of Albion, hear!
 Grasp the strong shield, and shake th' avenging spear.
 By wreaths thy hardy sons of yore
 From Gallia's crest victorious tore;
 By Edward's lily-blazon'd shield;
 By Agincourt's high-trophied field;
 By rath Iberia's naval pride,
 Whelm'd by Eliza's barks beneath the stormy tide;
 Call forth thy warrior race again,
 Breathing to ancient mood the soul-inspiring strain;
 "To arms! your ensigns straight display!
 Now set the battle in array!
 The oracle for war declares,
 Success depends upon our hearts and spears,
 Britons, strike home! revenge your country's wrongs;
 Fight, and record yourselves in Druid songs!"

ELEGY written in a CHURCH-YARD in SOUTH WALES.

[From POEMS by WILLIAM MASON, M. A. Vol. III.]

FROM southern Cambria's richly-varied clime
 Where grace and grandeur share an equal reign;
 Where cliffs o'erhung with shade, and hills sublime
 Of mountain lineage sweep into the main;
 From bays, where commerce furls her wearied sails,
 Proud to have dar'd the dangers of the deep,
 And floats at anchor'd ease inclos'd by vales,
 To ocean's verge where stray the vent'rous sheep:
 From brilliant scenes like these I turn my eye;
 And, lo! a solemn circle meets its view,
 Wall'd to protect inhum'd mortality,
 And shaded close with poplar and with yew.
 Deep in that dell the humble fane appears,
 Whence prayers if humble best to heaven aspire;
 No tower embattled, no proud spire it rears,
 A moss-grown croset decks its lowly choir.
 And round that fane the sons of toil repose,
 Who drove the plough-share, or the sail who spread;
 With wives, with children, all in measur'd rows,
 Two whiten'd flint stones mark the feet and head.
 While these between full many a simple flow'r,
 Pansy, and pink, with languid beauty smile;
 The primrose opening at the twilight hour,
 And velvet tufts of fragrant chamomile.
 For, more intent the smell than sight to please,
 Surviving love selects its vernal race;

Plants

Plants that with early perfume feed the breeze
 May best each dank and noxious vapour chase.
 The flaunting tulip, the carnation gay,
 Turnsole, and piony, and all the train
 That love to glitter in the noon-tide ray,
 Ill suit the copse where death and silence reign.
 Not but perchance, to deck some virgin's tomb,
 Where violets sweet their twofold purple spread,
 Some rose of maiden blush may faintly bloom,
 Or with'ring hang its emblematic head.
 These to renew, with more than annual care
 That wakeful love with pensive step will go;
 The hand that lifts the dibble shakes with fear
 Lest haply it disturb the friend below.
 Vain fear! for never shall disturber come
 Potent enough to wake such sleep profound,
 Till the dread herald to the day of doom
 Pours from his trumpet the world dissolving sound.
 Vain fear! yet who that boasts a heart to feel,
 An eye to pity, would that fear reprove?
 They only who are curst with breasts of steel
 Can mock the foibles of surviving love.
 Those foibles far beyond cold reason's claim
 Have power the social charities to spread;
 They feed, sweet tenderness! thy lambent flame,
 Which, while it warms the heart, improves the head.
 Its chemic aid a gradual heat applies
 That from the dross of self each wish refines,
 Extracts the liberal spirit, bids it rise
 Till with primæval purity it shines.
 Take then, poor peasants, from the friend of Gray
 His humbler praise; for Gray or fail'd to see,
 Or saw unnotic'd, what had wak'd a lay
 Rich in the pathos of true poetry.
 Yes, had he pac'd this church-way path along,
 Or lean'd like me against this ivied wall,
 How sadly sweet had flow'd his Dorian song,
 Then sweetest when it flow'd at nature's call.
 Like Tadmor's string, his comprehensive mind
 Each plant's peculiar character could seize;
 And hence his moralizing * muse had join'd,
 To all these flow'rs, a thousand families.
 But he alas! in distant village-grave
 Has mix'd with dear maternal dust his own;

* This epithet is used to call to the reader's recollection a passage in Shakespear, descriptive of a character to which in its best parts Mr. Gray's was not dissimilar.

Duke Sen. But what said Jaques?

Did he not moralize this spectacle?

First Lord. O yes, into a thousand families.

As you like it, Act. 2. Scene 1.

Ev'n now the pang, which parting friendship gave;
 Thrills at my heart, and tells me he is gone.
 Take then from me the pensive strain that flows
 Congenial to this consecrated gloom;
 Where all that meets my eye some symbol shows
 Of grief, like mine, that lives beyond the tomb.
 Shows me that you, though doom'd the livelong year
 For scanty food the toiling arm to ply,
 Can smite your breasts, and find an inmate there
 To heave, when mem'ry bids, the ready sigh.
 Still nurse that best of inmates, gentle swains!
 Still act as heartfelt sympathy inspires;
 The taste, which birth from education gains,
 Serves but to chill affection's native fires.
 To you more knowledge than what shields from vice
 Were but a gift would multiply your cares;
 Of matter and of mind let reasoners nice
 Dispute; be patience yours, presumption theirs.
 You know (what more can earthly science know?)
 That all must die; by revelation's ray
 Illum'd, you trust the ashes placed below
 These flow'ry tufts, shall rise again to day.
 What if you deem, by hoar tradition led,
 To you perchance devolv'd from Druids old,
 That parted souls at solemn seasons tread
 The circles that their shrines of clay enfold?
 What if you deem they some sad pleasure take
 These poor memorials of your love to view,
 And scent the perfume for the planter's sake,
 That breathes from vulgar rosemary and rue?
 Unfeeling Wit may scorn, and Pride may frown;
 Yet Fancy, empress of the realms of song,
 Shall bless the decent mode, and Reason own
 It may be right—for who can prove it wrong?

LINES addressed to a FOUNTAIN.

[FROM LYRIC POEMS.]

SEQUESTER'D Fountain! ever pure,
 Whose placid streamlet flows,
 In silent lapse, through glens obscure,
 Where timid flocks repose:
 Tired and disabled in the race,
 I quit ambition's fruitless chace,
 To shape my course by thine;
 And, pleas'd, from serious trifles turn,
 As thus, around thy little urn,
 A votive wreath I twine.

Fair Fountain ! on thy margin green,
 May tufted trees arise,
 And spreading boughs thy bosom screen
 From summer's fervent skies ; —
 Here may the spring her flow'rets strew,
 And morning shed her pearly dew,
 May health infuse her balm ;
 And some soft virtue in thee flow,
 To mitigate the pangs of woe,
 And bid the heart be calm.

O ! may thy salutary streams,
 Like those of Lethe's spring,
 That bathe the silent land of dreams,
 Some drops oblivious bring —
 With that blest opiate in my bowl,
 Far shall I from my wounded soul
 The thorns of spleen remove —
 Forget how there at first they grew,
 And, once again, with man renew
 The cordial ties of love.

For what avails the wretch to bear
 Imprinted on his mind,
 The lessons of distrust and fear,
 Injurious to mankind ? —
 Hopeless in his disastrous hour,
 He sees the gath'ring tempest lower,
 The bursting cloud impend —
 Tow'rs the wild waste he turns his eye,
 Nor can that happy port descry,
 The bosom of a friend.

How chang'd since that propitious time,
 When woo'd by fortune's gale,
 Fearless in youth's advent'rous prime,
 He crowded ev'ry sail ! —
 The swelling tide, the sportive breeze,
 Lightly along the halcyon seas
 His bounding pinnacle bore —
 In search of happiness, the while,
 He steer'd by ev'ry fragrant isle,
 And touch'd at ev'ry shore.

Ah me ! to Youth's ingenuous eye
 What charms the prospect wears ! —
 Bright as the portals of the sky
 The op'ning world appears ;

There

There every figure stands confess,
 In all the sweet advantage drest
 Of Candour's radiant robe —
 There no mean cares admission find,
 Love is the business of mankind,
 And Honour rules the globe.

But if those gleams fallacious prove
 That paint the world so fair;
 If heav'n has plac'd for gen'rous love
 No soft asylum there;
 If men fair faith, fair fame deride,
 Bent on the crooked paths that guide
 To Int'rest's sordid shrine;
 Be yours, ye gloomy sons of Woe!
 That melancholy truth to know,
 The dream of bliss be mine.

SCENERY by MOONLIGHT, MELNA and the GHOST of HIDALLAN.

[From the VALES of WEVER, a loco-descriptive POEM, by J. GIBBORNE, Esq.]

HERE as the silent orb of night
 Silvers the crags with sacred light,
 Pours through the gaping rocks her beams,
 And sheds a glory on the streams,
 Old towers and ramparts burst around,
 Inchantment walks the hoary ground:
 Black shades contrast the illumin'd scene,
 And horror frowns those dells between.
 Pale o'er the woodlands moonshine glows,
 And pale the lustrous deluge flows,
 Rolls o'er the graves on Wever's brow,
 While yellow vapours swim below.

Such scenes the sorrowing Melna sought,
 Her soul with pure affection fraught,
 Pierc'd with quick step and throbbing breast
 Cona's rude vales, distracted guest;
 Bath'd with unpitied tears the earth,
 And sigh'd and mourn'd her hapless birth;
 Call'd on Hidallan's darling name,
 And wail'd her warrior's thirst of fame.

Thus while she moan'd, remorseless night
 Dimm'd the last blush of western light,

Wore

Wove a black canopy of cloud,
 And round her flung his sable shroud :
 No stars arose with changeful blaze,
 To cheer her path's bewilder'd maze ;
 No moon-beams glimmering through the trees
 Trembled obedient to the breeze.
 A while the weeping beauty stood
 (Cold tremors courting through her blood),
 Then screaming rush'd, with furious tread,
 Along the mansions of the dead ;
 Where at this hour o'er mouldering graves
 His beard of snow the thistle waves.
 At length more calm, with looks resign'd,
 She check'd the tumult of her mind,
 Rais'd her white arms, implor'd the moon
 To shed on night her placid noon,
 Then sunk in agony of prayer,
 Pale kneeling monument of care !

I.

Queen of the skies, who silver'ft wide
 This dreary world with glory's sea,
 Roll from thine orb the radiant tide,
 And pour thy lucid streams on me !

II.

Here muffled dark in horrors dread,
 I bow to sacred Love's command,
 While anguish clasps my aching head,
 And terror chills with palsied hand :

III.

Oh hear ! oh guide these wilder'd feet
 To where my lov'd Hidallan stays ;
 Give me his long-lost form to meet,
 To light his eyes with fond amaze !

IV.

Give him, oh ! ere with life I part,
 Give him to lull these wild alarms ;
 Once more to sooth my dying heart,
 Once more to bless his Melna's arms !

Then ceas'd the fair. With swimming eyes
 She mark'd the shade-embosom'd skies,

Saw the grim night diffuse around
 A blacker pall upon the ground:
 "Alas! my fruitless prayer" — she cried,
 Sunk on the dew-cold moss, and sigh'd.
 O'er her fine form disastrous Sleep
 Wav'd his wand wet from Lethe's deep;
 Dire dreams convuls'd her labouring mind,
 And phantoms started from behind:
 When, lo! through opening clouds the moon
 Shed o'er the vales her lucid noon,
 Silver'd the fable cheeks of night,
 And horror smil'd at holy light.
 Instant awaken'd by the glare
 Of glory soft diffus'd through air,
 She wonder'd much, with whom, and how,
 Her steps e'er sought these wilds below,
 What spirit of the midnight hour
 Dragg'd her from Cona's rock-roof'd bower;
 When all at once remembrance dread
 Impetuous seiz'd her shudd'ring head.
 "Who comes?" she shriek'd, "who haunts this vale?"
 "His looks! his robes of mist! how pale!"
 "'Tis he, 'tis he! my life! my love!"
 "Ye gods who hear me from above,
 "'Tis my Hidallan! — heavens! he flies,
 "Drinks with unfeeling ear my cries."
 Thrice with impassion'd grief she prayed,
 And thrice she clasp'd the fleeting shade;
 But when she saw his buoyant feet
 Through ether's argent realms retreat,
 Saw stars dim twinkle in his vest,
 And moonshine glimmer through his breast,
 Then with mad foot she smote the ground,
 Then started at the bursting sound;
 Wrung with wild hands her shadowy hair,
 And star'd, and laugh'd with fierce despair;
 Thrill'd with delirious shouts the grove,
 As frenzy fann'd the flames of love.

ELINOR, a BOTANY-BAY ECLOGUE.

[From POEMS by ROBERT SOUTHBY.]

ONCE more to daily toil, once more to wear
 The weeds of infamy, from every joy
 The heart can feel excluded, I arise
 Worn out and faint with unremitting woe;
 And once again with wearied steps I trace
 The hollow-sounding shore. The swelling waves

Gleam to the morning sun, and dazzle o'er
 With many a splendid hue the breezy strand.
 Oh there was once a time when Elinor
 Gazed on thy opening beam with joyous eye
 Undimm'd by guilt and grief! when her full soul
 Felt thy mild radiance, and the rising day
 Waked but to pleasure! on thy sea girt verge
 Oft England! have my evening steps stole on,
 Oft have mine eyes surveyed the blue expanse,
 And mark'd the wild wind swell the ruffled surge,
 And seen the upheaved billows' bosomed rage
 Rush on the rock; and then my timid soul
 Shrunk at the perils of the boundless deep,
 And heaved a sigh for suffering mariners.
 Ah! little, deeming I myself was doom'd
 To tempt the perils of the boundless deep,
 An Outcast — unbelov'd and unbewail'd,

Why stern Remembrance! must thine iron hand
 Harrow my soul? why calls thy cruel power
 The fields of England to my exil'd eyes,
 The joys which once were mine? even now I see
 The lowly lovely dwelling! even now
 Behold the woodbine clasping its white walls
 And hear the fearless red-breasts chirp around
 To ask their morning meal: — for I was wont
 With friendly hand to give their morning meal,
 Was wont to love their song, when lingering morn
 Streak'd o'er the chilly landscape the dim light,
 And thro' the open'd lattice hung my head
 To view the snow-drop's bud: and thence at eve
 When mildly fading sunk the summer sun,
 Oft have I loved to mark the rook's slow course
 And bear his hollow creak, what time he sought
 The church-yard elm, whose wide-embowering boughs
 Full foliaged, half conceal'd the house of God.
 There, my dead father! often have I heard
 Thy hallowed voice explain the wondrous works
 Of Heaven to sinful man. Ah! little deem'd
 Thy virtuous bosom, that thy shameless child
 So soon should spurn the lesson! sink the slave
 Of Vice and Infamy! the hireling prey
 Of brutal appetite! at length worn-out
 With famine, and the avenging scourge of guilt,
 Should dare dishonesty — yet dread to die!

Welcome ye savage lands, ye barbarous climes,
 Where angry England sends her outcast sons —
 I hail your joyless shores! my weary bark
 Long tempest-tost on Life's inclement sea,

Here hails her haven ! welcomes the dear scene,
 The marshy plain, the briar-entangled wood,
 And all the perils of a world unknown.
 For Elinor has nothing new to fear
 From fickle Fortune ! all her rankling shafts
 Barb'd with disgrace, and venom'd with disease,
 Have pierced my bosom, and the dart of death
 Has lost its terrors to a wretch like me.

Welcome ye marshy heaths ! ye pathless woods,
 Where the rude native rests his wearied frame
 Beneath the sheltering shade ; where, when the storm,
 As rough and bleak it rolls along the sky,
 Benumbs his naked limbs, he flies to seek
 The dripping shelter. Welcome ye wild plains
 Unbroken by the plough, undelv'd by hand
 Of patient rustic ; where for lowing herds,
 And for the music of the bleating flocks,
 Alone is heard the kangaroo's sad note
 Deepening in distance. Welcome ye rude climes,
 The realm of Nature ! for as yet unknown
 The crimes and comforts of luxurious life,
 Nature benignly gives to all enough,
 Denies to all a superfluity.
 What tho' the garb of infamy I wear,
 Tho' day by day along the echoing beach
 I cull the wave-worn shells, yet day by day
 I earn in honesty my frugal food,
 And lay me down at night to calm repose,
 No more condemn'd the mercenary tool
 Of brutal lust, while heaves the indignant heart
 With Virtue's stifled sigh, to fold my arms
 Round the rank felon, and for daily bread
 To hug contagion to my poison'd breast ;
 On these wild shores Repentance' saviour hand
 Shall probe my secret soul, shall cleanse its wounds
 And fit the faithful penitent for Heaven.

MARY the MAID of the INN.

[From the same Work.]

I.

WHO is she, the poor Maniac, whose wildly fix'd eyes
 Seem a heart overcharged to express ?
 She weeps not, yet often and deeply she sighs :
 She never complains, but her silence implies
 The composure of settled distress.

II.

No aid, no compassion the Madiac will seek;
Cold and hunger awake not her care;
Thro' her rags do the winds of the winter blow bleak
On her poor withered bosom half bare, and her cheek
Has the deathly pale hue of despair.

III.

Yet chearful and happy, nor distant the day,
Poor Mary the maniac has been;
The traveller remembers who journeyed this way
No damsel so lovely, no damsel so gay
As Mary the Maid of the Inn.

IV.

Her cheerful address fill'd the guests with delight
As she welcomed them in with a smile:
Her heart was a stranger to childish affright,
And Mary would walk by the Abbey at night
When the wind whistled down the dark aisle.

V.

She loved, and young Richard had fettled the day,
And she hoped to be happy for life;
But Richard was idle and worthless, and they
Who knew him would pity poor Mary and say
That she was too good for his wife.

VI.

'Twas in autumn, and stormy and dark was the night,
And fast were the windows and door;
Two guests sat enjoying the fire that burnt bright,
And smoking in silence with tranquil delight
They listen'd to hear the wind roar.

VII.

" 'Tis pleasant," cried one, " seated by the fire side
To hear the wind whistle without."
" A fine night for the Abbey!" his comrade replied,
" Methinks a man's courage would now be well tried
Who should wander the ruins about."

VIII.

" I myself, like a school-boy, should tremble to hear
 " The hoarse ivy shake over my head;
 " And could fancy I saw, half persuaded by fear,
 " Some ugly old Abbot's white spirit appear,
 " For this wind might awaken the dead!"

IX.

" I'll wager a dinner," the other one cried,
 " That Mary would venture there now."
 " Then wager and lose!" with a sneer he replied,
 " I'll warrant she'd fancy a ghost by her side,
 " And faint if she saw a white cow."

X.

" Will Mary this charge on her courage allow?"
 His companion exclaim'd with a smile;
 " I shall win, for I know she will venture there now,
 " And earn a new bonnet by bringing a bough
 " From the elder that grows in the aisle."

XI.

With fearless good humour did Mary comply,
 And her way to the Abbey she bent;
 The night it was dark, and the wind it was high,
 And as hollowly howling it swept thro' the sky
 She shiver'd with cold as she went.

XII.

O'er the path so well known still proceeded the Maid
 Where the Abbey rose dim on the sight,
 Thro' the gate-way she entered, she felt not afraid,
 Yet the ruins were lonely and wild, and their shade
 Seem'd to deepen the gloom of the night.

XIII.

All around her was silent, save when the rude blast
 Howl'd dismally round the old pile;
 Over weed-cover'd fragments still fearless she past,
 And arrived at the innermost ruin at last
 Where the elder tree grew in the aisle.

XIV.

Well-pleas'd did she reach it, and quickly drew near
 And hastily gather'd the boughs:
 When the sound of a voice seem'd to rise on her ear,
 She paus'd, and she listen'd, all eager to hear,
 And her heart panted fearfully now.

XV.

The wind blew, the hearse ivy shook over her head,
 She listen'd, — nought else could she hear,
 The wind ceas'd, her heart sunk in her bosom with dread
 For she heard in the ruins distinctly the tread
 Of footsteps approaching her near.

XVI.

Behind a wide column half breathless with fear
 She crept to conceal herself there:
 That instant the moon o'er a dark cloud shone clear,
 And she saw in the moon-light two ruffians appear
 And between them a corpse did they bear.

XVII.

Then Mary could feel her heart blood curdle cold!
 Again the rough wind hurried by, —
 It blew off the hat of the one, and behold
 Even close to the feet of poor Mary it roll'd, —
 She felt, and expected to die.

XVIII.

"Curse the hat!" he exclaims, "nay come on here, and hide
 "The dead body," his comrade replies,
 She beholds them in safety pass on by her side,
 She seizes the hat, fear her courage supplied,
 And fast thro' the Abbey she flies.

XIX.

She ran with wild speed, she rush'd in at the door,
 She gazed horribly eager around,
 Then her limbs could support their faint burthen no more,
 And exhausted and breathless she sunk on the floor
 Unable to utter a sound.

XX.

Ere yet her pale lips could the story impart,
 For a moment the hat met her view;—
 Her eyes from that object convulsively start,
 For—oh God what cold horror then thrill'd thro' her heart,
 When the name of her Richard she knew!

XXI.

Where the old Abbey stands, on the common hard by
 His gibbet is now to be seen,
 Not far from the road it engages the eye,
 The Traveller beholds it, and thinks with a sigh
 Of poor Mary the Maid of the Inn.

Lines found in a BOWER facing the South.

[From ENGLISH LYRICS.]

SOFT Cherub of the southern breeze,
 Oh! thou whose voice I love to hear,
 When lingering thro' the rustling trees,
 With lengthened sighs it sooths mine ear;

Oh! thou whose fond embrace to meet,
 The young Spring all enamoured flies,
 And robs thee of thy kisses sweet,
 And on thee pours her laughing eyes!

Thou at whose call the light Fays start,
 That silent in their hidden bower
 Lie penciling with tenderest art,
 The blossom thin and infant flower!

Soft Cherub of the southern breeze,
 Oh! if aright I tune the reed
 Which thus thine ear would hope to please,
 By simple lay, and humble meed;

And if aright, with anxious zeal,
 My willing hands this bower have made,
 Still let this bower thine influence feel,
 And be its gloom thy favourite shade!

For thee of all the cherub train
 Alone my votive muse would woo,
 Of all that skim along the main,
 Or walk at dawn yon mountains blue;

Of all that slumber in the grove,
Or playful urge the gossamer's flight,
Or down the vale or streamlet move,
With whisper soft, and pinion light.

I court thee, thro' the glimmering air,
When morning springs from slumbers still,
And waving bright his golden hair,
Stands tiptoe on yon eastern hill.

I court thee, when at noon reclined,
I watch the murmuring insect throng
In many an airy spiral wind,
Or silent climb the leaf along.

I court thee when the flow'rets close,
And drink no more receding light,
And when calm eve to soft repose,
Sinks on the bosom of the night.

And when beneath the moon's pale beam,
Alone mid shadowy rocks I roam,
And waking visions round me gleam,
Of beings, and of worlds to come.

Smooth glides with thee my pensive hour,
Thou warm'st to life my languid mind;
Thou cheer'st a frame with genial power,
That droops in every ruder wind.

Breathe Cherub! breathe! once soft and warm,
Like thine, the gale of Fortune blew,
How has the desolating storm
Swept all I gazed on from my view!

Unseen, unknown, I wait my doom,
The haunts of men indignant flee,
Hold to my heart a listless gloom,
And joy but in the muse and thee.

ODE TO MIRTH.

[From the same Work.]

THOU, with hurried step advancing,
Reffless round thine eye quick glancing,
On thy cheek the rose fresh glowing,
To the breeze thy zone loose flowing,

Mirth!

Mirth ! oh stay thee, and awhile
 Let me bask beneath thy smile —
 Dearest goddess ! for my soul
 Willing owns thy lov'd controul ;
 Ever let me bend to thee,
 Ever be thy votary —

Earth and air, the sea, the skies,
 Each to man a bliss supplies.
 Countless beings in light measure
 Round him dance and whisper pleasure,
 Still to joy desires inviting,
 Answering senses still delighting,
 Where their gloom could sages borrow,
 Man who call the child of sorrow ?
 For sure tho' mirth but airy phantoms bring,
 Tho' pleasures in our way no roses sing ;
 Tho' scorn'd by all the powers that I adore —
 Still mighty love ! hast thou no joys in store ?
 Thy soft delusions, and delicious fears,
 Fond hopes, and keen delights, and burning tears ;
 Oh ! tell them all, or bid these grey-beards wife
 Cast but one glance on my Eliza's eyes.

Mine too be each softened pleasure,
 Thou, Thalia, canst impart ;
 Laughter, happy beyond measure,
 Gaiety, that mends the heart !
 These are thine, and satire keen,
 Wit, that jeers eccentric folly,
 And tenderness, that clothes the scene,
 In transient, pleasing melancholy —
 — Or see where fancy now in trance profound,
 On some loved scene her pencil silent plies ;
 Nor hears the busy world that murmurs round,
 Or smiles to hear, and listens to despise ;
 And starting now, with look impatient calls,
 And bids her beaming car the lightnings bear,
 Far, far beyond the realms where sunbeam falls,
 Or comets on the darkness pour their glare ;
 And there her mysteries to her favourites shews,
 Sketching bright visions on the deepened gloom ;
 Or weaves dark dreams, while as the texture grows,
 Surprise broods raptur'd o'er the awful loom.

And me too, if on me she deign to smile,
 Let musing science shew her inmost bowers,
 And all her lore unfold — unheard the while
 On gliding wing shall move the silent hours.

Ah!

Ah! blest the man, for whom with patient care,
 She culls unfading flowers of calm delight,
 And leads him wondering o'er the earth and air,
 The boundless ocean, and the realms of light —
 High raised from vulgar eyes to happier spheres,
 He breathes an air more balmy and serene:
 The while, at distance, echoed faint he hears
 The murmuring waves of life's tumultuous scene.

Nor to me a cheerless beam
 Would the circling sun display,
 If the arts one sacred gleam,
 In my favoured breast survey.
 Thought, incessant and refin'd,
 Toil, that no fatigue should know,
 On the busy hand and mind,
 Unveiling nature would bestow.

And pausing still, from labours blest,
 What time the lengthen'd shadows fall;
 How often with surrendered breast,
 Thee, Music! would I love to call.
 Thee would I call, for thou wouldst bring
 Those gentle pleasures in thy train;
 That hovering oft on downy wing,
 Enamoured listen to thy strain!

Those forms too, would thy steps attend,
 Those musing forms that round thee throng,
 And shadowy fit, and listening bend,
 Oft as they catch thy pensive song;
 And languid, I by turns would hear,
 Their whispers soft, thy plaintive shell;
 And bid, entranc'd, in visions dear,
 The dim, receding world farewell —

Yet not farewell — for who would lose,
 Oh Memory! soft, soothing power,
 Thy pictures dress'd in tenderest lines,
 Thy lonely walk, thy silent hour;
 Dear relicks, left by worth and love,
 And honour, in my heart I bear,
 Oft let me turn, and look, and prove,
 That safe remain my treasures there —

In summer heats — at midnight's hour,
 When waked from rest by Cynthia's beam,
 I mark how soft her glances pour
 On hoary hill or silver stream;

My

My soul on yielding, I diffuse
 The still and sleeping landscape o'er;
 Then memory oft with thee I muse,
 On days that must return no more.

When winter chills the darkened air,
 And embers faint the earth illumine,
 Lonely I watch their mimic glare,
 People with forms the twilight gloom;
 As fancy points, my course I chuse;
 Calm realms of thought I wander o'er;
 Then Memory I oft with thee I muse,
 On days that must return no more.

When fast the lowering evenings close,
 And parting autumn's stormy train,
 Wake sullen winter from repose,
 And bend the woods, and sweep the main;
 Thee, Memory, then I turn to woo,
 I sigh expiring nature o'er,
 And pensively with thee I view
 Lov'd hours, that must return no more—

Sweet is the call of whispering spring —
 I hear, and range the lawns and groves,
 And mark how life unfolds his wing,
 And o'er earth, air, and ocean roves.
 "And thus," I cry, "did hope diffuse
 "Once her soft light my bosom o'er,"
 Then Memory, sad, with thee I muse,
 On joys that must return no more. —

True — to me has bounteous heaven,
 Now a kinder fate bestowed,
 And with lavish hand has given
 Bliss to me it never owed.

Still tho' bright the day be shining,
 Clouds that in the morn were seen,
 Not, as yet, the sky resigning,
 Oft floating pass the blue serene.

He too, who, in boundless measure,
 Blessings may from fortune gain,
 Oft must pause and turn from pleasure,
 Feeling for another's pain:

The heart to cheer, Affection warm extends
 Her beauteous web around with fingers fine,

But ah! when Fate or Chance the texture rends,
She finds with sighs, "she liv'd along the line."

The fondest look that e'er pourtrayed the mind,
The richest bliss that sympathy e'er gave,
Full dearly purchas'd, will the mourner find,
Who tends the bed of pain, or decks the grave,

From ills like these, from sorrows of her own,
E'en virtues self no kind repose can know;
Too oft with contest faint and cheerless grown,
She hopes not rest or happiness below;

Fixed on those realms, where no wild passion fires,
Where no keen sorrow in the heart delays,
No sickening want to solitude retires,
Nor pain on the shrunk frame resistless preys —

But whither have my thoughts unbidden stray'd,
Where fled the dreams that did my senses fold,
Ah mirth, while scarce my vows to thee were paid,
Is the gleam o'er, and is my heart grown cold?

Enchantress fair! to gain one happy hour
Like me, if e'er another suppliant bend,
Unceasing let thy wand its influence pour,
For if thy votary think — thy visions end.

ONE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET-LAUREAT.

A WHILE the frowning Lord of Arms
Shall yield to gentler powers the plains;
Lo! Britain greets the milder charms
Of Cytherea's reign;
Mute is the trumpet's brazen throat,
And the sweet flute's melodious note
Floats on the soft ambrosial gale;
The sportive Loves and Graces round,
Beating with jocund step the ground,
Th' auspicious nuptials hail!
The Muses cease to weave the wreath of war,
But hang their roseate flowers on Hymen's golden car!

When

II.

When o'er Creation's blotted face
 Drear Night her sable banner rears,
 And veils fair Nature's vernal grace,
 Encircled round by doubts and fears,
 Thro' darksome mists and chilling dews
 His path the wanderer's foot pursues,
 Till, shining clear in Orient skies,
 He views the star of Venus rise,
 And joys to see the genial power,
 Bright harbinger of morning's hour!
 And now a flood of radiance streams
 From young Aurora's blushing beams,
 Till rob'd in gorgeous state, the orb of day
 Spreads o'er the laughing earth his full resplendent ray!

III.

Blest be the omen — royal pair!
 O may the hymeneal rite,
 That joins the valiant and the fair,
 Shed on the nations round its placid light!
 Her fertile plain tho' Albion see
 From savage devastation free,
 Tho' with triumphant sail the reign
 Sole Empress of the subject main,
 She longs to bid the thunders sleep
 Which shake the regions of the deep,
 That crowding nations far and wide,
 Borne peaceful o'er the ambient tide,
 May share the blessings that endear the day
 Which gave a Patriot King a patriot race to sway!

SATIRICAL ADVICE TO YOUNG POETS panting after CELEBRITY.

[Extracted from MR. FAWCETT'S ART OF POETRY, according to the latest Improvements, by Sir SIMON SWAN, Baronet.]

WOULD'ST thou the SENTIMENTAL tribes engage,
 To hang enchanted o'er thy magic page;
 Although thy secret soul should dance and sing,
 Blithe as the birds whose notes salute the spring;
 Though at thy side mirth's sportful goddess stands,
 Along with Nature shouts and claps her hands,
 And, breathing all her deity, supplies
 Jest to thy lips, and laughter to thine eyes;
 Although, the merriest of the Muse's sons,
 Thou sing the liveliest catch to Oxford's gowns!

Or dance at Baïæ, gayest of the gay;
 Yet, when you write, let *sorrows* shade the lay
 Still, in your song, a deep dejection wear;
 Dismiss each smile, and pour the tuneful tear:
 Appear some wretch, whom cruel stars pursue,
 Whom Peace and Joy have had a long adieu:
 As deep Despair had breath'd it, let the strain,
 In each smooth line, harmoniously complain."

Learn next, if ears POLITE you burn to gain,
 What canons must direct th' obedient strain.

Let Fancy all her loftier flights forbear,
 And each minuter beauty make her care.
 The courtly reader's finely structur'd eye
 Sees only coarseness in sublimity:
 And, all too weak e'en Beauty's form to gaze,
 Let's fairy Prettiness usurp her praise.
 Like a trim garden should thy song appear,
 Nought great or bold must find admission there:
 No forests swell, no mountains pierce the sky,
 No giant-scenes impress with awe the eye,
 But little flowers in nicest order grow,
 O'er neat parterres, a blooming rareeshow!
 And flattest plots of shortest grass be seen,
 Smooth as the velvet's fur each downy green;
 Where Toil has all her proofs of patience shown,
 How oft her hand the level plain has mown,
 And dragg'd her lumbering roller up and down.

Passion be sure avoid: no gentle ear
 The shock of aught so boisterous knows to bear.
 Would'st thou the truly polish'd reader please,
 Let him peruse you at his utmost ease.
 No bursts of ecstacy must break his rest;
 Rude is the muse that agitates his breast:
 His placid soul let all your lays compose;
 Oh! ne'er so roughly use him, as to rouse!
 One peaceful tenour must the numbers keep,
 And sweetly lull him into classic sleep.
 Stirr'd by no gusts, let all the unruffled lay,
 In easy flow, pursue its quiet way:
 Soft, soothing thoughts serenely roll along,
 In glib and elegantly languid song.
 Ne'er must the headlong stream impetuous pour,
 Ne'er with the torrent's thundering fury roar;
 But smooth as lakes the glossy numbers glide,
 Without one wrinkle in the polish'd tide.

Wuld'st

Would'st thou to a yet prouder summit raise
 The soft renown of unimpassion'd lays,
 Bid the bold frenzy of BURKE's ireful page,
 Lull'd in thy mollient rhimes, forget to rage!
 With notes, whose magic rivals Orpheus fame,
 His vigorous rhetoric's tiger-fierceness tame!
 Their snakes soft hissing, let the Furies wear,
 In thy meek verse, a mild and lamb-like air!
 There, let the dogs of war attune their throat,
 And bark for blood, with small and puppy note!
 Like Bottom, child of Shakespear's mirthful art,
 Like gentle Bottom, play the lion's part!
 And, lest the found the ladies' hearts should quail,
 Roar like "a sucking dove," or warbling nightingale!

If thy bold muse be bent to lend some zest
 To strains that lull the slumber-loving breast,
 Ambitious still to prove, how sweetly chimes
 Phrenetic zeal with calm and harmless rhimes,
 A furious war let wild, polemic Rage
 With all the letter'd friends of Freedom wage:
 And with a schoolboy's hand, and bigot's fire,
 Strike the deep grumblings of thine angry lyre!
 In lowliest verse, that humbly creeps along,
 Nor once aspires to flight, a reptile song;
 Such groveling, springless, unexulting lines,
 As court a modest fame in magazines;
 Emit a copious tide of rank abuse:
 With venom arm thy wing-unfurnish'd muse:
 Give to the worm of wit the serpent's gall,
 And let it hiss, and bite, as well as crawl.
 Ten thousands deem, no quill can e'er supply
 So sweet an eloquence as calumny!
 No grace, like foul reproach, adorns a page;
 And party, far exceeds poetic rage!
 Then be the bays, that round thy brows are worn,
 A wreath of poppies mixt with prickly thorn!
 As artful cooks compose a savoury dish,
 By sauce's aid, of tasteless eggs and fish,
 Strong censure seasons thus insipid lays,
 Pricks the dull taste, and spurs it into praise!
 Thou, in this Lent of song, a verse prepare,
 In acrids rich, of genial flavours spare:
 With rancour's spice, the mental palate hit,
 A feast of scandal 'midst a fast of wit.
 And (for long rhimes fatigue a costive brain)
 Of small dimension be the meager strain;
 While amplest notes, with swelling drapery,
 Dress the lean song, and plumper size supply:

Let

Let Greek and Latin, proudly scatter'd there,
 In learned pomp, to charm the schools, appear;
 That e'en thy foes may own, in anger's spite,
 Thou hast a power to read, if not to write.
 Last, as the master-stroke to win thee fame,
 In cloud and darkness veil thine awful name!
 That thou, like shrouded Junius, may'st be sought,
 Proclaim, like Junius, none shall find thee out!
 Though in all else unlike, with him defy,
 And, by defying, draw the curious eye!
 Thus may a homely Muse, that lusts to gain
 The Public's love, with "cheeks of sorry grain,"
 Force some small notice of her, if she try
 This wily trick of letter'd coquetry.
 So, void of beauty's lure, the rustic maid
 Pierces, compell'd to shifts, the thicket's shade:
 And, to provoke the swains to amorous chase,
 Tells them they ne'er shall find her hiding-place.
 Thus, though thy *page* erect no "lofty rhyme,"
 At least thy *person* may become sublime.
 Sublimity, as critic pens have shown,
 Of solemn shadows loves to frame her throne:
 What moves but laughter, when to view unveil'd,
 Oft strikes with awe, or wonder, while conceal'd:
 Screen'd by the waincot, e'en a scratching mouse
 May spread alarm throughout a coward house:
 E'en slumbering, eastern kings have pass'd for great,
 Lolling, invisible, in pillow'd state:
 And, thus, in thee, shall grand effect be found,
 Wrapt with the majesty of mystery round.

LODGINGS FOR SINGLE GENTLEMEN.

[From COLMAN'S NIGHT-GOWN AND SLIPPERS, OR TALES IN VERSE.]

WHO has e'er been in London, that overgrown place,
 Has seen "Lodgings to let" stare him full in the face;
 Some are good, and let dearly; while some, 'tis well known,
 Are so dear, and so bad, they are best let alone.

Will Waddle, whose temper was studious, and lonely,
 Hired lodgings that took Single Gentlemen only;
 But Will was so fat he appear'd like a lion;
 Or like two Single Gentlemen roll'd into One.

He entered his rooms; and to bed he retreated,
 But, all the night long, he felt fever'd and heated.

And, though heavy to weigh, as a score of fat sheep,
He was not, by any means, heavy to sleep.

Next night 'twas the same; — and the next; — and the next;
He perspired like an ox; he was nervous, and vex'd;
Week passed after week; till, by weekly succession,
His weakly condition was past all expression.

In six months his acquaintance began much to doubt him;
For his skin, "like a lady's loose gown," hung about him;
He sent for a Doctor; and cried, like a ninny,
"I have lost many pounds — make me well — there's a guinea."

The Doctor look'd wise: — "a slow fever," he said:
Prescribed sudorifics, — and going to bed.
"Sudorifics in bed," exclaimed Will, "are humbugs;"
"I've enough of them there, without paying for drugs."

WILL kick'd out the Doctor: — but when ill indeed,
E'en dismissing the Doctor don't *always* succeed;
So, calling his host, — he said, — "Sir, do you know,
"I'm the fat Single Gentleman, six months ago?"

"Look'e, landlord, I think" argued Will, with a grin,
"That with honest intentions you first *took me in*;"
"But from the first night — and to say it I'm bold" —
"I have been so damn'd hot, that I'm sure I caught cold."

Quoth the landlord — "Till now, I ne'er had a dispute;
"I've let lodgings ten years; — I'm a Baker to boot;
"In airing your sheets, Sir, my wife is no sloven,
"And your bed is immediately — over my Oven."

"The Oven" !!! says Will — says the host, "why this passion?"
"In that excellent bed died three people of fashion.
"Why so crusty, good sir?" "Zounds!" — cries Will, in a taking,
"Who wouldn't be crusty, with half a year's baking?"

WILL paid for his rooms; cried the host, with a sneer,
"Well, I see you've been *going away* half a year,"
"Friend, we can't well agree" — "yet no quarrel" — Will said;
"For one man may die where another makes bread."

BIRTH AND COURT OF ZELOTISMUS.

[From the BATTLE OF B-NG-R, a Comic Heroic Poem.]

'MONG the celestial goddesses above,
 That grace the mansion of almighty Jove,
 A nymph there is, whose province is to raise
 In man's cold heart devotion's melting blaze :
 For oft, too oft, forgetful of his God,
 Poor earthly man betrays his native clod.
 Her name is ZEALA — through the world she flies,
 Love in her looks, and ardor in her eyes :
 Nor can the iciest mortal well withstand
 The glowing touch of her enchanting hand.
 Yet, neither stiff, nor stern, she gently bends
 Her willing vot'ries to her purpos'd ends.
 Martyrs she makes, but martyrs meek and mild ;
 Who ne'er revile, although they be revil'd :
 In Virtue's cause, a vigor she inspires ;
 But never kindles Persecution's fires.

Once on a time, as this celestial Maid,
 In quest of converts, through Tholosa stray'd ;
 There, in a Convent (horrible to tell !)
 A lecherous fri'r compris'd her in his cell.
 From this commixtion a dire dæmon came ;
 And ZELOTISMUS is that dæmon's name —
 Rapid his growth ; for his half-heav'nly birth
 Gave him advantage o'er the sons of earth.
 Foster'd by popes and kings, behold him rise,
 In a short space, to an enormous size !
 His fame by strolling priests is blazed abroad ;
 And men mistake him for a demi-god.
 Whole nations eagerly embrace his laws ;
 But, chief, Iberia's sons support his cause.
 There temples, there to him were altars rear'd ;
 With human blood those altars were besmear'd :
 Religion sanction'd the devouring flame,
 And infants trembled at this Moloch's name.

Thus erst ; but now he sees his pow'r decline :
 No bloody trophies more bedeck his shrine :
 No fiery *san-benitos* more adorn
 The Moor or Jew, condemn'd to public scorn.
 Yet, yet a week of years ; the world shall see
 His throne o'erturn'd ; and fair Iberia free !

Yet still on Tajo's banks he holds his court :
 Thither the zealots of the West resort. —

A hooded band, th' emissaries of Rome,
Support his empire, and surround his dome.

In the first porch of this stupendous place,
Stands PERSECUTION, with an iron face.
In his right hand a scorpion-scourge he bears;
Betinged with human blood and human tears;
And in his left he grasps a brand of fire
Ready to light the dread funeral pyre.
Cut deep in stone, above the monster's head,
ΕΙΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥ clearly may be read.

In the remotest part of this abode
Is the apartment of the grisly God.
There Phœbus never shews his chearful face;
Tapers of yellow wax supply his place;
Such as at dismal dirges are display'd
To half-illuminate the half-damn'd dead.
High, on a throne of rough and rusty steel,
Sedately fits the spurious son of Zeal.

Dame SUPERSTITION, his beloved bride,
Sits, like another Thaïs, by his side.
Pale is her visage, peevish is her mien:
For she is often troubled with the spleen.
Her weeds are black; but with a copious store
Of gaudy trinkets they are tinfell'd o'er —
Beads from Loretto, Agnus-Dei's from Rome,
And christen'd relics from a catacomb:
Crosses and medals with indulgence fraught;
And images, that miracles have wrought:
Like that which lately, at Ancona, drew
Just adoration, from the Turk and Jew!
Behind his throne, to catch his dire commands,
His armour-bearer, FANATISMUS, stands.
Screws, racks and pulleys; sulphur, pitch and tar;
With other implements of holy war;
Lie piled around him: all in order fair,
As, in the Tow'r our guns and pistols are.

DESCRIPTION of a COUNTRY PARSON'S GARDEN.

[From Mr. BIDLAKE'S COUNTRY PARSON, a Poem.]

A GARDEN trim he owns with silver rill,
That ceaseless sports to music all its own;
Where nodding flowrets stooping drink their fill,
And ope gay eyes refresh'd, fantastick grown.
And there the gaudy tulip's pomp is known;

The blushing rose, mentor of virgin pride ;
Woodbines with cumb'rous wealth hung clust'ring down ;
The jasmine meek and pure ; and more beside,
That make a paradise and scent the summer tide.

But most his luscious fruits with glistering eye,
That cloath the sunny wall he will commend,
The while he shews, how they all fruits outvie,
He prunes them all, their growth his cares attend,
There bids them spricely spread, here bids them bend.
How glows the blushing peach at his command ;
The nectarine rich, where summer's bounties blend,
The conscous plumb that from the spoiler's hand
Lost bloom bemoans, like worth sad-stain'd by slander's brand.

Securely there the painted goldfinch breeds,
Securely shelter'd trills the mellow lay ;
All on their downy couch his offspring feeds,
And warbles thankfulness his rent to pay.
For, happy guests ! from thence no songsters stray ;
For there compassion, nature's friend, they meet ;
There emulative tuneful pow'rs display ;
The conscous master's daily visits greet,
And fill with grateful melody his blest retreat.

Not all for pleasure, herbs for use design'd,
Within the garden's cultur'd precinct grow,
To the main chance looks forth the thrifty mind,
And substance holds above mere empty shew,
“ For penny sav'd,” a proverb well such know.
And there, with heart compact, the cabbage stands,
With trickling drops begem'd that brightly glow.
There nodding onions rang'd like marshall'd bands ;
And apples dropping down that ask the gatherer's hands,

Uprears asparagus his spiry head ;
Child of the sea, snug cole in native sand ;
The sluggard carrot sleeps his days in bed ;
The cripple pea, alone that cannot stand,
With vegetable marrow rich and bland ;
The bean, whose tempting sweets the bees invite ;
The artichoke in scaly armour grand ;
With more, that may nice epicure delight,
And dainties yield to glad the fickle appetite.

There stretch'd upon his bed of salts, supine,
Cool cucumber his creeping arms extends,
Rough-coated melon shoots his tender vine,
Like worth, whom aspect rude, ill recommends.

In jestful mood the master tells his friends
 How cauliflower, like doctor's wig so white,
 All flower exceeds: a joke much mirth that lends,
 For never jest so stale, or wit so trite,
 In little minds that cannot raise supreme delight.

There too the currant hangs its loaded head;
 Pomona's pearls and crimson gems all bright.
 Plethoric gooseberries, amber, green, or red,
 Whose giant size may rivalry excite,
 With harmless pride nice culture's care requite.
 And there the strawberry, 'mid her veil of green,
 Bashful with modest face shrinks back from sight,
 True virgin beauty blushing to be seen:
 And what so sweet as chastity in beauty's mein?

ADDRESS TO MARCH.

[From First FLIGHTS, by JOHN HETRICK, jun.]

THY younger sister's constant tears
 Invite the poet's lyre,
 And laughing May, when she appears,
 Shall raise the rapture higher.

But let the gaudy tulip gain
 The loftier poet's verse,
 For once will I, an untaught swain,
 Thy paler sweets rehearse.

The full blown beauties of the year
 To courtly strains belong;
 But when thy modest buds appear,
 They claim the rural song.

Let the auricula and rose
 On May's warm breast be set;
 The opening thorns for me disclose
 Thy sweeter violet.

No raging sun's tyrannic fire
 Forbids my wand'ring feet
 To search, with friendly muse and lyre,
 Thy primroses' retreat.

Ah! would my lov'd Eliza deign
 To take my eager hand,
 Thy bard, dear March, would ne'er complain
 At sternest fate's command.

How gaily then my song should rise,
 Amidst thy infant grove;
 Then gazing on Eliza's eyes,
 How softly change to love!

APOSTROPHE to an OLD TREE.

[From the Second Volume of SONNETS and other POEMS, by CHAR-
 LOTTE SMITH.]

WHERE thy broad branches brave the bitter North,
 Like rugged, indigent, unheeded, worth,
 Lo! vegetation's guardian hands emboss
 Each giant limb with fronds of studded moss,
 That clothes the bark in many a fringed fold
 Begemm'd with scarlet shields, and cups of gold,
 Which, to the wildest winds their webs oppose,
 And mock the arrowy fleet, or weltering snows.
 —But to the warmer West the Woodbine fair
 With tassels that perfumed the summer air,
 The mantling Clematis, whose feathery bowers
 Waved in festoons with Nightshade's purple flowers,
 The silver weed, whose corded fillets wove
 Round thy pale rind, even as deceitful love
 Of mercenary beauty would engage
 The dotard fondness of decrepit age;
 All these, that during summer's halcyon days
 With their green canopies conceal'd thy sprays,
 Are gone for ever; or disfigured, trail
 Their fallow relicts in the autumnal gale;
 Or o'er thy roots, in faded fragments tost,
 But tell of happier hours, and sweetness lost!
 —Thus in fate's trying hour, when furious storms
 Strip social life of pleasure's fragile forms,
 And awful Justice, as his rightful prey
 Tears Luxury's silk, and jewel'd robe, away,
 While reads Adversity her lesson stern,
 And Fortune's minions tremble as they learn;
 The crouds around her gilded car that hung,
 Bent the lithe knee, and troul'd the honey tongue,
 Desponding fall, or fly in pale despair;
 And Scorn alone remembers that they were.
 Not so Integrity; unchanged he lives
 In the rude armour conscious honor gives,
 And dares with hardy front the troubled sky,
 In Honesty's uninjured panoply.
 Ne'er on Prosperity's enfeebling bed

Or rosy pillows, he reposed his head,
 But given to useful arts, his ardent mind
 Has sought the general welfare of mankind;
 To mitigate their ills his greatest bliss,
 While studying them, has taught him what he is;
 He, when the human tempest rages worst,
 And the earth shudders as the thunders burst,
 Firm, as thy northern branch, is rooted fast,
 And if he can't avert, endures the blast.

SONNET to the INSECT of the GOSSAMER.

[From the same Work.]

SMALL, viewless aeronaut, that by the line
 Of Gossamer suspended, in mid air
 Float'st on a sun beam—Living atom, where
 Ends thy breeze-guided voyage;—with what design
 In æther dost thou launch thy form minute,
 Mocking the eye?—Alas! before the veil
 Of denser clouds shall hide thee, the pursuit
 Of the keen swift may end thy fairy fail!—
 Thus on the golden thread that fancy weaves
 Buoyant, as hope's illusive flattery breathes,
 The young and visionary poet leaves
 Life's dull realities, while sevenfold wreaths
 Of rainbow-light around his head revolve.
 Ah! soon at Sorrow's touch the radiant dreams dissolve!

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1797.

THE biblical and theological Department of our annual Labours for the year 1793, commenced with the 1st volume of "The Holy Bible, or the Books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians, &c. faithfully translated from corrected Texts of the Original; with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Remarks, by the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL.D." In the opinion which we then expressed of the general merits of the new version, our readers may perceive the high estimation in which it led us to hold the erudition, abilities, and industry of the translator; and the ample tribute of gratitude to which we considered him entitled from the biblical student. The appearance, during the year 1797, of the 2d volume of that work, comprising the books of Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ruth, and the Prayer of Manassch, has in no respect tended to lessen Dr. Geddes's claims to commendation, and encouragement. The text, like that of the former volume, contains numerous improvements of the common version; and is accompanied with valuable, although brief, notes, and important various readings. In the Preface to the volume, when treating of the generally received opinion respecting the inspiration of the Hebrew scriptures, Dr. Geddes

affords striking evidence of his liberality, and of the boldness of spirit with which he can dare the censure and obloquy of bigots of all persuasions. His observations on the difficulties inseparable from the common hypothesis, and on the advantages which would result to the cause of revelation from adopting the doctrine of partial and putative, in preference to that of absolute and plenary inspiration, are highly important, and deserve the serious attention of believers and unbelievers. What he says, indeed, at present, is only applicable to the Hebrew writers considered as historians: his opinion concerning the inspiration of their legislator and prophets, he reserves for his volume of critical remarks. That volume we hope to have it in our power to notice in our next year's Register.

During the year 1797, likewise, we have been enabled to renew our acquaintance with another eminent scholar and critic, whose labours have deservedly classed him among our most valuable scripture commentators. Dr. Blayney, regius professor of Hebrew, and canon of Christ-Church, Oxford, has presented the public with "Zechariah; a new Translation: with Notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, &c." In his preliminary discourse our author, with singular

lar modesty, apologises for attempting the illustration of this part of holy writ, after archbishop Newcome's learned comments, whose candour and humility urged him strongly to recommend the publication of a work which, if it should tend to "clear up one difficult passage, would more than compensate to him for the detection of a hundred mistakes." Dr. Blayney afterwards gives such a view of the situation and circumstances of Zechariah, as is well calculated to throw light on his sentiments, and to remove a considerable part of the difficulties which have been charged upon his writings. When acknowledging the assistance which he has received from different authors, he ably vindicates the valuable collations of the various readings of the Hebrew writings made by Dr. Kennicott and others, against the illiberal and contemptuous mention of them in the discourse by way of general preface to the 4to. edition of Warburton's works; and he unanswerably explodes the absurd and unaccountable idea of the perfect integrity of the text, to which some injudicious friends of revelation are willing to look as the ground of scriptural authority. Dr. Blayney in his version divides the poetical parts from the prose, after the examples of Lowth and Newcome, and his own practice in his translation of Jeremiah; and, in our opinion, has happily succeeded in conveying the sense and beauties of a composition of which the diction is "remarkably pure, the construction natural and perspicuous, and the style judiciously varied according to the nature of the subjects; simple and plain in the narrative and historical parts; but in those that are wholly prophetic,

the latter chapters in particular, rising to a degree of elevation and grandeur, scarcely inferior to the sublimest of the inspired writings." The notes which accompany this version are copious and valuable. In an Appendix our author completely refutes the sense given by Dr. Eveleigh to some passages in Zechariah, which, in opposition to the primate of Ireland's explanation of them in his translation of the minor prophets, he wishes to adduce in support of the doctrine of the trinity: and to the whole he has added a new edition, with important alterations, of his version of Daniel's celebrated prophecy of seventy weeks.

"Jonah, a faithful Translation from the Original, &c. by George Benjoin, of Jesus College, Cambridge," is the production of an author, whose chief qualifications for the undertaking appear to have been his proficiency in rabbinical lore, and a veneration, not much unlike superstition, for the conceits and extravagancies of Jewish tradition. Hence, Kennicott, Lowth, Blayney, and others, whose merit as translators is to be appreciated on very different grounds, are, as might be expected, the objects of his repeated censure; and that not always the most modest and unassuming. In his prolegomena Mr. Benjoin undertakes to prove, that "The Sacred Writings of the Old Testament have not suffered either any corruption or alteration whatever since the time of Ezra:" but his authorities will have little weight out of the synagogue. He is also a zealous advocate for the masoretic points, by which he considers the sound and meaning of each word to be so exactly marked, that any scholar may now read and speak with the same sound

found with which Moses read and spake. What he had said on this subject, however, has by no means accomplished the removal of the numerous difficulties involved in that hypothesis. To this succeeds a copious description of such Hebrew manuscripts as were written according to the rules of Ezra: rules which Jewish writers have been pleased to ascribe to him, but which are often too futile, and sometimes too absurd to have been dictated by such a "ready scribe of the law of the God of heaven." After a dissertation on the book of Jonah, which follows, comprising a design for a translation to which translators should adhere, and answers to some questions and objections that have been stated concerning that book, the reader is presented, in one view, with Mr. Benjoin's new translation, the old version, and the arrangement and literal sense of the Hebrew words. The rest of the volume consists of notes, accounting for every rendering in the translation that differs from the old version; of the verbs occurring in the book of Jonah, in their original formation, with an explanation of their roots; and of a chronological abstract of the Jewish history. Of Mr. Benjoin's translation it is but justice to say, that in some instances it is more faithful to the sense and spirit of the original, than the common version; but, on the whole, we conceive that few competent judges will give it the preference. For the frequent inaccuracies which occur in point of style and language, the candid reader will be led to make many allowances from the consideration that the translator is not a native of this country.

The "Dissertation on the Vision contained in the second Chap-

ter of Zechariah, by Thomas Wintle, B. D." is the production of a gentleman of considerable learning and critical skill, of which he has given abundant evidence in his version of Daniel, and in his sermons preached at the Bampton lecture. But in the work before us, he has not been so successful in the application of his talents as he was in those publications. Disapproving of the sense given to the language of the vision by Drs. Newcome and Blayney, and imagining that it contains a prediction of Christ, the eternal Logos and incarnate Son of God, Mr. Wintle has given a new version of the 4th and nine following verses, and endeavoured to support his rendering of the passages which he considers to be favourable to his hypothesis, by similar ones in the book of Psalms, and the prophet Haggai. We have not, however, been able to discover his superiority in point of accuracy, or perspicuity to the archbishop and regius professor, or the conclusiveness of his reasoning in confirmation of his sense of the prophetic idiom. And although we readily subscribe to what he says respecting the illustrious series of extraordinary contingencies from the beginning of time to the full establishment of Christianity, foretold in the sacred records, that "new light is continually breaking in upon us, not only in a clearer discernment of the meaning of the predictions, but also in a growing display of the scenes of their accomplishment," we cannot promise the biblical scholar much illumination from this production of our author. From the list of Mr. Wintle's publications at the end of this dissertation it appears, that he is the author of the masterly "Letter to the Lord Bishop of Worcester,

cesser, occasioned by his *Strictures on Archbishop Secker and Bishop Lowth, &c.*" which was noticed in our last volume.

The "Prospectus, with Specimens of a new Polyglott Bible, in Quarto, for the use of English Students, by Josiah Pratt, M. A." gives us the expectation of an undertaking which promises to be of great importance in biblical literature. The very commendable object of the author is, to furnish the student with the combined advantages resulting from a comparative view of the original and the most ancient and best versions of the sacred books, as well as the English, and the labours of Kennicott, De Rossi, Holmes, Mill, Griesbach, &c. in order that he may facilitate his acquaintance with the scriptures, and enable him to develop the whole system of truth which they contain from the study of the scriptures themselves, and not from systematic interpretations. His plan is, to give the Old Testament in five columns, containing the Hebrew text of Vander Hooght, from the Amsterdam edition of 1705; the English from the Oxford edition of 1769; the Septuagint from the edition of Sixtus V.; the Vulgate from the edition of Clement VIII.; and the Chaldee paraphrase, consisting of the Targums of Onkelos, and Jonathan, on the Pentateuch, and the prophets, the anonymous one in Walton on the Hagiographa, and that on Chronicles from the Erpenian manuscript. Under these columns will be given the Samaritan Pentateuch, in Hebrew characters, and a copious collection of various readings. The New Testament will be given in four columns, containing the Greek text from Mill's edition; the common

English translation; the Syriac version from the Vienna edition of 1555, in Hebrew characters, and with the deficiencies in the Peshito supplied from the editions of Pococke and De Dieu; and the Latin Vulgate. Under these columns will be collected a vast body of various readings from Mill, Bengelius, Wettstein, Birch, Mathæi, Griesbach, &c.; references to the Coptic, Sahidic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Persian, Gothic, Slavonian, and Anglo-Saxon versions; and quotations from the fathers and ecclesiastical writers. It appears that Mr. Pratt has been employed for a considerable time on this work; and that a part of it may soon be expected from the press, if he meets with encouragement from a competent number of subscribers. We heartily wish him that support which shall prove an abundant compensation for his arduous labours.

In our Register for the year 1793, we introduced to our readers "Dissertations on the Prophecies of the Old Testament, in 2 Parts, Vol. I. by David Levi." We have since met a second volume of that work, which is a continuation of the 1st part of the author's plan, in which he has undertaken the elucidation of such prophecies as are applicable to the coming of the Messiah, the restoration of the Jews, and the resurrection of the dead, whether so applied by Jews or Christians. In the volume now before us, with commendable diligence, and ingenuity whetted by polemical practice, he pursues his original plan, and, as may be expected, deduces the same general conclusion. Our opinion, however, remains the same as formerly respecting the importance of his labours in biblical criticism,

clism, and as they are intended to affect the evidence in favour of the claims of Christ to the character of the Messiah. But as they supply us with the interpretations given by the Jews to their own prophetic writings, they are, at least, objects of curiosity, and deserving of encouragement.

Partly for the above-mentioned reason, and, it were injustice were we not to add, on account of the strength of argument which it frequently evinces, the "Defence of the Old Testament, in a Series of Letters addressed to Thomas Paine," by the same author, is worthy of respectful notice. Much of what he says in confirmation of the divine mission of Moses, we consider to be irrefragable; and his observations on the present state of the Jews, compared with the predictions of their legislator, are important and interesting. In other parts of his defence, when he endeavours to repel the objections of his opponent drawn from the command to extirpate the Canaanites, or when he contends for the literal acceptance of some parts of the Old Testament narrative, or attempts to reconcile the alleged incongruities in the Jewish historians, he is not equally successful.

In our last volume we introduced to our readers Dr. Priestley's "Observations on the Increase of Infidelity," originally published at Northumberland, in America. To a third and enlarged edition of that work the author added "Animadversions on the Writings of several modern Unbelievers, and especially on the Ruins of Mr. Volney." In these animadversions, with indignant, but not unjust severity, he exposed the unbecoming temper and dissingenuousness of the authors whom he quoted; and ridiculed

M. Volney's romantic account of the history and religion of the Hebrews, as well as his explanation of the origin of Christianity, without admitting that such a person as Jesus Christ ever existed. Provoked by the doctor's language, and by the low and mean estimation in which he appeared to hold his talents, Mr. Volney soon published what he called an "Answer to Dr. Priestley, on his Pamphlet entitled Observations, &c." containing little argument, but an abundant proportion of petulance, and sarcasm, and what we cannot distinguish from vulgar personal abuse. In that answer he intimated, indeed, that he could overturn the whole edifice of his opponent's faith; but on account of some very unphilosophical reasons which he chose to assign, and other very substantial ones reserved in his own breast, after taking up the gauntlet he thought fit to decline the combat with our Christian champion. Dr. Priestley, however, would not quit the field without a few words at parting; and therefore addressed some "Letters to Mr. Volney, occasioned by a work of his, entitled Ruins, and by his Letter to the Author." These letters are distinguished by urbanity and good temper. To Mr. Volney they propose some queries on the subject of revelation, to which, if he were so disposed, he would find it a difficult matter to reply, on the principles of that scepticism which it is probable he has embraced from the spirit of levity and indisposition to theological enquiry so prevalent among the modern French. They, likewise, offer to readers in general, some admirable remarks on the fatal effects of infidelity as it influences the human character, and on the evidence in favour of the
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being of a God, and the truth of revelation, which we cannot too powerfully recommend to their attention.

The "Essay on the Folly of Scepticism, the Absurdity of dogmatizing upon religious Subjects, &c. by W. L. Brown, D. D. principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen," is the republication of an excellent treatise, which we had the opportunity of introducing to our readers in our Sketch of the Literature of the United Provinces for the year 1787. It deservedly obtained for the author the gold medal, or first prize, annually bestowed by Teyler's Theological Society, at Haarlem; and its present appearance in the author's native country is peculiarly seasonable. In addition to what we have already stated respecting the nature and spirit of this essay we shall only remark, that it is divided into three parts: that in the first the author takes an historical view of the origin and progress of scepticism, distinguishing the rational sceptic from different classes whom he exposes, and judiciously illustrating the causes of scepticism: that in the second part he explains the nature, the origin, and effects of dogmatism; and that in the third he describes the true medium to be observed between the extremes of scepticism and dogmatism, and the most effectual methods of discouraging the prevalence of either. It is unnecessary to make any observations on the practical importance of such a treatise from the respectable pen of Dr. Brown.

The "Remarks on Revelation and Infidelity, being the Substance of several Speeches lately delivered in a private literary Society in Edinburgh, &c." if not entitled to rank high in the list of methodical

and argumentative productions, are nevertheless deserving of commendation, for the good sense which they discover, and the easy popular style in which they are delivered. They appear to have been intended, chiefly, to controvert the statements and reasonings in Mr. Macleod's Examination of Bishop Watson's Apology," and in another pamphlet entitled "Watson refuted, by Samuel Francis, M. D." the latter of which has not fallen in our way.

The treatise entitled "The Insufficiency of the Light of Nature, exemplified in the Vices and Depravities of the Heathen World, &c." is the production of a well-informed and dispassionate writer, and displays, with considerable force, the ill effects on the state of society and manners, which might fairly be apprehended, were the general rejection of Christianity as a divine revelation an admissible supposition. On this ground of reasoning he is its strenuous and able defender. He has, likewise, introduced into his little work some judicious strictures on Paine's Age of Reason.

The "Three Letters addressed to the Readers of Paine's Age of Reason, by one of the People called Christians," and the little treatise entitled "Common Sense, or a Plain Man's Answer to the Question whether Christianity be a Religion worthy of our Choice in this Age of Reason, &c." appear to have been written with an anxious desire to impress on serious and well disposed minds a sense of the truth and excellence of Christianity, when contemplated in its unsophisticated form, its native simplicity and dignity. On readers of the above-mentioned description they are calculated to produce good effects,

effects, either in checking any tendencies towards scepticism, or in confirming their pious belief.

The "Layman's Protest against the profane Blasphemy, false Charges, and illiberal Investive of Thomas Paine, &c. by J. Padman, Jun." is drawn up with ability and spirit, and will secure to the author an honourable mention among the advocates for revelation. Some of its best friends, however, will conceive, that he has sometimes contended for points which had better been kept out of fight in repelling the common enemy.

Our last remark is applicable to Mr. Scott's "Vindication of the Divine Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Doctrines contained in them, &c." and Mr. Fawcett's "Summary of the Evidences of Christianity." So far as the authors confine themselves to the general principles of evidence, in which all Christians agree, they merit attention, and praise. But the former of these gentlemen appears to less advantage when maintaining the doctrine of plenary inspiration, and the tenets of systematic theology; and the latter, in the manner in which he explains and defends the miraculous gifts communicated to the apostles.

Mr. John Jones's "Vindication of the Bishop of Llandaff's Apology for the Bible, in a Series of Letters addressed to Mr. Macleod," we cannot class among the able and judicious treatises which have appeared in this controversy. For it contains too much irrelevant matter, and too little polemical dexterity.

Mr. Evans, in his "Attempt to account for the Infidelity of the late Edward Gibbon, Esq. founded on his own Memoirs, &c." insists on the neglect of that gentleman's religious education, the disgust

which he received from observing the corruptions of Christianity, and the love of eminence by which his mind was heated and inflamed, as the immediate causes of his scepticism. Respecting the powerful operation of the first and second causes, we entirely coincide in opinion with the author, while we do not conceive that he has satisfactorily illustrated the operation of the third. But be this as it may, we think that the manner in which Mr. Evans has executed his attempt, on the whole, does him credit as an advocate for rational Christianity: and we recommend, to the serious enquirer, the reflections which accompany it, "on the best means of checking the present alarming progress of scepticism and irreligion, including an account of the conversion and death of the right hon. George lord Lyttelton."

Mr. Roberts's "Observations on the Principles of Christian Morality and the Apostolic Character, occasioned by Dr. Paley's View of the Evidences of Christianity," consist of strictures on that work, chiefly originating in the author's zeal for his own peculiar views of Christian doctrine, and of apostolic infallibility. They discover, however, but little force, or precision; and, in our estimation, leave the principal merit of the archdeacon's performance unimpeached. For we must ever consider it as a most important recommendation of Dr. Paley's plan, that he carefully preserved the separation between evidences and doctrines, as inviolable as he could, and made it his grand object to offer a defence of Christianity, which every Christian might read, without seeing the tenets in which he had been brought up attacked or decried.

Mr. Cobbold's Essay, tending to

to show the Advantages which result to Revelation, from its being conveyed to us in the Form of History," obtained for the author the honour of the Norrissian prize, in the university of Cambridge, and is published in pursuance of the directions in the will of the donor. As an academical exercise it was not unworthy of that distinction: but it would probably have done the author more credit, had he attended to the observations of preceding writers on the same subject. An enlarged edition of this essay, after Mr. Cobbold has digested their remarks, might prove a very useful employment of his leisure hours.

Mr. Jerram's "Essay, tending to shew the Grounds contained in Scripture for expecting a future Restoration of the Jews," was rewarded with another of the Norrissian prizes. In this essay the author contends, that the covenant of God with the Hebrews, the true meaning of their prophetic writings, and the progressive nature of the Christian dispensation, all concur in establishing the probability of their return to the seats of their ancestors, after their reception into the Christian pale. And he supports his hypothesis with ingenuity, and commendable modesty.

The "Manual of the Theophilanthropes, or Adorers of God, and Friends of Men, containing the Exposition of their Dogmas, of their Morals and their religious Practice, &c." is a curious and interesting publication, if we examine the circumstances which occasioned its production, or the consequences with which the institution to which it belongs will most probably be followed. Among the former we may reckon, the temporary chaotic state with respect to religious sub-

jects, to which the mass of men's minds in France had been reduced on the overthrow of their tyrannical and superstitious religious establishments; the victory which good sense and the remains of information derived from Christianity gradually obtained over atheism and irreligion, enforcing a conviction of the necessity of morals and piety to the well-being of states as well as individuals; and the voluntary associations which subsequently took place in Paris, and afterwards in other parts of the republic, for supporting the worship of God on a plan, which should not oppose the dogmas of any sect, and for the dissemination of virtuous and useful knowledge. The creed of the Theophilanthropes, or rather Theophilanthropists, consists of two articles only; the first declaring their belief in the doctrine of the existence of God, the second in that of the immortality of the soul. Their moral system, which is borrowed from Christianity, inculcates the love of God, and of man; the rational obligations of piety, and the outlines of those duties which the gospel chiefly insists on and recommends. The sanctions and motives, however, by which they enforce them are, comparatively, cold and unimpressive. Their manual, besides the exposition of their principles and morals, contains a collection of hymns, a liturgy for every decade of the French year, and a selection of moral lessons from the scriptures as well as other ancient and modern writings, which are read at their meetings by each head of a family in his turn. At such meetings, likewise, occasional moral discourses, in the style of sermons, are delivered, after having been submitted to the previous inspection of a committee of direc-

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tion. The Theophilanthropists also have forms for the celebration of the births of children, of marriages, and of burials. For our parts, we cannot but consider the establishment of such an institution in France, where we understand it is daily gaining numerous converts, to be an important era in ecclesiastical history. It has already greatly contributed to stem the torrent of irreligion and immorality. And it is preparing a soil, in which the simple and pure principles of Christianity, now when it will have free access to the reflections of serious and thinking men, will take root and flourish vigorously. It would be injustice to its divine origin and excellence, were we not firmly to entertain such a pleasing conviction.

Mr. Shepherd's "Critical and practical Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer of the Church of England," is a work of considerable merit, from which the orthodox member of the church will receive much edification, and readers who may differ widely in opinion from the author, curious information and entertainment. The object of it is, to establish the superior excellence of our national liturgy over all other liturgies, for promoting the purposes of devotion, and to assist the churchman to enter into the full spirit of its exhortations, prayers, creeds, &c. In pursuing that object, the author has shown himself to be possessed of an abundant share of ecclesiastical information, great ingenuity, and, on the whole, a becoming impartiality and candour. The introduction contains a minute and accurate history of the church service, from the Primer of Henry VIII. in 1535, to the last revision under Charles II. in 1661. The rest of the work

is partly critical, partly controversial, and partly practical. Mr. Shepherd's critical and controversial abilities are particularly exercised in defence of the doxology, and Athanasian creed, and in elucidating the sense of absolution. How successful he has proved, his readers must determine for themselves. His style and language, in general, are correct and perspicuous.

Dr. Glas's "Course of Lectures on the holy Festivals, with practical Remarks on each, and Exhortations to a more devout and solemn Observance of them," is drawn up in the form of sermons, in popular and elegant language; and was undertaken by him with the design of reviving that religious zeal, which he conceives to have suffered a lamentable abatement from an inattention to the days set apart for the commemoration of those saints and martyrs, whose names our English reformers chose to retain in their calendar. His plan has been, "to lay before the reader, in a very comprehensive view, the lives, the characters, the writings, and the sufferings, of those eminent servants of God," and to deduce such practical reflections as may be useful to Christians in general. The outline of this plan was suggested to him by Mr. Nelson's well known book, and he has drawn his information from the same sources with that author; but he has materially improved, in point of selection and application, on the labours of his predecessor. But how much soever we may be disposed to commend the manner in which Dr. Glas has executed his work, or to honour him for the piety of his motives in engaging in it, we are more than doubtful of the utility of the object which he had in view, as far as the interests of genuine

scriptural religion, are concerned. For we are satisfied, that were all the saints' days to be secularized and forgotten, the cause of Christianity could not possibly sustain any injury. If the case be otherwise, the authors of the sole directory which we can admit to be binding upon Christians, were incomplete instructors, and in their conduct unsafe models to be copied by us; and we are also convinced, that simple and incautious readers, from the perusal of the numerous stories and anecdotes which the Doctor's plan led him to introduce, are in danger of confounding scripture history with doubtful traditions, and legendary tales.

Mr. Armstrong's treatise, entitled "Catechetical Lectures; or, The Church Catechism explained," contains a brief and practical, but not always the most clear and intelligible, or judicious illustration of the sense of the catechism. Most of his readers, we apprehend, will concur with us in the opinion, that archbishop Secker's, or Gilpin's catechetical lectures, or Lewis's explanation of the catechism, by way of question and answer, superseded the necessity of our author's labours.

"Mr. Meredith's *Select Essays on Scriptural Subjects*" are intended for the edification of that class of Christians who consider the distinguishing truths of the gospel to be the doctrines of the everlasting and unconditional election of God's people, the imputation of the merits of Christ to believers, and their consequent completeness in him, the final perseverance of the saints, and the other tenets of the high orthodox school. To readers less sound in the faith, they are not likely to prove very interesting. The topics which the author undertakes to elucidate are, the nature of our Lord's

prophetic office, the office of the holy Spirit, the nature and design of the gospel ministry, fasting, and the human nature of Christ.

Mr. Parry, in his "*Enquiry into the Nature and Extent of the Inspiration of the Apostles, and other writers of the New Testament, &c.*" contends for the opinion, that the apostolic writers were under the infallible guidance of the spirit of God in *all* that they have written for the instruction of the churches, though every word they wrote might not be dictated to them; and that on no other ground can we render their testimony to the facts recorded in the gospel, valuable or useful to us. His argument is managed with precision and dexterity, and clothed in perspicuous and pleasing language; and, what is more to the author's praise, the whole appears to have been written in the spirit of that genuine candour which results, not from an indifference to truth, but from a liberal and enlarged acquaintance with it.

"Mr. Dore's *Essay on the Resurrection of Christ, in which Proofs of the Fact are adduced, its Import explained, and its beneficial Influence illustrated,*" if it may be thought to throw no new light on the important subject, contains a well-written and perspicuous summary of the arguments generally produced in its support, which we consider to be satisfactory and conclusive. The author's practical application of the doctrine is the most valuable part of his little treatise, and is highly to be commended for its pious and useful tendency.

Mr. Wilberforce's "*Practical View of the prevailing religious System of professed Christians, in the higher and middle Classes in this Country, contrasted with real Christianity,*" is a work which breathes

breathes throughout a spirit of ardent piety, and manifests the author's unquestionable and zealous attachment to what he conceives to be the genuine interests of religion. We wish we could add, that his piety were unalloyed by enthusiasm, and his zeal for godliness undebased by dogmatism and uncharitableness. That there is too much ground for the author's complaint of a laxity, or an indifference, in principles and manners, in the classes mentioned in the title-page, few, we apprehend, will attempt to deny; although many will differ widely from him in their ideas respecting the extent of the evil, its cause or causes, and the methods proper to be pursued to effectuate a cure. For according to his views of real Christianity, not only infidels and the immoral, but the greater part of professed Christians, even those who lead a sober, righteous, and godly life, if they are destitute of certain affections and feelings which Mr. Wilberforce and the select class with whom he associates imagine they experience, and still more so if they are unhappily tinctured with Unitarianism, which in the abundance of his candour and spiritual humility he denominates "a sort of half-way house" to infidelity: all these numerous descriptions of persons are directly or indirectly proscribed by him, as in a state of alienation from God, and, consequently, in the broad road to perdition. After having represented the evil to be so enormous, he finds its cause in a "mistaken conception entertained of the fundamental principles of Christianity," and employs a considerable part of his work in endeavouring to illustrate that fact. The necessary cure for this evil Mr. Wilberforce defines to be vital Christianity, or such a steadfast be-

lief of those doctrines respecting the corruption of human nature, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Spirit, which the church of England teaches in her articles, her homilies, and liturgy, united to certain exercises of the affections and passions arising from that belief, and not unconnected with an obedience to the practical precepts of the gospel. All his expectations of the restoration of public and private virtue, of the salvation and permanence of our ecclesiastical establishment, and of the British constitution, he founds on the reception, and triumph of his system over unbelief, heretical pravity, and a dry unanimated religion. Under the influence of these impressions, he is earnest and eloquent in his exhortations to the classes for whom his work is principally intended, to "lay afresh the whole foundation of their religion," that they may prove "instruments of drawing down on their country the blessings of safety and prosperity." Such is the purport, and such is the spirit of Mr. Wilberforce's treatise, which is in every part of it more declamatory than argumentative. To those who entertain similar views of Christianity with the author, it will prove highly acceptable; but it is neither calculated to make any good impression upon infidels, nor to meet with the approbation of some of the most enlightened and best friends to serious religion, among orthodox, as well as heterodox believers.

Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, in his "Letter to William Wilberforce, esq. on the Subject of his late Publication," exposes in brief, but strong and pointed terms, the inconsistency of that gentleman's religious principles with the system of the gospel; and vindicates the latter from the suspicion of inculcating

such enthusiastic, gloomy, degrading, and irrational notions as Mr. Wilberforce had confounded with it. But the main object of his letter, as he informs us, is to impeach Mr. Wilberforce at the bar of religion, reason, and humanity, of the high crime and misdemeanour of supporting with cordial concurrence, with a confidence unlimited, and with all the influence of his reputation, the versatile and pernicious politics, and above all, the complicated and destructive warlike system of the present minister, in direct and flagrant opposition to the genius of that gospel which he professes to love, and to the spirit and temper of that crucified Redeemer in whom he avows his trust. Mr. Wilberforce will prove himself an able casuist, if he out-argues his severe, but at the same time respectful antagonist.

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Mr. Ludlam's "Four Essays on the ordinary and extraordinary Operations of the holy Spirit, on the Application of Experience to Religion, and on Enthusiasm and Fanaticism," are well written, dispassionate, and strictly logical productions, which we recommend to the repeated and serious perusal of that class of Christians to which Mr. Wilberforce and Dr. Watkins belong. They appear to us to be admirably calculated to check the growth of fanaticism, and to give to religion that sober dignified aspect which cannot fail of recommending her to the rational enquirer. In the first and second essays he ably maintains, in opposition to the favourite sentiment of those who have modestly assumed the name of evangelical or gospel preachers, that what are called the extraordinary operations of the spirit, have ceased since the apostolic age, and gives a rational explanation of the ordinary operations, or the doctrine of divine assistance. In his third essay he analyzes the opinion of the same class of men respecting experience in religion, and plainly shews, that they mistake "the confidence of expectation for the certainty of experience, the positiveness of opinion for the convictions of reason." Mr. Ludlam, in his fourth essay, defines enthusiasm to be "an unsupported claim to immediate and sensible intercourse with God," and clearly points out the weakness or the dishonesty of pretending to it in the present age of the church. To the whole he has prefixed an accurate and important dissertation on the nature of clear ideas, and the advantage of distinct knowledge.

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fairly transcribed from his short hand copy, and is published by his friends, as containing a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine of the radical corruption and depravity of human nature, insisted on in Mr. Wilberforce's publication. We think that they judged rightly when they determined to commit it to the press, and we recommend it as an argumentative and eloquent vindication of the character of the God of nature, from the shocking and detestable qualities imputed to him by that Manichean principle. Prefixed to this apology is an address to Mr. Wilberforce, by Mr. Evans, the editor, in which he strongly recommends the contents to that gentleman's serious notice, and insists, with commendable earnestness, on the importance of that Christian candour and charity which are the fulfilling of the law.

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"Babylon in the Revelation of
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St. John as signifying the City of Rome considered with Reference to the Claims of the Roman Church," by the late Dr. Townson, is a post-humous publication in defence of the opinion embraced by the greater part of protestants, that the pope is antichrist. But, although learned and ingenious, it does not bring any accession of strength to the arguments generally made use of on that subject.

Mr. Bichen's "probable Progress and Issue of the Commotions which have agitated Europe since the French Revolution, argued from the Aspect of Things, and the Writings of the Prophets," may be considered as a sequel to his "Signs of the Times," which we introduced to our readers in our Register for the year 1794. It contains additional illustrations of the predictions in the book of revelation, from the events and changes which have of late taken place in the state of society, together with very animated and serious reflections, political and moral, which highly deserve the attention of his countrymen. We hope, however, that he is sometimes mistaken in his interpretations, otherwise we have yet to look forwards to a long-continued series of wars and calamities, before that complete destruction of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny is effected, which must precede the predicted improved state of mankind.

The "Letter to the Society of protestant Dissenters, at the Old Meeting, Yarmouth, from Thomas Martin, on his Resignation of the Office of Minister among them," is an ingenious attempt to convince some individuals, possessing tender consciences, that a change which had taken place in his sentiments with respect to the miraculous origin of Christianity, and the consequent variations which it was necessary

for him to adopt in conducting the public services, offered no reasonable ground for terminating the connexion between them; more especially as his views continued the same as theirs, of the spirit and object of Christianity, and as he venerated the character of the founder of it, as the most exalted of any he had ever known, or read of. We cannot but admire the ingenuoufness and temper with which this letter is written, whatever may be our opinion of the principle for which Mr. Martin contends, or the arguments by which he supports it. We should wish, however, to see it more fully discussed.

Mr. Leycester's "Disputation in Logic, arguing the moral and religious Uses of a Devil, Book I," is a whimsical, but amusing production, in which the author pleads for giving the Devil his due, and reduces his readers to a choice of the conclusions, either that the Devil is of some use to man and religion, or that no such being exists. It is written in a similar strain with the author's "Observations on the Inconvenience of the Ten Commandments," noticed in our Register for the year 1795, but is not equal to that piece in point of true humour.

Of the object of the following work our readers will be able to form a sufficient idea from its title-page. "A compendious Dictionary of the Holy Bible: containing a Biographical History of the Persons; a Geographico-historical account of the Places; a literal, critical, and systematical Description of other Objects, whether natural, artificial, civil, religious, or military; and an Explication of the appellative Terms mentioned in the Writings of the Old and New Testaments, and the Apocrypha; including the Signification of the Hebrew and other Words

Words occurring therein: likewise a brief View of the Figures and Metaphors of holy Writ." The above work contains, in 1 Vol. 12mo. a considerable quantity of matter, compiled, or abridged from former publications of the kind, with much diligence and attention. But the systematic Calvinism which is on every opportunity obtruded, is a fatal obstacle to its general acceptability and usefulness.

"The Sermons and Charges of the Right Reverend John Thomas, LL. D. late Lord Bishop of Rochester, &c. published for the Benefit of the Philanthropic Society," in 2 Vols. are entitled to very respectful notice in this class of compositions. The subjects of them are, chiefly, "the moral Duties and Christian Graces;" while occasionally they exhibit specimens of the worthy prelate's polemical powers, in vindication of "the fundamental articles of orthodoxy against the specious theories of modern refiners in scepticism and heresy." Their style and language are perspicuous, correct, and, in general, sufficiently polished; such as merit the imitation of those who wish to be useful rather than admired preachers. Prefixed to them is a sketch of the life and character of the author, drawn up by the reverend G. A. Thomas, his lordship's chaplain and executor; which discovers an enthusiastic regard for the memory of a good and amiable man, but is too verbose and digressive for a biographical memoir.

The volume of "Sermons translated from the original French of the late Reverend James Saurin, Pastor of the French Church at the Hague, &c. by Henry Hunter, D.D." is numbered VI. and presented to the public as a continuation of the plan of the late Mr. Robinson, of Cambridge, whose five volumes

were introduced to our readers in our Register for the year 1784. The admirers of Mr. Saurin in general, and especially those who hold the same Calvinistic creed, will acknowledge themselves greatly indebted to Dr. Hunter for undertaking such a task, and for executing it with so much ability and judgment. We need not in this place make any observations on the doctor's style of composition, or his merits as a translator. The sermons in the volume before us were delivered on sacramental occasions.

In our Register for the year 1787, we expressed our opinion of Dr. Lamont's "Sermons," of which two volumes had at that time made their appearance. During the present year that author has published a third vol. which we have not seen, but which we understand reflects honour on his ripened judgment and chastened taste.

In our Register for the year 1795, we inserted the character, as pulpit compositions, of a volume of "Discourses on different Subjects," by Dr. Huntingford, Warden of St. Mary's College, Winchester. We have it now in our power to announce the publication of a second vol. the contents of which display the hand of the same master. The same zeal for the interests of Christianity, and for what the author conceives to be its peculiar doctrines, will be found still predominant; and the manner in which the subjects of some of these discourses are adapted to the circumstances of the present times, will, in the estimation of many readers, prove a peculiar recommendation of them.

In our last volume we introduced to our readers Dr. Priestley's "Discourses relating to the Evidences of revealed Religion, delivered in Philadelphia," and ori-

ginally published in that city. During the year 1797, an additional volume of those Discourses has reached this country, containing much valuable new matter in aid of what his prolific pen has already produced in support of Christianity. The topics on which he chiefly enlarges are, the moral design of Revelation; the character and morality of Jesus; the doctrine of a resurrection; and the principles and evidences of Mahometanism compared with those of Christianity. The discourses on the last-mentioned subject are peculiarly valuable and interesting.

The "Sermons preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, in the Year 1795, at the Lecture founded by the Provost and senior Fellows, under the Will of Mrs. Anne Donnellan, by Thomas Elrington, D. D. M. R. I. A. &c." were written to refute the objections of unbelievers to the evidence of miracles in proof of a divine revelation, and to the nature and peculiar character of the Christian miracles. They are seven in number, including an Act Sermon, in which the question is discussed whether supernatural powers have ever been exercised by the votaries of false religions? and afford satisfactory proofs of the author's respectable talents as a scholar and contravertalist. We cannot, however, flatter him so far as to state that, when compared with the labours of several of our valuable writers on the same subject, they will entitle him to super-eminent distinction.

The volume of "Sermons on different Occasions, and on practical Duties, by the Reverend Samuel Hayes, A. M. formerly Usher of Westminster School," contains seventeen discourses, on various subjects, which deserve to be recom-

mended for their uniform useful tendency, and the pleasing style in which they are composed. That they are published for the benefit of the author's family, will be a farther recommendation of them to the benevolent heart.

The "twelve Sermons preached at the New Jerusalem Temple, in Redcross-street, near Cripplegate, London, by Manoah Sibly, N. H. S. and a Servant of our Lord Jesus Christ," are designed to illustrate the principles of the Swedenborgian church, on the subjects of the Trinity, the atonement, spiritual magnetism, or the nature of that faith which removes mountains, death a continuation of life, &c. from which the initiated may receive edification, but which we have found ourselves totally incapable of comprehending.

Mr. Boucher's "View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution, in thirteen Discourses, preached in North-America, between the Years 1763 and 1775," consist of politico-theological harangues in defence of the divine origin of government, and episcopal establishments; which having failed of their intended effect in stopping the revolutionary torrent on the other side of the Atlantic, he offers to the calmer judgment of the people of this country, to counteract the baneful influence of the popular notions that rulers are the servants of the public, and that they may be resisted or cashiered when they act in opposition to the public will. These discourses are written with ability, but in the genuine spirit of the old tory school. They are introduced by an historical preface, which throws no new light on the transactions of the American revolution, but certainly suggests a new expedient to the inhabitants of

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Great Britain for the salvation of their government, on the dreadful supposition that there is no hope left for any future peace to Europe; viz. to transport their empire to the east, where, happy in being placed beyond the troubled politics of their present scene, blessed with a climate equal to any on the globe, &c. they may repair and renovate their constitution, and leave their posterity, if true to one another, at peace with themselves, and with all the world.

Mr. Townley's "Six Sermons preached before the Right Honourable Brook Watson, Lord Mayor of the City of London," contain, likewise, an abundant mixture of political matter with what is theological and moral. What they inculcate in relation to the former subject is loyal, in the common acceptation of the phrase, even to effervescence; and the theological opinions which pervade them, are such as are sanctioned by the creed of the church of England, of which the author is a minister. Mr. Townley's moral reflections are serious and impressive, and such as were adapted to produce useful effects on his auditory.

Mr. Naylor's four Sermons "on the Inanity and Mischief of vulgar Superstitions, preached at All Saints Church, Huntingdon," are liberal, judicious productions, in which the story of the witch of Ender, and the miracles supposed to have been performed by the magicians in Egypt, are rationally and satisfactorily explained, and the vulgar ideas respecting the co-operation of evil spirits with human beings for malignant purposes, ably exposed and refuted. To these sermons is added an account of the witches of Warboys, who were executed at Huntingdon in the year 1593, for the pretended crime of witchcraft, and whose property was presented

by the lord of the manor to the corporation of that town, on condition that they should allow forty shillings a year to a doctor or bachelor of divinity of Queen's College, Cambridge, to "teach the people how they should discover and frustrate the machinations of witches and dealers with evil spirits." The sermons before us were delivered at the annual lecture supported by that donation, but with a much better purpose in view than that for which the lecture was originally appointed.

Dr. Shepherd, in his "two Sermons on a future State," advances a variety of cogent arguments in favour of that doctrine, derived partly from the deductions of reason, and partly from what may be called the indirect evidence of it in the prophetic and historical parts of the Old Testament. With these arguments he has intermixed pertinent answers to the objections commonly brought forwards by the advocates for the gloomy notion of the commencement of an eternal sleep at death. What he says on the subject of our hereafter meeting and recognising each other, we recommend to be read in connexion with Dr. Price's reasons for expecting that virtuous men shall meet after death in a state of happiness, in his four dissertations on providence, prayer, &c.

"The Nature and Causes of Atheism pointed out in a Discourse delivered at the Chapel in Lewin's Mead, Bristol, to which are added remarks on a work entitled 'Origine de tous les Cultes, ou Religion universelle, par Dupuis, Citoyen François,' by John Prior Estlin," is a sensible and judicious little work, drawn up in pleasing and popular language, and well adapted to produce impressions on young and ingenuous minds. In his remarks on Dupuis (whose work was noticed in our

our last volume among the articles in French literature) the author is peculiarly successful in exposing his extravagant ideas respecting the origin of worship, and in discriminating between superstition and religion, between popery and Christianity.

We shall now close our list of the theological productions of the year 1797, by a brief notice of two charges ad clerum; one by Dr. Newcome, Primate of all Ireland, and the other by Dr. Law, Archdeacon of Rochester.

The former is entitled "the Duty of clerical Residence stated and enforced; a Charge delivered at the primary Visitation of the Province of Ulster, in the Year 1796." Of the excellence of this discourse in point of matter and composition, of the pious and Christian spirit which uniformly pervade it, and of its admirable tendency, it is not easy to speak in too high terms. The subject of it is one of the most important that could be selected for an address from a diocesan to his brethren, "the foundation," as the archbishop properly calls it, "of all other ecclesiastical duties." And it is enforced with an irresistible weight of argument, drawn from the precepts of scripture, the engagements entered into at ordination, the reasonableness and utility of the practice, and the regard due by the clergy to their own character and to the opinion of the world. In an appendix the worthy author has added extracts from various writers, and the canons of the church, in confirmation of the doctrine in his charge.

Dr. Law's "Charge, delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rochester, and published at their Request," is also deserving of high commendation, on account of the

zeal which it discovers for the interests of genuine piety, tempered by a spirit of liberality and candour. The recent history of France is held out to the clergy, as offering considerations which should rouse them to unremitting efforts in recommending the salutary truths of the gospel, by fair reasoning, temperate arguments, and the peculiar correctness of their own examples. But in adverting to the change of religious sentiments which has taken place among our neighbours, Dr. Law does not, like too many of his brethren, deal in rash and fiery denunciations of the Divine vengeance on the agents in that work. While he pities and condemns the spirit by which they were influenced, he considers them as instruments in the hands of Providence to restore the Christian faith in France to its original simplicity; and seems to join in opinion with many "ardent in the cause of piety, that the monstrous errors of a corrupted church could not have been so effectually removed as by the arrogance of infidelity." What he says on this subject merits the attention both of clergy and laity.

Under the head of Philosophy and Metaphysics we meet with the 5th volume of lord Monboddo's "Ancient Metaphysics, containing the History of Man in the civilized State." We have had such repeated opportunities, in our Registers for the years 1782, 1784, and 1795, of laying before our readers the nature and character of this very singular work, in which learning, ingenuity, just remark, extravagant hypothesis, and credulity are most curiously blended, that we deem it unnecessary in this place, to insert any thing more than a brief notice of the contents of the volume

June before us. It consists, chiefly, of a summary of what he had advanced in the preceding volumes, and is divided into four books. In the first book the author enters into a comparison of the natural and civilized states of man: in the second he explains the differences in the minds of men in the natural and civilized states: in the third he describes the advantages derived from civilized society, and how its ills may be alleviated; and in the fourth shews the end of the civilized state of man.

"The System of Nature, or the Laws of the Moral and Physical World, translated from the French of M. Mirabaud," in four volumes, was composed with the professed design of bringing man back to nature, by rendering his reason dear to him, by making him adore virtue, and by dispelling those mists of prejudice that hide from him the only road that can really conduct him to that felicity which he desires. In pursuance of this design, the author endeavours to construct a system of morals totally unconnected with any religious doctrines, or, in other words, on the basis of atheism; which, he contends, "is only so rare because every thing conspires to intoxicate man, from his most tender age, with a most dazzling enthusiasm, or to puff him up with a systematic and arranged ignorance, which is of all ignorance the most difficult to vanquish and to root out." That the author has advanced some useful truths in this work, it would be injustice to deny; but they have not the merit of originality, nor are they enforced with any peculiar recommendations on the judgment or attention of his readers. The leading principles for which he pleads, as far as it is possible to understand them,

and the arguments made use of in their support, we can no more reconcile with common sense, the deductions of analogy, and calm philosophy, than we can the mysticism of the most absurd theologians.

Dr. Okely's "Pyrology, or the Connexion between Natural and Moral Philosophy, &c." is the production of a man of considerable reading, and no mean talents; but it is so defective in arrangement, and comprises so many topics, that our account of its contents must be confined to a very few observations. Not satisfied either with the Aristotelian or the Baconian mode of philosophizing, the author wishes to introduce a middle method, which he conceives an event to which we may with confidence look forwards, the perfection of the moral and philosophical sciences, will ultimately render completely successful. To contribute to this event, he fixes on a "substance well known, very common, and probably the least concentrated state of power with which we are acquainted, which we may take for a standard of other powers," and to which he gives the name of calorique. And he endeavours to prove, "that it is the continuity, and a distribution in some measure equable of calorique, which renders any mass or body a natural unit." To this substance, or power, he attributes life and sense, perception and motion; and applies his theory in explaining the relation of cause and effect, the nature of deity, and Divine power. But we cannot pursue him any farther. We shall only remark, that were his hypothesis and conclusions so demonstrably true, as they are fanciful and paradoxical, the interests of religion and morality would receive material

material injury from his speculations. The disquisition which he has introduced on the origin of Christianity we include under the same censure.

"The Principles of Critical Philosophy selected from the Works of Emanuel Kant, &c. and expounded by James Sigismund Beck, &c. translated from the German by an Auditor of the latter," will not afford the English student much assistance in his endeavours to become acquainted with the Kantian Philosophy. For independently of the clouds and darkness in which to our comprehension the system itself seems to be involved, the translator's language is often exceedingly obscure and confused, and sometimes totally incapable of being deciphered.

The next work which calls for our notice is "the Enquirer: Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature, by William Godwin." This volume is divided into two parts, containing a variety of essays, "each intended in a considerable degree to stand by itself," which "are presented to the contemplative reader not as dicta, but as the materials of thinking." The object of the author is declared to be the same as what he had in view in his treatise on political justice; viz. to force truth from her hiding place, but by a variation in his mode of approach. "An incessant recurrence to experiment and actual observation, is the method adopted in the present volume." The subjects discussed in the essays that relate to education are, the awakening the mind; the utility of talents; the source of genius; an early taste for reading; the study of the classics; public and private education; the happiness of youth; the communi-

cation of knowledge; cohabitation; reasoning and contention; deception and frankness; manly treatment and behaviour; the obtaining of confidence; choice in reading; and early indications of character. The essays on manners treat of riches and poverty; avarice and profusion; beggars; servants; trades and professions; self-denial; personal reputation; posthumous fame; difference in opinion; and politeness. The literary essays are two only: the first on learning, unfolding the advantages which it gives to a man over the self-educated, and shewing that it is the ally not the adversary of genius; the second on English style, exhibiting an historical review of it from the age of queen Elizabeth, and intended to prove that the English language was never in so high a state of purity and perfection, as in the present reign. On these various topics Mr. Godwin has presented his readers with much original and ingenious matter, the result of accurate observation, and close reflection, which cannot fail of affording them useful instruction. They will also find his essays interspersed with numerous striking and beautiful remarks, apposite illustrations, and interesting descriptions, which will afford them pleasure and entertainment while they are informed and enlightened. But with all its excellencies the Enquirer is by no means an unexceptionable publication. Some of the author's positions and opinions we consider to be extravagant and fanciful; others at least disputable; and others illiberal and unwarrantable. Among the latter we must class his too general and indiscriminate censures on trades and professions, and his dogmatical and unjust attack on the Christian religion.

gion. They disfigure his work, and must necessarily lessen its influence on dispassionate and serious readers. The style and language of these essays are generally correct and perspicuous, frequently energetic, and sometimes highly eloquent.

The "Examination of the leading Principles of the new System of Morals, as that Principle is stated and explained in Mr. Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Justice," is a temperate and judicious performance, which merits the deliberate attention of that writer, and of the advocates for his theory. The fundamental principle which the author undertakes to refute is the following: that virtue is that course of conduct which tends to promote the general good, and that to the acquisition of that grand object all domestic and local relations ought to be sacrificed. That principle he contests with great ability and force, maintaining that man is a creature of sympathy; that from his sympathy arise originally all his moral feelings; that he cannot sympathise with those unknown to him; that he cannot sympathise with the general good; that a system of local relations is the only system adapted to human nature; and that as virtue takes its character from the motive, not the tendency of the action, so it should be defined, that course of conduct of which the motive is benevolence, or the good of individuals. We wish to see the question more fully discussed by both the combatants.

Dr. Zimmermann's "Essay on National Pride, translated from the original German, by Samuel Hull Wilcocke," is an interesting and amusing publication, in which satire, tempered by philosophy, is successfully employed in exposing the foibles and characteristics which tar-

nish the qualities of the inhabitants of the most considerable nations, and in pointing out their ridiculous or vicious effects. It consists of a variety of anecdotes, arranged under different heads, such as imaginary advantages, reputation for arts and science, peculiar constitution of government, and accompanied with philosophical and ironical remarks; which are well calculated to shame mankind out of their prejudices against one another, and to promote a spirit of philanthropy and benevolence. The translation appears to be executed with fidelity, and is preceded by memoirs of the author's life and writings, which will be acceptable to the English reader.

Mr. Gisborne's "Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex," is a proper sequel to his "Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the higher and middle Classes of Society in Great Britain," which we announced in our Register for the year 1794. As the latter was distinguished by good sense, liberal opinions, and useful precepts, delivered in a pleasing and impressive style, so the same characteristics are discoverable in the work before us; and the female world, at least the sensible and accomplished part of it, will be thankful to the author for his acceptable and valuable present. If they enter their protest against any part, it will probably be against the severity of his censures on public and private amusements. They will readily subscribe to the general excellence and importance of his remarks and advice on the subjects of education; the mode of introducing young women into general society; female conversation and epistolary correspondence; dress; the employment of time; considerations antecedent to marriage; the duties of the matrimonial life, with a view to the situation and circumstances of different individuals.

individuals; parental duties; the duties of middle life; and the duties of old age. What the author enforces on these several subjects, he supports not only by an appeal to reason, but to revelation.

Dr. Croft's "Short Commentary, with Strictures on certain Parts of the Moral Writings of Dr. Paley and Mr. Gisborne," embraces a variety of subjects, on some of which his remarks are trivial and unimportant, but on others they merit the attention of those authors. But it should seem that the principal objects of his work are, to convey to the public his protests against the unlimited right of private judgment, and the least innovation on the established religious system; to caution dissenters against the deep rooted malignity of Dr. Priestley, and to shew with what zeal, had he but the power, he would inflict awful punishment on those bold and presumptuous men who speak with indecent liberty of the mysteries of religion; to announce his own political orthodoxy, and his detestation of modern reformers; and to apologize for the slave trade, and for the strict discipline under which slaves are kept. These topics occur in the body of Dr. Croft's commentary, in two sermons which are added to it on purity of principle, and the penal laws, and in an extensive preface. We flatter ourselves, that a part of the compliment conveyed in the following remark on those who hold different opinions from the author was intended for us. "We have at least two Reviews, and one of the Annual Registers, under the conduct and inspection of these liberally minded men, for such they delight to be called. Whatever can sow disaffection and discontent they industriously collect. Whatever is done or

said in defence of our establishment, they mischievously traduce, and impute to others ill intentions and absurdities, which have no origin but in their own malevolent hearts."

Among the publications of the year, that relate to government, law, or political economy, we meet with a new edition of "the Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer, by the late Sir William Jones," which we mention in this place on account of the numerous notes which accompany it by T. S. Norgate. This annotator is a sensible and spirited writer, who ably supports the principles laid down in that celebrated treatise, both by argument, and an appeal to incontrovertible historical facts. And he has done service to the cause of freedom, by the manly, yet temperate manner, in which he has endeavoured to revive the public attention to them in these days of political torpor and delinquency.

Mr. Ely Bates, in his "Curfory View of Civil Government, chiefly in Relation to Virtue and Happiness," undertakes the office of moderator to discontented politicians and speculative reformers, and endeavours to check that frenzy which would lead them "to sacrifice real blessings to fanciful hopes," by teaching them what government can, and what it cannot do, and by pointing out the real causes of those vexations and miseries, which they are too ready to attribute to its radical defects, or mal-administration. From the doctrines which he inculcates it would follow, that our happiness as a body politic has but a slight connection with the nature of our government and laws; that in the im-

improper indulgence of our own passions or resentments, we shall find the causes of most of our misfortunes; and that "a quiet submission to the powers that are," is the duty of every member of the community; particularly of those "who stand excluded from its public honour and emoluments, merely for what they deem a purer faith or worship, lest the genuineness of their profession should be called in question." This work is written with great calmness of temper, and in correct easy language; but the author's assumptions will not stand discussion, and the tendency of his reasoning is degradation and servility.

The author of "*Vindiciæ Regiæ*, or a Defence of the Kingly Office, in two Letters to Earl Stanhope," writes in the character of a clergyman, who is desirous of reclaiming from the errors of democracy one of his parishioners, whom the noble lord's inferences, in one of his speeches in parliament, from the narrative in 1. Sam. 8, had convinced, that the kingly office is forbidden in scripture. As far as his arguments go to prove the nullity of his lordship's conclusion, they are ingenious, and successful. But when he proceeds to found on the sacred books the claims of kingly right, his reasonings are equally invalid with those of his opponent. The scriptures neither prescribe any particular form of government; nor, by fair implication, countenance any one mode in preference to another. The author's sketch of the history of republics, his comparison of the conduct of the French republicans with that of the Romans, and his general inferences, are written with spirit and eloquence, but will not materially benefit the cause which he has embraced.

Of the contents of the next work which calls for our notice, our readers will be able to form some idea from its ample title. "*History of the original Constitution of Parliaments, from the Time of the Britons to the present Day; shewing their Duration and Mode of Election, the various Innovations and Alterations which have taken Place in the State of the Representation of the People in the Reigns of the several Kings and Queens of England, the Period at which Cities and Boroughs first sent Members, the Times of their discontinuing to exercise that Privilege, their Restoration, &c.* To which is added, the present State of the Representation: containing an impartial Account of the several Contests which took place at the last Election, Names of Proprietors and Patrons of Boroughs, contradictory Rights of Electors, Charters, and local Privileges, Number of Voters, State of Factions in Cities and Boroughs, &c. by T. H. B. Oldfield, Author of the *History of Boroughs.*" The last mentioned work was announced in our Register for the year 1792. The volume before us abounds in valuable and interesting information, which is peculiarly seasonable at a period when the enemies to parliamentary reform insist so much on the dangers of innovation, and, without any precise knowledge of the subject of their panegyric, are lavish in their praises of the system transmitted to us by our ancestors. For he shews that the charge of innovation "reverts to those who have caused, and to those who support the present abuses of the constitution." In the system of our ancestors he finds the fundamental principles of annual parliaments, and equal representation arising from universal suffrage, or at least the extension of the right of voting

voting to every householder. The first partial representation of the people he traces to the reign of Edward I.; the mode of choosing county members by freeholders, instead of housekeepers, to that of Henry VI.; and the first practice of electing members for cities and boroughs by exclusive bodies, or corporations, to the reign of Edward IV. These deviations from the system of our ancestors were followed, as the author shews, in succeeding reigns, by other changes equally hostile to its true spirit, till by degrees the present state of things obtained; under which, out of 558 members of the house of commons, 424 are returned by the influence of peers, great commoners, and the treasury, and 134 only by the free and fair election of the people. For the correction of such flagrant abuses, and the restoration of the people to their rights, Mr. Oldfield pleads with a degree of ability and manly freedom that will give pleasure to every real friend of the British constitution, who wishes to preserve it by restoring it to its native beauty and splendour.

Captain Charles Patton's treatise, entitled "the Effects of Property upon Society and Government investigated, &c." is a republication, with considerable additions, of his "Attempt to establish the Basis of Freedom on simple and unerring Principles," which we announced in our Register for the year 1794. These additions consist of a copious illustration of the influence of property on mental energy, national character, manners, government, and civilization; and an historical review of the monarchy and republic of Rome, upon the principles derived from the effects of property, by Mr. Robert Patton. In the former his readers will meet with

many important and liberal observations, on the general subject of property, and much ingenuity in the author's speculative application of them. But they may probably concur with us in thinking, that he ascribes too much to property when he contends, in opposition to the speculations of some modern theorists on government, that "it is the knowledge of property alone, acquired in society, that unfolds the energies of the mind," and that these "necessarily remain inert, until roused by the stimulus of property." They may also be apprehensive that his scheme of legislation, taken in connexion with his deductions from the doctrine above mentioned, instead of answering his benevolent intentions, would lead to invidious and dangerous party distinctions; that it would give rise to endless jealousies and contentions between the classes of the rich and the poor. Mr. Robert Patton's historical Review of Rome, intended to illustrate the principles of the preceding disquisitions, is the production of a well-informed and reflecting mind; but the conclusions which we should draw from it would by no means correspond with those of the author.

The treatise entitled "Agrarian Justice, opposed to Agrarian Law, and Agrarian Monopoly, &c. by Thomas Paine," offers to every country a project for a national fund, to be applied in advancing to every person, when arrived at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, to enable him or her to begin the world; and an annuity of ten pounds sterling to every person of the age of fifty years and upwards. This fund is to originate in a tax on landed, and on personal property, at their descent by death to new possessors: on the former, under the denomination of a ground rent

rent for what individuals hold detached from the common property of the human race, and on the latter, as what the possessors owe to society, on every principle of justice, gratitude, and civilization, for what they have been enabled to accumulate beyond what their own hands have produced, in consequence of living in society. Ten per cent. he would levy on such property, of both descriptions, as shall descend in a direct line, and twenty per cent. on such as shall descend collaterally. A fund thus created he states to be sufficient for the purposes intended, and to leave a surplus to be applied to other ways and means of meliorating the condition of man; and he exemplifies his statement by calculations applicable to the supposed national wealth and population of England. Among those who are not cumbered with the evils against which Mr. Paine directs his present political battery, it is not unlikely but his proposal will meet with numerous strenuous defenders. But their opposite class in society will pronounce it unjust, and visionary in the extreme. They will contend, that it is founded on a principle which deserves no milder name than that of robbery; and that, even were it defensible on the maxim *salus populi suprema lex*, and practicable as it is otherwise, instead of benefiting the great body of the people, it would destroy their spirit of industry and independence, and strike at the root of public morals by confounding together the idle and vicious with the diligent and virtuous, in one undistinguished and equally favoured mass. And we do not see how our projector will repel their arguments.

Mr. Herrenchwand's treatise "*du vrai Principe Actif de l'Economie Politique, &c. i. e. concerning the*

1797.

true Active Principle of Political Economy, &c." is an abridgment and application of that part of his larger work noticed in our last volume, which relates to the circulation of the precious metals and public banks in a nation of cultivators. Its object is, partly, to shew that the too slow or too swift introduction of metallic wealth into circulation is alike injurious to public credit; and, partly, to recommend the establishment of a new government bank, on such principles, that two-thirds of the present revenue may be found sufficient for the public exigencies. For the development of these principles we must refer our readers to the work itself, from which they will decide on its importance or non-importance to the practical statesman.

Mr. Joyce's "complete Analysis and Abridgment of Dr. Adam Smith's Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," is executed with judgment and perspicuity, and will prove valuable to numerous readers who have not either opportunity or leisure for acquiring an intimate acquaintance with that extensive work. It deserves, likewise, to be recommended to the attention of the young economical student, before he enters on a minute examination of Dr. Smith's principles.

The illustration of "the Essential Principles of the Wealth of Nations, in Opposition to some false Doctrines of Dr. Adam Smith, and others," is the production of a well-informed and very able author, who defends, against the attacks and misstatements of various foreign as well as English writers, some of the leading branches of the system of policy and finance adopted by the French economists; but without adhering to all the principles of that celebrated

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school. What he particularly maintains is the doctrine, that the public supplies of a state ought to be drawn wholly and directly from the rents of its lands, or the surplus produce of those lands; or, in other words, that there ought to be no other tax for the defence of a state than a land tax. The arguments and illustrations which he has brought forwards in support of that doctrine, and in pointing out the numerous benefits which would result to the land-holder, to the tenant, and to the manufacturer, from reducing it to practice, are weighty and impressive, and merit the deliberate attention of political economists. It will perhaps stimulate their curiosity if we mention, that the author proves, by a clear and satisfactory calculation, that had an annual tax of four shillings in the pound been raised on the rents of lands, since the æra of the revolution, we should not at the present period have been burthened with any national debt.

The "Essay on the English national Credit, or an Attempt to remove the Apprehensions of those who have Money in the English Funds, by C. L. A. Patje, President of the Board of Commerce and Finances of Hanover," has been translated from the German, by the Rev. Herbert Marsh, with the design of producing the same consolatory impressions on the minds of his countrymen, which the translator felt on the perusal of the original. M. Patje's object is to shew, that the creditors of the English nation have no sufficient reason to apprehend either a suspension in the payment of the half-yearly dividends, or a diminution of their value after the termination of the present war. Among other topics on which he expatiates in order to establish his point are, the vast sources of un-

touched wealth which England possesses in her waste lands; the immense and increasing commerce of Britain, which there is every reason to conclude will do more than keep pace with the accumulation of her debts; and the accession of valuable and productive dominions in the East and West Indies, &c. which places the English nation in the situation of a debtor who has considerably increased his debts, but at the same time has made a proportional increase of his capital. On the foregoing, and other collateral considerations, Mr. Patje argues and declaims, ingeniously and speciously, but we cannot add, to our conviction. If the public burthens continue to increase in the same proportion as during the last three years, we shall require more powerful reasons than he has adduced to dissipate our apprehensions, respecting the solvency of the public; for we cannot subscribe to one of his fundamental statements "that as long as the money raised in taxes flows again into the circulating mass from which it was drawn, the capability of augmentation is so great that it would be difficult to assign a limit."

Mr. Morgan's "Appeal to the People of Great Britain, on the present alarming State of the public Finances, and of public Credit," is another attempt made by that able and patriotic calculator to rouse his countrymen from their political stupor, and insatuated acquiescence in the measures adopted to continue the present ruinous war. It adds such a variety of most important and interesting statements to the facts brought forwards by the author during the last year, that, if they fail of making deep and efficacious impressions, desperandum est de republica. Among others, the attentive

five reader will be particularly stricken with the following : the expending enormous sums, even greater than the whole estimates for the year, without the previous consent of parliament — an abuse which “ threatens the utter annihilation of our rights and properties ;” the discretionary power of drawing bills upon the treasury given to governors abroad, military commanders, commissaries, deputy commissaries, &c. &c. and exercised by them with the most alarming profusion ; the lavish expenditure in the naval department under the head of extraordinaries, provided for by the guardians of the public purse, without any information respecting the particulars, without enquiry or animadversion ; the extravagance of the loans negotiated by the chancellor of the exchequer, which have been multiplied to such an extent, that to provide for their interest and management he has “ added very nearly as much to the taxes, as all the ministers that have ever afflicted this country from the revolution to the commencement of his administration ;” and the particulars relating to the stoppage of the bank, by which a wound was given to public credit, impossible ever to be perfectly healed, and from which the proprietors have still reason to apprehend the most serious consequences. What Mr. Morgan has advanced on these and collateral subjects, is not assertion but demonstration.

The earl of Lauderdale, in his “ Thoughts on Finance, suggested by the Measures of the present Session,” is employed in establishing similar statements with Mr. Morgan’s ; and in endeavours to impress the public with the conviction, “ that, except his politics, there is nothing appears to a common understanding so likely to ruin the country, and

and ensure a revolution, as Mr. Pitt’s operations in finance.” That lord Lauderdale, however, is not to be ranked among those who possess merely a common understanding, the information and ingenuity which these Thoughts discover, bear ample testimony. They are worthy of the respectable talents which the noble lord displayed while a member of the legislative body, and confirm to him the character of an able financier and statesman. To particularize the subjects of them, would lead us to repeat what we have expressed in the preceding article.

Mr. Daniel Wakefield’s “ Observations on the Credit and Finances of Great Britain, in Reply to the Thoughts of the Earl of Lauderdale, and the Appeal of Mr. Morgan,” contradict, but do not disprove any of the material positions or reasonings in those publications. Could he but establish the truth of his own calculations, he would at the same time render a very acceptable service to the chancellor of the exchequer, on whose financiering abilities he bestows the highest commendations, and afford most desirable consolation to those gloomy politicians who bemoan the threatening magnitude of the public burthens. For, by the magic of his pen, he reduces the sum total of the debts incurred by the present war, nearly thirty-nine millions below the amount in Mr. Morgan’s tables, and, consequently, diminishes the interest necessary to be provided for among the ways and means of the year, between three and four millions. *O si sic certe !*

“ The Sketch of financial and commercial Affairs in the Autumn of 1797, &c.” is the production of a man of business, and of extensive information, who is desirous of contributing his efforts to remove the

embarrassments in which the pecuniary concerns of the country are involved. With this view he has in the course of his work suggested many incidental observations and hints, relating to finance and commerce, by which a wise minister may profit considerably. But what he principally recommends is the creation, by means of voluntary subscription, of "a war-fund, to the extent of an hundred millions, and consisting of notes payable to order, at certain periods after the conclusion of a general peace, none for less than twenty shillings, nor for more than one thousand pounds. Those notes, to such an extent as parliament shall from time to time determine, to be lent to the state by the subscribers, who will according to their subscriptions only (as in chartered companies) be answerable to the holders, as the state will be to the subscribers, not only for the principal, but also for an interest of five per cent. per annum, &c." Such a paper currency, superior to any hitherto employed from its being founded on the united security of the state and respectable individuals, the author contends would be negotiated without difficulty, and ultimately gain to the nation more than five millions. We apprehend, however, that his expectations, in the existing circumstances of the country, are much too sanguine. In connexion with his plan the author also suggests a tax upon income, something similar in spirit to that of Mr. Pitt.

Sir John Sinclair, in his "Letters written to the Directors and Governor of the Bank of England, in September, 1796, on the pecuniary Distresses of the Country, and the Means of preventing them," suggests the propriety of increasing the capital of the Bank, and of issuing notes for two or three pounds value.

The latter part of this advice the directors found themselves obliged to adopt, a few months after the date of these Letters, when parliament sanctioned an order of council prohibiting the farther issue of specie. Among the other expedients which he recommends there are two, the principles of which we cannot but strongly reprobate. The one is to obtain leave of parliament for the Bank to issue a million in notes, neither bearing interest, nor convertible into specie, till the end of twelve months. But such a measure would be ruinous to all public credit, if not a direct and shameful fraud. The other project to which we allude is that of re-coining the gold, with an alloy of six or seven per cent. That measure, also, we know not how to reconcile with the principles of honesty, or of policy. Government would gain by it, but the people would be robbed to the amount of the gold withdrawn. We are convinced, likewise, that it would materially affect the course of exchange in disfavour of this country, and that it would give encouragement to counterfeiters, notwithstanding the arguments by which sir John endeavours to repel these objections.

Mr. Brand, in his "Considerations on the Depression of the Funds, and the present Embarrassments of Circulation, with Propositions for some Remedies to each," endeavours with much ingenuity to shew that, what he calls a latent loan, has operated much more powerfully than the loans to government, in depressing the stocks. By the phrase latent loan, he means to describe the sums sold out of the funds in order to create the capital necessary to carry on our immensely increasing commerce. To prove that our commerce is immensely increasing, he resorts to the returns made of our exports

exports and imports. But it requires no great extent of commercial knowledge to shew, that the conclusions drawn from such data may be essentially erroneous. This observation is particularly applicable to a country engaged in a widely-extended war, and to the state of its general trade. The remedies which Mr. Brand would apply to counteract the causes of the depression of the funds, and to revive national credit are, an adulteration of the coin, or an increase of its nominal value; a taxation of exports, and an equalization of the land tax. The two former, we are convinced, instead of removing or palliating, would increase the disease: the latter would most probably be followed by beneficial effects.

Mr. Fry's "new system of Finance, &c." contains a curious mixture of interesting information, whimsical calculations, and humorous remarks, from which the reader may derive both profit and entertainment. The author's objects are, to shew the defects of the present system; that a saving may take place in the public income and expenditure to the amount of ten millions annually; the consequences to the public of their connexion with the bank of England; the baneful effects of stock-jobbing; the astonishing losses sustained by the public, that have enabled the minister to carry on the deception of lessening the public debt; the unparalleled advantages given by the minister to loan-mongers for paper credit, in order to support the present ruinous war, &c. &c. The comparison which he exhibits between the present weight of our public burthens, and their pressure at the accession "of the best of kings," will not be viewed without pain and indignation by every true lover of his country.

Sir Francis Baring's "Observations on the Establishment of the Bank, and on the Paper Circulation of the Country, &c." are defective in that method and arrangement which we naturally expect to find in the production of a man of considerable eminence and long practice in commercial concerns. They supply the reader, however, with many important observations and remarks, which tend to throw light on the causes of the pecuniary embarrassments under which we have lately suffered, and to expose the impolicy of the financial measures adopted by the British minister. But in the author's ideas of the bank of England, as a necessary centre on which the circulation of the country must turn, and in his wishes that bank notes should in all cases be made a legal tender, we are very far from coinciding. Convenient and useful as that establishment certainly is, to the trading world, and to the community at large, the prosperity of this country is founded on a firmer basis than its credit, or even existence; otherwise, melancholy and desponding would be our reflections.

In our Register for the year 1795, we had the opportunity of introducing Dr. Tatham to our readers, in the character of a panegyrist on the national debt, and the extension of that funding system which the favourite plans of our present chancellor of the exchequer have called much more frequently into exercise, than the less bold and daring politics of his predecessors in office. During the present year the Doctor has addressed to that minister "a Letter on a national Bank," advising him of the most sapient plan which he has been enabled to discover, to supply that currency in the body politic which is "to keep in motion the wheel of circulation, which keeps in motion the wheel of com-

merce, which feeds the national resources, which supply the national revenues, which furnish our supplies by sea and land, which alone can maintain the war, which alone can insure us a peace." This plan embraces three objects. The first is the institution of a national bank, from which he would advise the issuing of twelve millions of paper currency, in notes stamped with the king's head, and signed by the ministers, calculated by him to produce half a million clear yearly profit to the nation. The second is the institution of a national insurance-office, from which a gain is to be derived of two millions and a half. The third thing which Dr. Tatham recommends is, to call in all the plate in the kingdom, above a certain weight, and to coin it into money. By the last-mentioned easy and simple procedure, a sufficient quantity of gold and silver for the circulation of currency, and the currency of circulation would, doubtless, be immediately secured, and ostentatious luxury thus prove a substantial blessing to the country. We refer the above propositions to the profound consideration of our politicians and statesmen.

Mr. Playfair, in his "Letter to Sir William Pulteney, bart. and on the Establishment of another public Bank in London," endeavours to shew the peculiar claims to public patronage which an institution would possess, that should combine the advantages both of land and money as a capital, and also receive manufactured commodities and government securities as pledges for sums advanced. With an institution professing to unite these advantages for the perfect security of the creditor, Mr. Playfair was, it seems, connected; and to recommend it to general notice appears to have been

his object in this publication. That institution was called the original Security Bank: but, whether it was owing to any defect in its principles, to want of support, or to whatever other cause, its proprietors became bankrupts before the end of the year.

The treatise entitled "the Iniquity of Banking," in two parts, is the production of a shrewd and able writer, who undertakes to shew "that the issuing of bank notes is productive of the same consequences as robbery, as by that means the produce of labour is obtained without labour, and every man in society deprived of a part of his property, or of the fruits of his labour;" and that it is not the increase of the taxes, but of paper money which has produced the present high price of provisions and commodities of every kind, and the consequent miseries of the poor, and distresses of the middling classes. Ingenious and subtle as are the author's reasonings in support of those positions, we do not imagine that he will succeed in obtaining numerous disciples: and when we consider the alarming projects with which his arguments are coupled, and to which they are introductory, we add, we hope that he will not. For he proposes, that all promissory notes now in circulation be suppressed; that the whole national debt be converted by government into paper currency, to be circulated in the room of them; and that such national paper should in all cases be made a legal tender. In a commercial country, especially if governed by an unprincipled and embarrassed administration, such devices would lead to inevitable ruin.

The "Suggestions on the Slave Trade, for the Consideration of the Legislature of Great Britain, by Sir Jeremiah

Jeremiah Fitzpatrick, knt. M. D." appear to have flowed from a well-intentioned mind, but not sufficiently enlarged, properly to discriminate between the interests of humanity and policy. To this we are to attribute the incongruities which his work discovers. For while he lays it down as a first principle "that no man, or body of men, whatever, have a right to enslave or punish persons not subject to their laws, and more particularly those who never gave them offence," and is an advocate for the gradual abolition of colonial slavery, he seems to admit of the necessity of continuing that murderous traffic in human flesh, which threatens to bring down on our country the severe judgments of heaven. Hence, a considerable part of his treatise is employed in pointing out regulations respecting the purchase of slaves in Africa, and the mode of importing them into the West Indies. We must entertain very different ideas than we can do at present of the trade itself, before we can coolly appreciate the merits of the different plans for conducting it. What the author has advanced on the subject of the gradual liberation of the slaves in the islands, is more worthy of attention; but to be perfectly acceptable to the true philanthropist, must be separated from the least connexion with the importation scheme. The style and language of this work are uncommonly intricate, and frequently incorrect.

"The State of the Poor, &c. by Sir Frederick Morton Eden, bart." in 3 volumes, 4to. is a very important and interesting work, with the perusal of which we have been highly gratified. "The difficulties which the labouring classes experienced, from the high price of grain, and of provisions in general,

as well as of clothing and fuel, during the years 1794 and 1795, induced the author, both from benevolence and personal curiosity, to investigate their condition in various parts of the kingdom." With this view he visited several parishes himself, and employed an intelligent person, in whom he could put perfect confidence, in travelling more than a year from place to place to collect information. He was, likewise, supplied with valuable communications by different clergymen, and other gentlemen. In the volumes before us we have the result of his enquiries, and of the communications transmitted to him, together with many curious investigations, and judicious suggestions and remarks, for which the political economist is greatly indebted to the author. Sir Frederick's object is "not so much to draw conclusions, either from facts or arguments, as, by putting the public in possession of such facts as were attainable by one individual, to enable them to draw their own conclusions." The first volume is divided into two books, each consisting of three chapters, in which the author treats of the history of the poor from the conquest to the reformation; of their history from the reformation to the revolution, with an analysis of the different publications on the subject of the poor, and which had for their object plans and regulations for their better support; of their history from the revolution to the present period; of national establishments for the maintenance of the poor, the English poor laws, and Mr. Pitt's bill; of the diet, dress, fuel, and habitation of the labouring classes; and of the rise, progress, and present state of friendly societies, or benefit clubs. The second and third volumes contain

an hundred and eighty-one parochial reports, together with an appendix, composed of twenty-one different articles, many of which are of distinguished importance, and a copious index. In this vast collection of matter, the antiquarian, the historian, and the philanthropist will meet with much that will gratify curiosity, and supply topics for interesting and useful speculation. We do not, however, uniformly concur with sir Frederick in the opinions and observations which he has advanced, and the conclusions which he has drawn from his enquiries. "That for centuries the condition of the labouring class has been in a gradual state of improvement," we conceive to be abundantly refuted by his own history, and the tables which he has collected: and we think that his estimate of the population of the country, in opposition to that of Dr. Price, before it be admitted, requires stronger support than the statement of George King, and the assertions and hypothetical reasonings of Mr. Chalmers. But notwithstanding our occasional dissent from the author, we are fully sensible of the great general merits of his labours, and hope that he will persevere in inquiries, by which the interests of his country and of humanity may be essentially benefited. With respect to the composition of his work, it is, in general, "plain, simple, and perspicuous."

Mr. Ingram's "Enquiry into the present Condition of the lower Classes, and the Means of improving it, &c." is the production of an enlightened and benevolent mind, and offers much useful information and important hints on the different topics which fall under discussion. It is divided into four sections, containing an examination of the condition of the labouring classes, with

remarks on the present state of the nation, and the posture of affairs; means for extending the national trade, and thereby increasing the quantity of employment for the poor; reflections on the impolicy of the present corn laws, and expedients for reducing the price of provision; and motives proper to excite in the common people a desire of accumulation. The unequal distribution of wealth he justly considers to be one of the leading causes of that diminution of the recompence of labour, to which the distresses of the lower classes are in a great measure to be ascribed; and among the expedients which he recommends to counteract that evil, without affecting internal peace and tranquillity are, the reduction of the rate of interest, an increase of taxes on articles of luxury, and an equal land tax, varying only with the rent, or the real value of land. To excite in the common people a desire of accumulation, he proposes such an alteration in the laws of inheritance as may lead to the more equal division of landed estates; the institution of societies for securing and improving the savings of the poor; and such a gradual change of the poor laws as would destroy the temptations to idleness which are sanctioned by the present system. What Mr. Ingram has advanced on the foregoing, and other important subjects, is deserving of respectful attention.

The sensible author of "Outlines of an Attempt to establish a Plan for a just and regular Equivalent for the Labour and Support of the Poor, &c." contributes his endeavours to meliorate the condition of that numerous class, by offering two propositions for the consideration of the legislature. The first is founded on the doctrine that all the necessities of life bear an accurate proportion to the price of grain; and recommends,

commends, after it has been ascertained how much wheat, or other grain is necessary for the support of a labourer's family, the passing of a law to empower him to demand his wages either in grain or in money. The subject of this proposition is by no means new, and is attended with difficulties which have employed the speculations, and puzzled the understandings of our ablest political economists. We shall leave it to their reiterated investigations to decide on its feasibility, and on its policy. The other proposal of the author is, that the weights of the kingdom should be reconciled to one standard, by connecting them with the copper coinage: a measure that would at the same time prevent the labourer from sustaining the losses occasioned by the circulation of counterfeit copper, and enable him by legal weights to detect the impositions of dishonest tradesmen. We can perceive no serious objection to the latter plan.

Mr. Wood, in his "Letter to Sir William Pulteney, bart. containing some Observations on the Bill for the better Support and Maintenance of the Poor, presented to the House of Commons by the right honourable William Pitt," proves, in the most convincing manner, that the regulations proposed by the premier would not only fail of remedying the mischiefs universally acknowledged to exist under the present intricate system, but afford scope for the exercise of frauds and abuses of the most pernicious tendency. He shews, likewise, that the burthen which Mr. Pitt's bill would entail upon the public, instead of being a desirable commutation for the present poor rates, would be unspeakably more oppressive and intolerable. If the minister be serious in his intention to introduce a new system of poor laws, and shall deign

to consult the remarks of this temperate and able writer, we think that he will materially change his ground, before he again calls the attention of parliament to this important and necessary subject of discussion.

Mr. Belsham's "Remarks" on Mr. Pitt's bill tend, likewise, forcibly to point out the injurious consequences which would follow the enactment of some of its clauses, and to shew that the whole, "instead of simplifying a system already too complex, makes, by engrafting a heap of new upon the existing stock of old provisions, the entire aggregate or code of poor laws infinitely more operose, confused, and intricate than before." To these remarks the well-informed author has added a short sketch of a plan, which is plain, easy, and intelligible, and adapted to afford far more effectual relief to the poor than the regulations of the minister, and at far less expence to the public. The principal features of that plan are, the abolition of the law of settlements; the establishment of parochial funds; the total exemption of the labouring poor from the burthen of parochial taxes, or poor rates; the investment of the magistrates of each county, in certain circumstances, and under proper limitations, with a power to fix the minimum, as in many cases they are now authorized to fix the maximum of the price or value of labour; the appointment of premiums for the encouragement of industry, &c. and the erection of cottages, with gardens, &c. to be let at very low rents, by way of encouragement to the most meritorious among the poor; and the relief of persons in distress, notwithstanding they may be possessed of a little property, real or personal. Such regulations, were they adopted, would strike

strike at the root of some of the most vexatious, cruel, and impolitic provisions of our present poor laws.

Mr. Cowe's "religious and philanthropic Tracts" are deserving of warm commendation, for the humane benevolent spirit which they breathe, and the judicious valuable advice which they enforce. These tracts are three in number. The first is a plain and excellent discourse delivered by the author to the members of the friendly societies at Sunbury, in Middlesex, of which place he is the respectable and worthy vicar. The second contains an essay on the state of the poor, pointing out, under several particulars, the principal causes of their distress, and the most practicable means of removing them. To the serious and candid consideration of all well-wishers to the improvement and happiness of the lower ranks, do we recommend the account which Mr. Cowe has subjoined, of the effects produced by the friendly societies at Sunbury, from 1773 to the present year. The third tract in this collection consists of rules for forming and managing friendly societies with a view to facilitate their general establishment; than which we have not met with any better adapted to promote the honest pride of independence, and the spirit of industry and economy among our labouring poor.

"The first Report of the Society for bettering the Condition and increasing the Comforts of the Poor," contains much useful information, by which the opulent and benevolent may be instructed, at no great trouble or expence, to render essential benefit to their indigent neighbours. The subjects which furnish the particulars of the present report are, a friendly society at Castle-Eden, in the county

of Durham; a village shop at Mongewell, in Oxfordshire, so regulated as to prevent the poor from running in debt, and to save them above twenty per cent. in the purchase of necessaries; an incorporated house of industry for two united hundreds in Norfolk; a spinning school at Oakham, in the county of Rutland; the introduction of manufactures into the house of correction at Dorchester; the provision for supplying the poor with fuel inserted in the inclosure bill for Little Dunham, in Norfolk; and the mode of parochial relief adopted in the Hundred of Stoke, in Buckinghamshire. Prefixed to the report is a defence of the poor against the charges of idleness, drunkenness, &c. too commonly alleged against them by the unfeeling and uncharitable, which does credit to the head and heart of the composer.

During the present year, Count Rumford has published two additional numbers of his valuable and interesting, "Experimental Essays, political, economical, and philosophical." The first of these, which is the sixth in the general order of their appearance, treats of the management of fire, and the economy of fuel. This subject employs five chapters, abounding in philosophical reasonings, and accurate useful experiments; which are succeeded by descriptions of kitchens erected in various places under the author's directions, of boilers, ovens, and fire places for different purposes, &c. and an explanation of six illustrative plates. The seventh essay belongs rather to the head of general philosophy, than to this department of our work; but as it is a part of the series of treatises applied to the improvement of domestic economy, we have chosen

to

to announce it in this place. Its subjects are, the manner in which heat is propagated in fluids; a remarkable law which has been found to obtain in the condensation of water by cold, when it is near the temperature at which it freezes; the wonderful effects which are produced by that law in the economy of nature; and conjectures respecting the final cause of the saltiness of the sea. The experiments relative to these subjects which count Rumford has detailed, and the facts deduced from them, are novel, curious, and of very extensive application to economical purposes. We were much pleased to learn, from the advertisement to this essay, "that there is another experiment, of a different kind, in which the author is engaged (the result of which he means in due time to publish), which cannot fail to interest very deeply many of his benevolent readers. He is forming a public establishment, on a plan which is, in many respects, entirely new, for the education of one hundred poor children of both sexes, from five to six years of age; and he hopes to be able to *prove*, by this experiment, that children of that age may be maintained, well educated, and rendered useful members of society, without any expence whatever, either to their parents or to the public."

The treatise entitled "The Distilleries considered in their Connection with the Agriculture, and Revenue of Britain, also in their Effects upon the Health, Tranquillity, and Morals of the People," is a plausible attempt to convince the reader that "spirits consist of the most generous cordial ingredient contained in any kind of drink yet known to man, and, when diluted with water, free from the pernicious

qualities of most other beverages;" that in the present state of society in Britain, they are become one of the necessaries of life; and that the practice of distillation merits encouragement, on account of the advantages which accrue from it to the agriculture and finances of the country. But whatever ingenious arguments he may be allowed to have used in defence of distilleries, in a commercial and financial point of view, he has brought no facts in support of the innocency of their produce as an article of food. What he has advanced on this subject is hasty theory, and gratuitous assertion; and will weigh light as a feather against the arguments to prove their pernicious effects on the human constitution, adduced by our ablest medical writers, and confirmed by daily experience.

Mr. Howlett's pamphlet entitled "Dispersion of the gloomy Apprehensions of late repeatedly suggested from the Decline of our Corn Trade, &c." is intended to controvert the reasonings and statements in Mr. Dirom's "Enquiry into the Corn Laws and Corn Trade of Great Britain," noticed in our last year's Register, and, particularly, the conclusion of that author that our agriculture has been in a state of declension for the last forty years. But his pages abound more in strong assertion, than conclusive argument; and the "well authenticated facts" to which he appeals, are either disputable assumptions, or such as, in our judgment, warrant directly opposite inferences to those which he draws from them.

The Law publications of the year 1797 were, "Juridical Arguments and Collections, by Francis Hargrave,

Hargrave, Esq." "Commentaries on the Law of Scotland, respecting the Description and Punishment of Crimes, by David Hume, Esq." in 2 vols; "The Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone, carefully abridged, and continued to the present Time, by W. Curry;" "The posthumous Works of Charles Fearne, Esq. consisting of a Reading on the Statute of Inrollments, Arguments in the singular Case of General Stanwix, &c. selected from the Author's MSS. by Thomas Mitchell Shadwell, Esq;" "Reports of Cases in the High Court of Chancery, beginning in Michaelmas Term 1796, and ending in Trinity Term 1797, by F. Veyse, Jun." Parts I. and II. of volume VII. of "Reports of Cases argued, &c. in the Court of King's Bench, by Charles Durnford and Edward Hyde East, Esqrs;" "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Exchequer, from Michaelmas Term, 33 Geo. III. to Trinity Term, 37 Geo. III. by Alexander Anstruther, Esq." vol. III; "A general Index to the modern Reports, relative to the Law occurring at Trials by Nisi Prius, from the Period of the Revolution to the present Times, by the late John Kells, Esq." vol. I; "Collection of Abstracts of Acts and Cases, with Opinions on various Taxes, by J. Smee;" "Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons, with Observations, by J. Hatfield, Esq." vol. IV; "A Digest of so much of the Laws respecting Borough Elections, as concerns Cities and Boroughs in general, their representation and returning Officers, &c. by Samuel Heywood, Serjeant at Law," part II; "A Report of the two Cases of controverted Elections of the Borough of Southwark, &c. with Notes and Illustrations,

by Henry Clifford, Esq;" "An Examination into the Particulars of the two last Elections for the Borough of Southwark, by M. Dawes, Esq;" a new edition, revised, corrected, and enriched with many valuable notes never before translated into English, of "The Law of Nations, or, Principles of the Law of Nature, applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns, from the French of M. de Vattel;" "A new Abridgment of the Law, by Matthew Bacon, Esq. and with considerable Additions, including the latest Authorities, by Henry Gwillim, Esq." in 7 vols; "The Law Dictionary, explaining the Rise, Progress, and present State of the English Law, in Theory and Practice, originally composed by Giles Jacob, now greatly enlarged and improved, by T. E. Tomlins, Esq." in 2 vols; a new edition of Burn's "Ecclesiastical Law, with Notes and References, by Simon Frazer, Esq." in 4 vols; "A complete Collection of Abstracts of Acts of Parliament, by J. Lurce," in 2 vols; "A complete System of Pleading, containing Covenant and Debt, comprehending the most approved Precedents and Forms of Practice, &c. by John Wentworth, Esq." vols. I—V; "An Assistant to the Practice of Conveyancing, by J. Barry Bird, Esq;" "A Treatise on Excise and Qui Tam Informations, as they relate to Summary Proceedings before Justices of the Peace, &c. by Robert Kyrle Hutchefon, Esq;" "A Treatise on Copyholds, by Charles Watkins, Esq;" "An Essay on the Law of Usury, by Mark Ord, Esq;" "A Treatise on the Law of Usury and Annuities, by Francis Plowden, Esq;" "Reflections on the Advantages and Disadvantages attending Commissions of Bankruptcy;" "An analytical

analytical Chart of the Rights of Persons, by T. F. Dibdin ;" "The Trial of John Binns, Deputy of the London Corresponding Society, for Sedition ;" "A Syllabus, or Heads of Lectures publicly delivered in the University of Cambridge, by Edward Christian, A. M. Professor of the Laws of England ;" "A Treatise on the Study of the Law, containing Directions to Students, written by the Lords Mansfield, Ashburton, and Thurlow, &c. with Notes and Elucidations by the Editor ;" and "an interesting and impartial View of the practical Benefits and Advantages of the Laws and Constitution of England, by P. B. Crofs, Esq."

In pure Mathematics, we have no recollection of any work to be inserted among the publications of the year 1797. In the number of such as are of a mathematical kind, we meet with "Book-keeping reformed, or the Method of double Entry so simplified, elucidated, and improved, as to render the Practice easy, expeditious, and accurate, by J. H. Wicks." This work shews the author to be well acquainted with the most approved modes of keeping merchants' accounts, and is sufficiently explanatory of the peculiarities of the Italian system. But we have not been able to find out any advantages which it possesses above the publications of preceding writers, of sufficient importance to entitle the author to the character of a reformer of book-keeping. In his strictures on Mr. Jones's "English System," Mr. Wicks has brought forward striking evidence to prove the vanity and self-deception of that author when he asserted, that the adoption of his method would render it "impossible for an error of

the most trifling moment to pass unnoticed."

Mr. Jones's "Defence of the English System of Book-keeping, or Collier against Collier, Goinell against Goinell, &c." is a very angry attack on the authors who have been so daring as to dispute the superior merits of his work, and on those reviewers who have been so unfortunate as to concur with them. Without any scruple, or discrimination, he accuses both of interested and unworthy motives: and while he modestly considers his own labours deserving of an extravagant pecuniary recompence, illiberally reflects on literary men for receiving those remunerations of their arduous and useful services, to which they are as honourably entitled as any description of men, commercial or professional, to the reward of their talents and industry.

Mr. Nicholson's "Treatise on practical Navigation and Seamanship, with Remarks, Observations, &c." although it be not a regular systematic performance, and is disfigured by numerous uncouth and incorrect expressions, will be found of considerable use to navigators. It contains the substance of the able author's "practical knowledge, acquired in a long service of fifty-nine years at sea ;" and abounds in important advice respecting the care and management of ships in storms, and other difficult situations, and in navigating the British Channel. Mr. Nicholson has also interspersed his work with much other matter, directly or indirectly connected with his principal subject, from which the reader may derive instruction and entertainment.

Mr. Gamble's "Essay on the different modes of Communication by Signals, containing an History of the

the progressive Improvements in this Art, from the first Account of Beacons to the most approved methods of telegraphic Correspondence," is deserving of attention for the curious and interesting information which it conveys, and the useful hints suggested in it to military tacticians. With such assiduity and success has Mr. Gamble applied himself to the improvement of the art of corresponding by signals, that he has invented a mode of constructing telegraphs "upon a plan of such reduced expence, and at the same time with the advantages of of being so portable and so easily understood and managed, that probably they will become useful to individuals as well as to governments." This essay is illustrated with neatly-executed engravings.

Lieutenant-colonel Dirom's "Plans for the Defence of Great Britain and Ireland," offer a variety of judicious directions for opposing an invading enemy, by which it is conceived he must be certainly defeated, even without the co-operation of our fleets. To these succeed reflections on the necessity of a permanent system of defence for the country, to maintain that pre-eminence among nations by which we have been long distinguished. The system which our author recommends is the constitutional one of "arming, in addition to the regular militia and standing army, a considerable portion of the resident inhabitants of the country," enrolled to serve for a certain time, and entitled to a proportion of pay, sufficient to compensate for the loss of time employed in exercise. And he shews, that the expence of arming and disciplining 126,000 men, ready to assemble at an hour's notice, would not amount to more than the maintenance of 10,000 regular troops. The opinions and

suggestions of so experienced an officer as colonel Dirom, must, unquestionably, be deserving of deliberate attention; and his plans of defence recommended in the work before us, appear to be peculiarly well adapted to the nature of our country, and to the genius and disposition of its inhabitants.

In the "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London for the Year 1797," the scientific reader will meet with several papers from which he may extract some addition to his stock of knowledge, or gratification for his curiosity. In this number are the following mathematical articles: Observations on horizontal Refractions which affect the Appearance of terrestrial Objects, and the Dip, or Depression of the Horizon of the Sea, by Joseph Huddart, esq. Researches on the principal Problems of nautical Astronomy, by Don Josef de Mendoza y Rios, written in the French language; on the periodical Changes of Brightness of two fixed Stars, by Edward Pigott, esq.; a third Catalogue of the comparative brightness of the Stars, &c. and Observations on the changeable Brightness of the Satellites of Jupiter, and of the Variation in their apparent Magnitude, with a Determination of the Time of their rotatory Motions on their Axes, by Dr. Herschel; and an Account of the trigonometrical Survey, carried on in the Years 1795 and 1796, by order of the marquis Cornwallis, by colonel Williams, Mr. Mudge, and Mr. Dalby, which completes the series of triangles extending from the Isle of Thanet to the Land's End. Among the philosophical and chemical papers, count Rumford's Experiments to determine the Force of Gunpowder, Mr. Henry Brougham junior's farther Experiments on the Affections and Properties of Light,

Light, Dr. Wells's Experiments on the Colour of Blood, Mr. Tennant's Account of his Experiments on the Nature of the Diamond, shewing that it consists entirely of charcoal in a crystalized form, and Dr. Pearson's Experiment and Observations, made with the View of ascertaining the Nature of the Gas produced by passing electric Discharges through Water, are the most curious and important. The principal of the other scientific articles consist of Mr. Home's Croonian Lecture, in which some of the morbid actions of the straight muscles and cornea of the eye are explained, and their treatment considered; an experimental Enquiry concerning animal Impregnation, by John Haighton, M.D.; and Experiments on the same subject by William Cruikshank, esq. In this volume, likewise, we find a supplement to the measure of trees, printed in the Philosophical Transactions for 1759; and a Letter from Count Rumford to sir Joseph Banks, announcing a very liberal donation to the Royal Society for the purpose of instituting a prize medal, to be bestowed on the author of the most important discoveries, or useful improvements, which shall be made and published by printing, or in any way made known to the public, in any part of Europe, during the preceding two years, on *Heat* or on *Light*.

In the number of individuals who, during the year 1797, have published treatises connected with mixed mathematics, we find a female candidate for public favour. Mrs. Margaret Bryan, a preceptress of young ladies, has offered to the public "a compendious System of Astronomy, in a Course of familiar Lectures, in which the Principles of that Science are clearly elucidated, so as to be intelligible to those who have not studied the Mathematics, &c." This

work affords satisfactory evidence that the authoress has carefully studied and digested the opinions of the best writers on the subjects which she has undertaken to illustrate, and that she is mistress of a very happy method of communicating scientific knowledge to her pupils. It is also interspersed with a variety of digressions, by way of reflection, abounding in just, beautiful, and instructive sentiments. Mrs. Bryan's diagrams are principally original. Mr. Olinthus Gregory's "Lessons astronomical and philosophical, &c. being an Attempt to explain and account for the most usual Appearances of Nature, in a familiar Manner, from established Principles," are deserving of commendation, for the accuracy and perspicuity with which the author has, in a narrow compass, illustrated some of the principal phenomena of the universe, so as to render them easy of comprehension to young persons. The useful moral reflections likewise which occur in them, are judiciously and impressively connected with the topics selected by the author for explanation. The "Thoughts on the Structure of the Globe, and the scriptural History of the Earth and Mankind compared with the Cosmogonies, Chronologies, and original Traditions of ancient Nations, &c. by Philip Howard, esq." are exhibited in the form of letters with notes and illustrations to each, and contain a very ingenious and elaborate defence of the Mosaic account of the creation and deluge, in opposition to the unsatisfactory and discordant theories of some modern naturalists. Did our limits admit of it, we should with pleasure insert the topics which his plan leads him successively to investigate. But we have only room to remark, that these letters afford such ample proofs

proofs of the author's learning, acuteness, intimate acquaintance with the best ascertained principles of science, and of his candour and modesty in support of his own theory, that those readers who may not be perfectly satisfied with his reasonings and conclusions, will, nevertheless, acknowledge themselves greatly indebted to him for the assistance with which he has furnished them, in discussing a difficult and interesting subject of enquiry.

During the present year the sixth and seventh volumes of the "Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, consisting of original Communications, &c." have been published, as well as Mr. Bent's accurate and useful "meteorological Journal of the Year 1796." During the present year, likewise, Mr. William Nicholson, author of the Dictionary of Chemistry, announced in our Register for the year 1795, and of other well known philosophical works, has commenced the periodical publication, in monthly numbers, of "a Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts," which, in such able hands, cannot fail of proving acceptable and interesting to the lovers of science. It is presented to the world as a repository of every useful discovery, in science or the arts; and consists of original communications, reports, abridgments, and selections of papers from the recent memoirs of academies, chancery registers, and other authentic sources, the greater part of which have never before appeared in the English language; together with mathematical correspondence, scientific news, accounts of books, &c. &c. In our next year's Register we shall have to notice the completion of the first volume of this journal.

Among the publications of the

year more immediately belonging to our chemical and mineralogical departments are, "Outlines of a Course of Lectures on Chemistry, by T. Garnett, M. D." These outlines were originally intended to be confined to the author's auditors, who wished to be in possession of a text book, which might contain the most striking facts on which he insisted in teaching the science. We entirely agree in opinion with those friends of Dr. Garnett, who suggested the propriety of their more extensive publication, as being well adapted to refresh the memories of others. They contain an ample and perspicuous explanation of the principal subjects which demanded his notice, arranged judiciously and systematically, on the principles of the new chemistry. The "introductory Lecture to a Course of Chemistry, read at the Laboratory in Oxford, February 7, 1797, by Robert Bourne, M. D. Chemical Reader in the University of Oxford," is principally employed in pointing out the utility and advantage of a knowledge of chemistry, in the arts and manufactures, in husbandry, and in the different professions and situations for which gentlemen educated in the university may be intended. So ably and judiciously is it drawn up, that we hope it is only the præcursor to the public of the rest of the author's course. In the "critical Examination of the first Part of Lavoisier's Elements of Chemistry," the reader will meet with some acute remarks on incongruities in the statements of that philosopher, and in the terms of his nomenclature, which merit the attention of the advocates for his theory. Dr. White's "Summary of the pneumato-chemical Theory, with a Table of its Nomenclature, intended as a Supplement to the Analysis of the New London Pharmacopœia," possesses

possesses the merit of general correctness, and will be useful to those readers who have not the opportunity or leisure for acquiring particular information upon the subject. Mr. Pew, in his "Observations on the Art of making Gold and Silver, or the probable Means of replenishing the nearly-exhausted Mines of Mexico, Peru, and Potosi," endeavours to prove the existence of a metallizing principle, which he calls the *Οξύ Σαλασφόρον*, the phlogiston of Stahl, or the principle of inflammability; to which he ascribes such wonderful efficacy, that if we can but contrive to place such a quantity of it in the course of the waters flowing through the mines of gold, silver, &c. as shall be sufficient to saturate all the particles of the radical principles of the metals dissolved in them, we may be "able to produce more gold and silver in the course of one hour, than has, perhaps, been produced by the unassisted operations of matter upon matter, from the creation to the present time." But our modern Rosicrucian has not yet drawn forth the metallizing principle from his *Balneo vaporoso*. The "Specimens of British Minerals, selected from the Cabinet of Philip Rashleigh, of Menabilly, in the County of Cornwall, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. and F. S. A. with general Descriptions of each Article," form a splendid and beautiful work, which will be received as a very valuable present by the student in mineralogy. It consists of thirty-three tinted plates, which represent with so much fidelity the form, texture, and gradations of colour in the mineral bodies selected, as to be unrivalled among the productions of British or foreign artists. In the first five plates the tin ores are represented; and in the twelve following the various copper ores. In the remaining

plates are delineated iron ores; ores of antimony and calamine; different forms of pyrites; fluors; calcareous spars; gypsums, &c. &c.

In Natural History, the first publication which claims a place in our annual catalogue is the third volume of the "Transactions of the Linnean Society." This volume, as well as the preceding, contains a great variety of valuable papers in zoology and botany, some of them of distinguished merit, which reflect great honour on the industrious and successful labours of the contributing members. The articles of which it consists are twenty-seven in number, and are accompanied with numerous illustrative plates. The fourth volume of Mr. Lewin's elegant work, entitled "the Birds of Great Britain, systematically arranged, accurately engraved, and painted from Nature, &c." which has been published during the present year, is equally deserving of encouragement from the lovers of science and of the fine arts with the preceding. It contains thirty-four different species, many of which are highly beautiful; and seven plates of eggs. The second volume of "the Cabinet of Quadrupeds, &c." likewise merits similar commendation with that bestowed by us on the first, in our last year's Register, and at least maintains, if it does not add to the reputation acquired by the different parties concerned in publishing it. This volume consists of six numbers. "The natural History of the rarer lepidopterous Insects of Georgia, &c. collected from the Observations of Mr. John Abbot, many Years resident in that Country, by James Edward Smith, M. D. &c." in two volumes, is a highly splendid production, and of the first importance in entomological science. It consists of 104 folio plates,

plates, accompanied with 208 pages of description, in English and French, the result of the studies of a faithful observer, which, Dr. Smith justly says, "he has delineated in a style of beauty and excellence, which can scarcely be excelled, and has accompanied his figures with an account, as well as a representation, of the plants on which each insect feeds, together with many circumstances of its manners, times of the different metamorphoses, and other interesting particulars. His memorandums not methodized by himself for publication, have merely been digested into some sort of style and order by the editor, who has generally added remarks of his own in a separate paragraph, and different type from the rest; and who has entirely to answer for the systematic names and definitions." Dr. Smith has also added a dedication and preface, and a copious index. The student in natural history will find in this work ample funds of pleasure and information. The "short History of Insects (extracted from Works of Credit) designed as an Introduction to the Study of that Branch of Natural History, and as a Pocket Companion to those who visit the Leverian Museum," is drawn up with care and judgment, and contains a short description of each genus, illustrated by outline engravings. The young entomologist will find it an useful assistant at the commencement of his systematic researches. Mr. Mason's publication entitled "*Stapeliae novae, or a Collection of several new Species of that Genus, discovered in the interior Parts of Africa*," consists of forty-one coloured plates, in folio, and twenty-four pages of letter-press. It presents us with about forty new species of *Stapelia*: the figures accurately drawn from the plants as they grow

in the sandy soil of the Karro lands near the Cape of Good Hope, accompanied with generic and specific descriptions, in Linnaean Latin, and some useful hints annexed to each. The lovers of botany will readily acknowledge their obligations to the author for the addition which he has made to their pleasures by this communication. The volume of "*Botanical Dialogues, &c.* by a Lady," consists of two parts. The first explains the different parts of fructification, &c.: the second gives an explanation of the genera of plants, and of the proper mode of arranging them in their respective families. As the language in which the authoress writes is familiar and perspicuous, and her scientific explanations agreeably diversified with amusing and interesting facts, and incidental remarks, her work will be found of considerable use in introducing young persons to an acquaintance with the rudiments of botany. The "*Hortus Cantabrigienfis, or a Catalogue of Plants, indigenous and foreign, cultivated in the Walkerian Botanic Garden, Cambridge*, by James Donn, Curator," will prove acceptable to those who may wish to know what plants are to be met with in that collection, and to such students as may be desirous of inspecting them.

Under the head of Agriculture and Rural Economy, the fifteenth volume of the "*Transactions of the Society instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*," contains useful papers on the subjects of planting trees and osiers, the improvement of waste and moor lands, draining, and the recovery of land from the sea; and describes some valuable inventions applicable to instruments of husbandry. The eighth volume

volume of "Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c. selected from the Correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, &c." among some articles of little importance presents us with others that are curious and valuable, from which land proprietors as well as cultivators may derive information and entertainment. The extracts from the county surveys made under the auspices of the board of agriculture, bear a considerable proportion to the rest of the volume. The first volume of "Communications to the Board of Agriculture on Subjects relative to the Husbandry and internal Improvement of the Country," is printed in a high style of elegance, and ornamented with numerous expensive plates: circumstances which must confine its circulation to the opulent, and which are, therefore, injudicious and inconsistent with the professed purposes of such a work. These communications, which have been chiefly sent by noblemen and gentlemen of property, relate to the distribution of farms, the construction and arrangement of farm-buildings, corn-stands, and cottages; and certainly suggest useful hints and information, by which landlords may profit, and by which also the situation of the labouring classes might be amended, were our poor laws once to undergo a radical reform. But we must look to future communications from practical farmers, to judge of the progress which agricultural knowledge is making in Great Britain. Mr. Kent's "View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk, with Observations for the Means of its Improvement, drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture," on the plan recommended

by the president, abounds in judicious reflections and sound advice, dictated by extensive knowledge and experience, from which the farmers in that county, and in every part of the kingdom, may derive considerable advantage. If we were to select any particular topics on which his observations are most deserving of attention, they would be leases; the course of cropping; fallowing; building and repairs; inclosures; the size of farms; and the state of the poor. The additional remarks from several respectable gentlemen and farmers, and particularly sir Thomas Beever, considerably enhance the value of the work. Mr. Pitt's "general View of the Agriculture of the County of Stafford, &c. drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, &c." is the production of another sensible and judicious observer, and contains a variety of remarks and observations calculated for general utility. The improvements which he recommends as peculiarly applicable to the district described by him, embrace numerous objects interesting to the country at large: such as the cultivation of its wastes; the extension of the practice of irrigation; the embankment of the rivers, to prevent the destruction of hay; the draining of boggy, fenny, and springy lands; the cultivation of the better and finer grasses; the planting of precipices, and all lands impracticable to the plough, with timber and underwood, and, if not incompatible with the growth of such plantations, the stocking such woodlands with rabbits. The "general View of the Agriculture of the County of Somerset, &c. drawn up in the Year 1795, for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, &c. by John Billingsley, esq." is a work

in which the reader will meet with an uncommon fund of curious and important agricultural and economical information. For the sake of greater perspicuity, and to render his survey more perfect, Mr. Billingsley has divided the county into three parts, which he calls the north-east, the middle, and the western districts; and under each district has distinctly discussed the different topics recommended by Sir John Sinclair, in his very comprehensive plan. On most, if not all of these subjects, he has brought forwards a variety of pertinent and valuable remarks, in many instances the result of his own experience, which merit the attention of agriculturists in general, and which particularly demand the notice of Somersetshire farmers. Mr. Robertson's "general View of the Agriculture of the County of Mid-Lothian, &c. drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, &c." shews the author to have been a diligent and minute observer of the agricultural practice in the district which fell under his survey, and describes some peculiarities which are worthy of general notice. We have to remark, however, with respect to the present as well as the preceding reports which have been reprinted, and those which may yet be expected, that it were highly desirable that they were published in a more compressed form, and stripped of much of the statistical and miscellaneous matter which the plans prescribed to their authors call for; otherwise they will grow up to an enormous bulk, and by that means tend to frustrate the design for which they were undertaken. Sir John Anstruther's "Remarks on the Drill-Husbandry, by which the superior Advantages of that Mode of Cultivation are pointed out, &c." possesses

the merit of condensing, within a narrow compass, the leading principles of Tull, Forbes, Millar, &c. and of proving the great benefit which soils will receive from frequent tillage, or the exposure of their surfaces to the influence of the atmosphere during the summer season. But they appear to us to be the result of his reading, rather than of an experimental acquaintance with rural subjects. Of the qualities and usefulness of manure, he entertains very unphilosophical and inadequate ideas. The author of "a New Treatise on Tillage Land, &c." endeavours, "for the whole human race sake, to feed the infant offspring, and to keep our venerable fathers from the fear of necessity and want," to disclose and abolish the present prevailing error in agriculture. That error is the use of lime, which being a white body, "cannot bring forth any, nay, not so much as a single green leaf, being diametrically opposite to the given laws of nature." As "vegetable matter is of a pure liquid, reary, black substance," the congenial manure which he recommends instead of lime, is coal, Newcastle coal! Those readers who shall have the curiosity to examine the manner in which he supports his hypothesis, may likewise be instructed in "a method, or new invention, drawn from Nature, to preserve orchard and other fruit trees, from the fatal effects of blight." Mr. Morley's "practical Observations on Agriculture, Drainage, &c. in two Letters addressed to Sir John Sinclair," although the result of nearly forty years' experience, do not offer any thing either sufficiently new or important to have called for their publication. Mr. Lawton's "Essay on the Use of mixed and compressed Cattle Fodder, for feeding and fattening

tening Horses, Oxen, Cows, Sheep, &c. particularly adapted for young Stock, and for Horses and Cattle on Shipboard, in Camps, or in Garrisons, &c. &c. &c." contain many observations and hints, which certainly possess the merit of novelty, and deserve to be brought to the test of experience. One principal object, however, of the author in publishing it was, to advertise a commodity, which he prepares and furnishes in any quantity. Mr. Marshall's "Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of Gardening," is written in that agreeable and lively manner which cannot fail of recommending it as a pleasing companion to the young horticulturist. The precepts which it contains are either the result of the author's own experience, or sanctioned by the best authorities; and deserve to be recommended for their perspicuity and utility.

Among the publications of the year which belong to Anatomy, Surgery, and Medicine, we find "three Treatises on the Brain, the Eye, and the Ear, illustrated by Tables, by Alexander Monro, M. D. Professor of Medicine, Anatomy, and Surgery, in the University of Edinburgh." In this work the author is chiefly employed in substantiating his own claim to several anatomical discoveries relating to the organs mentioned in the title, and the doctrines founded on them, which have been attributed to other medical practitioners, and particularly to the late Mr. John Hunter, and Dr. Hunter. Most of those discoveries and doctrines have been made known and established for so long a time, and conveyed to the public through so many different channels, that we shall leave it to a jury of professional men to determine

who is their rightful claimant. In this department of our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers Mr. Bell's "Anatomy," containing the bones, muscles, and joints. During the present year that author has published a continuation of his work, in a second volume, containing the heart and arteries, which, in point of execution and utility, is deserving of equal commendation with the former. It is illustrated by numerous well-executed plates. The "new and compendious Treatise of Anatomy, and Proportion of the Human Figure, illustrated with Copper-plates, by W. F. Wells," is designed principally for the information of such ladies as practise the arts of designing, painting, and sculpture, and may be recommended as a work which will be found of use to beginners. We are very far, however, from subscribing to the author's modest statement in the title, that it is "absolutely necessary to all students who wish to require correctness in the outline of the human figure." The "Collection of Engravings, designed to facilitate the Study of Midwifery, explained and illustrated by James Hamilton, jun. M. D." contains eighteen neatly-executed plates of the parts concerned in parturition, &c. accompanied with such judicious explanations and remarks, as will be useful to those midwives who have no opportunity of attending a course of lectures on their art. Thirteen of those plates are copies from the magnificent engravings of Smellie, Hunter, and Bœhmer; the rest are from preparations in the possession of the author. In Mr. Rumball's "Attempt to ascertain the Nature and Cause of the Pulse, in a State of Health, as far as it depends upon the contractile Power of the

Heart and Arteries, and the mechanical Effect of the Blood, by Distension," we have not been able to discover any accession to the stores of physiological knowledge.

Mr. Abernethy's "Surgical and Physiological Essays, Part III." will prove a very acceptable present to the medical world. Placed, as the author is, in a situation which necessarily engages him in extensive practice, that of assistant surgeon to St. Bartholomew's hospital, and well known from his former performances to possess a philosophic spirit of investigation, and indefatigable industry, his brethren of the profession will expect to meet in them many important facts, judicious remarks, and valuable practical directions. And in such an expectation they will not be disappointed. The first essay treats, in five sections, on the injuries of the head: the second is a supplement to what the author had formerly advanced on the treatment of the lumbar abscess: the third contains some experiments on irritability; and the last consists of surgical cases and remarks, chiefly under the heads of aneurism, emphysema, and mercurial fumigations. The "Treatise on Chirurgical Diseases, and on the Operations required in their Treatment, from the French of Messrs. Chopart and Desault late Professors of Surgery at the Practical Academy, and principal Surgeons to the Hôtel Dieu, Paris, in two Volumes, by William Turnbull, Surgeon to the Eastern Dispensary," vol. I. is a publication, for the appearance of which in an English dress, on the whole faithful, but not free from Gallicisms, young practitioners are much indebted to the translator. Scarcely ever had two men greater opportunities of acquiring various and useful inform-

ation than the authors: and in the work before us they have detailed a vast mass of it, with uncommon precision, and perspicuity. Mr. Turnbull proposes to publish with the next volume, notes on particular passages, which will be divided in such a manner as to bind up at the end of each volume separately, or to form a third, at the discretion of the purchaser. Mr. Crowther's "Practical Observations on the Disease of the Joints, commonly called White Swelling, with some Remarks on Scrophulous Abscesses," are of considerable importance, as they describe the uncommon success, and in some cases that were very difficult, attending a mode of treatment which he adopted, and in which he was encouraged to persevere by the recommendation of Mr. Pott. That mode consists in maintaining a continued discharge of pus from the skin covering the diseased part. To procure such a continued and copious discharge, Mr. Crowther very fortunately discovered the peculiar efficacy of the juice of savine, when incorporated with cerate; and he has in the work before us given proper directions for making such a salve, and for its application to the diseased joint. By the use of the same remedy he has also succeeded in dispersing several large abscesses. The "Practical Observations on the Treatment of Ulcers on the Legs, considered as a Branch of Military Surgery, by Everard Home, Esq. Surgeon to the Army and St. George's Hospital," are intended to introduce and recommend a mode of practice more rational and scientific than that which commonly obtains, at least among the military. With this view, the author has investigated the different species of ulcers on the legs; pointed out those distinguishing

guilting characters of each species, which will make one mode of treatment more likely to produce a cure than others of a different kind, and given an account of those local applications of which he has had experience, and their particular effects. His plan is undoubtedly judicious; and in the prosecution of it he has introduced a variety of ingenious remarks, and useful observations, and described some new remedies and operations, which promise to contribute to the improvement of this branch of surgery. Mr. Baynton's "Descriptive Account of a new Method of treating old Ulcers of the Legs," is the production of an ingenious and experienced surgeon, and merits the careful perusal of his brother practitioners. It brings forward some striking cases to shew, that "the mere application of a slip of adhesive plaister, in a particular way, proves the easiest, most efficacious, and most agreeable of all applications, to a wound so proverbially irritable as an ulcer;" and that it will, "in most instances, be found sufficient to accomplish cures for the worst cases without pain, or confinement." The author's particular way of applying the plaister is sufficiently explained in his pamphlet, and is attended with very little difficulty. Mr. Kentish's "Essay on Burns, especially upon those which happen to Workmen in Mines, from the Explosions of inflammable Air, &c." is an ingenious philosophical performance, the object of which is to invert the whole of the old system of treating burns, and to shew the propriety, instead of gentle and soothing means, of employing strong stimulants externally, and cordials and opiates internally, to be gradually diminished; until the part affected becomes ca-

pable of acting by the ordinary and natural stimuli. The cases which he has adduced in support of his doctrine, are remarkable and important. Dr. A. P. Buchan's "Enchiridion Syphiliticum, or Directions for the Conduct of Venereal Patients," is sensibly and neatly written, and as far as it relates to diet and external management may be safely followed. With respect to what is advanced in it about methods of cure, we think that persons labouring under the complaint had better consult the author himself, than his pamphlet: and we doubt not of his perfect concurrence with us in that opinion. Mr. Bree's "Observations on the Venereal Disease, &c." and Dr. Godfrey's "Historical and Practical Treatise" on the same, are advertisements of the peculiar skill of their respective authors, and the infallibility of their nostrums. The "Short Treatise on the Glanders and Farcy, by a Lieutenant of Dragoons," consists rather of hints, which appear to merit farther investigation, than of determinate principles respecting either the nature or cure of those diseases. Mr. Downing's "Treatise on the Disorders incident to horned Cattle, &c." so far as relates to many of his methods of cure, which seem to have been sanctioned by long experience, is deserving of the attention of veterinarians: but they will derive no information from it respecting the rationale of their art.

The "Annals of Medicine for the Year 1796, exhibiting a concise View of the latest and most important Discoveries in Medicine and Medical Philosophy, by Andrew Duncan, sen. M. D. and Andrew Duncan jun. M. D." volume I. may be considered as a continuation

of the Medical Commentaries, and without any material alteration in the plan and arrangement. In the sections devoted to original observations on medical subjects, and medical news, many particulars are inserted that are highly curious and useful. Among our selections, under the head of Philosophical Papers, our readers will find a very interesting account of the effects of the nitric acid, in diseases of the liver, and particularly in cases of syphilis. In a collection of "Reports, &c." published by Dr. Beddoes, a variety of important facts are brought forwards in illustration of the same effects. The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes of "Medical Facts and Observations," besides a variety of original communications from the editor's medical friends, some of which possess considerable merit, contain numerous extracts from printed books, particularly from the transactions of learned societies, selected with judgment and discrimination, and abounding in much important and useful matter. This work grows more valuable as it increases in magnitude. The 4th volume of "Medical Extracts on the Nature of Health, &c." is chiefly employed in shewing, that the laws of morality and physic rest upon the same broad basis, by illustrating the progress of the mind, and its vast power of improvement, and by contemplating the effects of great mental excitement, and its operation when in an under proportion. Of the author's design we cannot speak too highly; and the manner in which he has executed it is ingenious, if it be not perfectly satisfactory. Dr. Cullen's "Clinical Lectures, delivered in the Years 1765, and 1766, taken in Short Hand, by a Gentleman who attended," are of much less moment at

the present period than at the time of their delivery, on account of the numerous improvements introduced into medical practice, in consequence of discoveries in the different branches of science connected with medicine. The learned professor's pathological observations and remarks will prove the most valuable part of them in the estimation of modern physicians. Dr. Currie's "Medical Reports on the Effect of Water, cold and warm, as a Remedy in Febrile Diseases, whether applied to the Surface of the Body, or used as a Drink, &c." constitute a very interesting and important publication, which professional men will find to abound in numerous striking facts, sagacious remarks, and useful practical directions, that promise to lead to considerable improvements in the medical art. Mr. Parker's "Practical Treatise on Fever, contrasting a Tonic Treatment with the Antiphlogistic, &c." contains some facts, illustrating the happy effects of an early exhibition of Peruvian bark and red wine in cases of typhus, which deserve the notice of the faculty; but it is of little importance in other respects. The anonymous author of "an Enquiry into the Nature and Cause of Fever, more especially the Intermitting, containing an Investigation into the Nature of Miasma, and the Manner of its Action upon the Human Body," informs us that the period is near at hand when the mystery of fever is to be unfolded, and that the materials are all ready for that purpose. From his present labours, however, we have not been enabled to derive any illumination. From Dr. Clark's "Treatise on the Yellow Fever, as it appeared in the Island of Dominica, in the Years 1793, 4, 5, 6, &c." the medical reader will obtain little information

sion relative to the nature or proper treatment of that disease, with which he has not been already supplied from the writings of Rush and Chisholm. On the subject of its remote causes, indeed, he may meet with some novelty of theory, but not such as will stand the test of philosophical investigation. Dr. M'Lean, in his "Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the great Mortality among the Troops at St. Domingo, with practical Remarks on the Fever of that Island, &c." endeavours to shew, that the disease which proved so destructive to the British army, was the common intermittent of the country, and not a contagious disorder like that which prevailed at Philadelphia, or at Bulam. But we cannot say that his observations on this subject are satisfactory. From the account which he gives of his method of treating the disease, the practitioner may derive many useful hints, and the voyager into the tropical regions may be considerably benefitted, by the directions which he gives for the conduct of Europeans at their first arrival in warm climates. Dr. Trotter's "*Medicina Nautica*, an Essay on the Diseases of Seamen, &c." is the production of an attentive and ingenious observer, who has collected together, in rather too diffuse a form, a variety of interesting facts and remarks, which will be acceptable to medical enquirers in general, and particularly so in the department for which it is chiefly intended. On the subject of destroying contagion by the use of nitrous acid, the author differs diametrically from Dr. Carmichael Smith: but his reasonings do not appear to us to outweigh that physician's experiments. Dr. Crossfield's "Remarks on the Scurvy, as it appeared among the English Prison-

ers in France, in the Year 1795, with an Account of the Effects of Opium in that Disease, &c." were written during the author's confinement in the Tower, previously to his trial for being concerned in the pretended plot for assassinating the king by means of a poisoned arrow. Some particular cases related in them constitute their principal value. Dr. Rollo's "Account of two Cases of the Diabetes Mellitus, with Remarks as they arose in the Progress of the Cure, &c." in two volumes, exhibit striking and satisfactory evidence of the advantages which medical science may derive from modern chemical philosophy. By his ingenuity and industry, he has succeeded in applying the principles of that philosophy to an investigation of the nature and causes of a most distressing and tedious disease, and in discovering a plan of treatment that bids fair to be efficacious and expeditious in its removal. The second volume contains communications from ingenious medical men, in different parts of the kingdom, corroborative of the author's reasonings, and confirming the utility of his practice; and the results of different trials of the nitrous acid in the cure of lues venerea, by Mr. William Cruickshank. Dr. Bree's "Practical Enquiry on Disordered Respiration, distinguishing convulsive Asthma, its specific Causes, and proper Indications of Cure," abounds in quotations from ancient and modern authors, and particularly the former, with strictures upon their doctrines and conclusions; but, to say the least, is sparing of discoveries respecting the precise nature of the disease, and the most effectual means of combating it. Mr. Neale's "Practical Essays and Remarks on that Species of

of Consumption incident to Youth from Puberty to Twenty-five Years and upwards, commonly called *Tabes Dorsalis*," display neither new nor extensive information respecting the nature, causes, or cure of that distemper. Mr. Kelson, in his "few Remarks on the Nature and Cure of Colds," opposes the commonly received opinion that such disorders are occasioned by the suppression, partial or general, of perspiration, and contends, that they proceed from some specific matter, permanently existing, which, when applied to those parts of the human body liable to be affected by it, will become the cause of distemper. His hypothesis, however, is not supported by arguments sufficiently powerful to render it convincing. Mr. Champney's treatise entitled "Medical and Chirurgical Reform proposed, from a Review of the healing Art throughout Europe, particularly Great Britain, &c." contains much information relative to the present state of medical practice, and suggests various useful hints for the correction of abuses, of which professional men as well as the public have too much reason to complain. But in laying down the extent to which he would carry his reform, and in drawing up some of the regulations which he proposes, he does not appear to have been guided by sufficient knowledge, experience, and judicious caution. Mrs. Martha Mears's "Pupil of Nature, or Candid Advice to the Fair Sex, on the Subjects of Pregnancy, Childbirth, the Diseases incident to both, &c." is drawn up in language too rhetorical and inflated for one who professes not to "come dressed out in a rich wardrobe of words to dazzle attention," but to appear in the character of the "humble handmaid of nature."

It contains, however, some good advice, extracted from the works of Harvey, Leake, Denman, Johnson, and other writers, which deserves the attention of the readers to whom it is addressed. Dr. Garnett's "Lecture on the Preservation of Health," contains an ingenious and interesting application of the Brunonian principles to the laws of life, with the hope of making "them more generally known, and better understood, and from thence deducing such rules for the preservation of health, as would be evident to every capacity." It presents the reader with much valuable advice, and ably and philosophically exposes many vulgar errors. Dr. Beddoes, in his "Lecture introductory to a Course of popular Instruction on the Constitution and Management of the Human Body," explains, in a pleasing and interesting manner, the advantages and improvements which may be expected to arise from the plan of making a considerable part of what is generally classed under medical science, a branch of general education; so as "to furnish individuals with so much knowledge of themselves as shall enable them to guard against habitual sickness, and a variety of serious disorders. With the design of contributing his assistance to establish the practicability of such a plan, the respectable author has consented to annex his instructions to popular lectures on anatomy and physiology, by two practitioners in surgery at Bristol. The liberality and benevolence which suggested such a design to the author, are highly to be commended, and the public will, doubtless, regard it with partial notice. Dr. Buchan's "Observations on the Diet of the common People, &c." offer cursory, and by no means novel remarks on the customary habits of living

living in England; and recipes for economical cookery, from which, however, those for whose use it is intended, may, if they follow his directions, derive some benefit. But why did not the author avail himself of the knowledge conveyed in count Rumford's invaluable performances, to write a popular treatise, recommending grand and essential improvements in the modes of preparing and dressing articles of food for the lower classes? Dr. Carrick's "Dissertation on the Chemical and Medical Properties of the Bristol Hot well Water, &c." contains the result of an apparently careful and accurate analysis of that water, and an enumeration of the cases in which it is most likely to afford relief, together with cautions and remarks, which may be useful to those whose disorders oblige them to visit the Wells. Dr. Turton's "Medical Glossary, in which the Words in the various Branches of Medicine, are deduced from their original Languages, properly accented and explained," appears to have been drawn up with great judgment and care, from the most approved sources of information, and to be well adapted to the use of literary readers in general, as well as medical students.

Our next department, consisting of Historical and Geographical productions, we shall commence with "the Voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates, collected from the original Journal preserved by Arrian, and illustrated by Authorities ancient and modern; containing an Account of the first Navigation attempted by Europeans in the Indian Ocean: by William Vincent, D. D." illustrated with maps. This learned and ingenious work, the labour of many years,

throws considerable light on numerous obscure passages in ancient history; and will greatly assist the reader in developing the character, the views, and the policy of the celebrated Macedonian conqueror. It is divided into four books; to which are added a sequel, and an appendix. The first book consists of preliminary disquisitions, in which the author illustrates the character and designs of Alexander; describes the situation of Alexandria, and the state of the country at the sources of the Indus, now denominated the Panje-ab, together with the advantages they respectively possessed for carrying on a rich and extensive commerce, &c; notices the coincidences and deviations of ancient and modern geographers; ascertains the dates of transactions; explains the nature and seasons of the monsoons, and the knowledge of them which obtained among the ancients; endeavours to compare the ancient itinerary measures, particularly the stadium of Arrian, with the mile of our own country; and defends the authenticity of the journal of Nearchus, preserved by Arrian. After these preliminary disquisitions, Dr. Vincent proceeds, in the second book, to detail the particulars of the voyage of Nearchus, from Nicæa, built on the spot where Porus was vanquished, to the mouth of the Indus; in the third, from the Indus to Cape Jask; and in the fourth, through the Gulf of Persia: describing the wealth, state of population, manners, &c. &c. in the different countries through which he passed, or on which he coasted, and endeavouring to ascertain each day's progress, by a comparison of the ancient historians with modern geographers and navigators. The sequel contains a narrative of the transactions which

which took place, after the junction of the troops under Nearchus, with the other divisions of Alexander's army, until the death of that monarch. In the appendix, the reader will find three elaborate and valuable dissertations: two on the acronychal rising of the Pleiades, by the bishop of Rochester and Mr. Wales, and one by M. de la Rochette, on the first meridian of Ptolemy. Amid the various topics which Dr. Vincent has discussed in the divisions above mentioned, it may perhaps be thought that his narrative has been encumbered with too many digressions and interruptions, and that he has descended frequently to a minuteness of particulars, especially in verbal criticism, which has contributed to render his work more complex and less interesting than were desirable. But his object has been to instruct, rather than to entertain; and to investigate a variety of subjects, historical, geographical, and commercial, with that care and precision, that shall render his labours useful to the classical scholar and historian, as well as to modern geographers and navigators. Such descriptions of readers will acknowledge themselves greatly indebted to the learned and very industrious author, notwithstanding that they may occasionally differ from him in opinion, or doubt of the accuracy or importance of some of his researches. Dr. Vincent's style and language are simple and unornamented.

In this department of our work we shall also introduce "the Voyage of Hanno translated, and accompanied with the Greek Text; explained from the Accounts of modern Travellers; defended against the Objections of Mr. Dodwell, and other writers; illustrated by Maps from Ptolemy, D'Anville,

and Bougainville: by Thomas Falconer, A. M." The periplus of Hanno presents us with the history of a voyage, which was undertaken at a still earlier period than that of Nearchus, probably in the sixth century before the Christian era, and which extended from Carthage, along the coasts of Africa to the Gulf of Benin, in about five degrees of north latitude. Of this periplus Mr. Falconer has given the original, from the edition of Hudson, accompanied with a faithful and well-written English version. But the chief value of his work lies in the learned and ingenious dissertations, by which he supports the authenticity of the periplus against the objections of ancient and modern critics, and at least proves that such a voyage was actually performed, from which the materials of the work were collected; and in which, likewise, he illustrates the circumstances mentioned in it, by quotations from Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, Florus, Ælian, Sallust, Shaw, Robertson, Pennant, Bruce, Barbot, and Bougainville. We should be glad to see commentaries on the other Greek geographers, executed on a similar plan, and by persons possessing equal erudition, critical acumen, and candour with Mr. Falconer.

The IXth and Xth books of "the History of America, by William Robertson, D. D. Principal of the University of Edinburgh, &c." will be received with pleasure by the lovers of literature, as the precious, although scanty reliquæ of an author who, by the industry of his researches, the philosophy of his views, the luminousness of his arrangement, and the perspicuity, correctness, and elegance of his style and language, has secured to himself a very high and lasting celebrity among British historians. In the preface

face to his volumes on the history of the new world which have already appeared, Dr. Robertson stated that "he had made some progress in the History of British America;" and he announced his intention of returning to that part of his work, as soon as the ferment which at the time of his publishing them prevailed in the British colonies, should subside, and regular government be re-established. It is to be lamented, however, that various causes concurred in preventing him from fulfilling his intention. From an advertisement prefixed to the books before us, by his son, it appears, that during the course of a tedious illness, which he early foresaw would have a fatal termination, Dr. Robertson at different times destroyed many of his papers. But after his death, the sheets which compose the present volume were found written with his own hand, and as carefully corrected as any part of his manuscripts which the editor has ever seen; and they are offered to the public, without any addition or alteration whatever, "as a fragment curious and interesting in itself, and not inferior to any" of the author's former works. Without stopping to enquire whether there be not some partiality in the latter part of the eulogium pronounced on them by the author's friends, we can confidently assert, that they well deserve to be annexed to the former books of Dr. Robertson's History of America: and that is no small share of commendation. The IXth book commences with the spirit of adventure awakened in England, by Columbus's discoveries; and describes its various effects until the first attempt to establish a colony in Virginia, under the sanction of a patent granted by queen Elizabeth to sir Walter Raleigh;

the failure of his different efforts; the more successful, although for a long time hazardous and almost desperate attempts of new adventurers, under the authority of different charters granted by James I; and the history of Virginia to the period of the revolution in 1688. The Xth book contains an account of the different settlements in New England; of the rise and progress of the religious disputes; to which they owed their origin and population; of the charters granted by Charles I. to the adventurers associated for planting the province of Massachusetts Bay; and of the ecclesiastical, civil, and military transactions in the different divisions of New England, until the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell. Dr. Robertson's judicious remarks on the nature and powers of the charters granted to the different colonies, and on the intolerant spirit which cut off the puritans from all hope of obtaining either reformation in the church of England, or indulgence to themselves, and which they, in their turn, exercised in their transatlantic settlements, are particularly deserving of attention.

In our sketch of the Foreign Literature of the year 1793, we announced the commencement of an important publication in Spain, by Don Juan Baptista Munoz, intended to comprise a general history of America; and in our last year's Register a German translation of it, by M. Sprengel, of Weimar. During the present year the 1st volume of that work has made its appearance in an English dress, under the title of "the History of the New World, translated from the Spanish, with Notes by the Translator." This volume is divided into six books. The first two are preliminary, and expatiate on the imperfect knowledge

ledge of geography among the ancients, and the circumstances and events which gradually led to its improvement; on the influence of the discovery of the new world, in correcting erroneous opinions, in enlarging the field of human observation, and in extending the advantages of culture and commerce; on the progress of nautical and geographical science from the time of the discovery of the nature and virtues of the magnet; on the gradual approach of the Portuguese towards India, by their discovery of the coasts of Africa to its southern point; on the plan which the genius of Columbus formed to reach the rich eastern shores by a western course; and on his subsequent negotiations with different governments, till Ferdinand and Isabella equipped him for his immortal enterprize, in the year 1492. In the four following books, the particulars of his first, second, and part of his third voyages are related, as well as the transactions which took place in the colonial governments which he established, till the beginning of the year 1500, with which the present volume closes. With the greater part of these particulars the English reader has already been made acquainted, through the medium of native historians, and particularly in the accurate classical pages of Dr. Robertson. Don Munoz, however, by having access to new information, to documents and original papers, (which, till he was authorized to examine them by credentials from the king of Spain, lay buried in dust and oblivion,) has been enabled to bring to light new facts, which will be found interesting and entertaining. The method which he has adopted is that of "plain narration, divested of quotations, disputations, and combinations, levelled to the

capacity of the generality of readers." His translator appears, on the whole, to have given a faithful copy of his original.

The "Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo, &c. by Bryan Edwards, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. &c." is the production of a gentleman, with whose merits as an ingenious, forcible, and elegant writer, the public have been made sufficiently acquainted by his valuable History of the British Colonies in the West Indies. It was the design of Mr. Edwards to compile a general account of the settlements made by all the nations of Europe, in that part of the new hemisphere, but more particularly the French, whose possessions were undoubtedly the most valuable and productive of the whole Archipelago. In consequence, however, of being disappointed in the expectation of procuring such particulars of the condition, population, and culture of each, as would enable him to complete his design, he has confined his present labours to St. Domingo. That island Mr. Edwards personally visited in the year 1791, and formed connections there with men of distinguished talents, and possessing intimate knowledge of the concerns of the colony; who, in addition to the materials which he had before collected, supplied him with a mass of information and valuable authentic documents. The volume before us is divided into twelve chapters. The first chapter describes the political state of St. Domingo, previous to the year 1789. The seven following chapters treat of the measures respecting the colonies, which were adopted in the French national assembly; the proceedings of the general colonial assembly; the tragical history of Ogé; the murder of colonel Mauduit; the rebel-

rebellion of the negroes; the revolt of the Mulattoes; and the horrible massacres, ravages, and devastations which took place in the unhappy colony, till the destruction of the town of Cape François, in June, 1793. A candid and unprejudiced examination of the facts and documents which Mr. Edwards has produced, without being biased by his comments, will confirm the statements which we have given in our former volumes of the transactions in St. Domingo, and of the proper causes to which they are to be attributed. The ninth chapter of this historical survey presents the reader with an account of the situation, extent, topographical divisions, population, and produce of St. Domingo. The two following chapters are chiefly occupied with the military history, for the last three or four years; and the twelfth gives a view of the ancient state of the Spanish colony, and offers conjectures and reflections on its present condition, and the probable future situation of the whole island. In an appendix, Mr. Edwards has collected together some curious and interesting tables, explanatory of the state of commerce and finances of St. Domingo, in the year 1791, and additional notes and illustrations.

The "Account of Portugal, as it appeared in 1766 to Dumouriez, since a celebrated General in the French Army," consists of four books, containing a geographical description of Portugal; a description of her colonies; of her armies; and of her national character and government. It was one of the earliest productions of that extraordinary genius, and supposed to be drawn up by him while engaged at Lisbon in the service of the French court. The English reader will learn from it some curious particulars re-

lative to the territories, revenues, military establishments, commerce, police, character and manners of the Portuguese. But it discloses so much of the nakedness of the land, that when it was first published at Lausanne, the Portuguese and Spanish courts, by their complaints to the French minister, attempted, though ineffectually, to inflict severe vengeance on the then anonymous author.

"The History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary, with Appendixes of original Papers, by John Pinkerton," in 2 vols. is the production of an author well known to possess a variety of knowledge, a spirit of industry and research, and, according to the judgment of the celebrated Mr. Gibbon, "of criticism, acute, discerning, and suspicious," which well qualified him for such an undertaking. The space of time which he has included in his history, was judiciously selected, as not having been examined and illustrated with the same diligence and attention as the preceding and subsequent periods; and as affording ample scope to the sedulous and impartial enquirer, for separating truth from error, or poetic fiction, and for tracing the gradual progress of Scotland towards civilisation and importance among the kingdoms of Europe. In his plan Mr. Pinkerton has differed in some respects from the usual practice of historians. He has chosen to exhibit the characters of the kings at the commencement, instead of the close of their respective reigns, for reasons of which we do not feel the force; and he has introduced, at particular epochs, retrospects of the state of the country with respect to civilisation, government, laws, tactics, agriculture, commerce, ecclesiastical history, literature,

terature, and the arts. The late Mr. Gibbon warmly, and we think justly, approved of the latter part of his plan, "of its arrangement, and of the space allotted to it, as calculated, not to encumber and oppress the genuine province of history, but to variegate, enliven, and adorn." The volumes before us are divided into sixteen books; thirteen of continued narrative, and three of retrospects: in which the reader will meet with an abundant supply of materials which have escaped the notice of preceding historians, digested with care and judgment, and formed, together with their well sifted facts, into the most authentic, interesting, and satisfactory history of the period to which they relate, which has yet appeared in British literature. To the important reign of James V. our author has devoted particular attention. These volumes, in point of style and language, when compared with Mr. Pinkerton's former productions which have fallen under our notice, evince a considerable improvement in the art of composition.

"The History of the Reign of George III. King of Great Britain, &c. from the Conclusion of the Seventh Session of the Sixteenth Parliament in 1790, to the End of the Eighth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain, in 1796, by Robert Macfarlan, Esq. Vol. IV." is the continuation of a work announced by us in our Registers for the years 1782 and 1794, and on which we bestowed a considerable portion of praise, both on account of the ability with which it was conducted, and the constitutional whig principles uniformly inculcated by the author. We are sorry that we cannot pronounce a similar eulogium on the volume before us. In point of composition it is much

less correct and polished than the preceding volumes: and when we view the tenor of its sentiments and politics, with difficulty can we be persuaded that it is the production of the same pen. Instead of the cool impartial annalist, the author appears in the character of an insatiate declaimer against the French revolution, and the persons engaged in conducting it, and, as far as respects this country, a violent supporter of party politics. The present ministers and their measures he extols in terms of praise, at least bordering on adulation; while on their antagonists, and their opposition, he pours the most unqualified censure, and often in rude and vulgar terms. On the subject, likewise, of freedom in general, he writes in the tone of as nervous and impassioned an alarmist, as any of the disciples of the Burkean school.

During the present year Dr. Coote has completed "the History of England, from the earliest Dawn of Record, to the Peace of 1783," by the publication of the VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth volumes of his popular and useful work. After the notice which we have already taken of the author's plan and manner of conducting it, in our Registers for the years 1794 and 1795, we need only observe in this place, that the present volumes are equally perspicuous, correct, and dispassionate with the preceding; that the seventh volume brings down the history of England from the revolution to the death of queen Anne; and that the eighth and ninth narrate the public events, and depict the most illustrious characters who flourished under the Brunswic dynasty. This work is embellished and illustrated with a number of well executed engravings and maps.

The "Account of the Campaign
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in the West Indies, in the Year 1794, under the Command of their Excellencies Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Grey, and Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, &c. by the Rev. Cooper Willyams, A. M. late Chaplain to his Majesty's Ship *Boyne*," describes, we have every reason to believe with fidelity, and in perspicuous, if not elegant language, the spirited exertions of the British troops and sailors, who in a few months subjugated the islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Deshada, &c.; and the events that followed those unparalleled successes, and caused the loss of Guadaloupe. But the long catalogue which he presents of the officers, soldiers, and seamen, who fell in the contests, or became victims to the diseases of the climate, must check the pride which their brilliant exploits may excite in the hearts of their countrymen. And an instance which Mr. Willyams records, of the unconditional surrender of three hundred unhappy royalists, into the hands of their enemies who had been exasperated to cruelty and massacre, must create the most painful sensations in the humane breast. The drawings which accompany the author's narrative are remarkably neat, and appear to be accurate delineations of the subjects which they are intended to represent.

The treatise entitled "Facts relative to the War in the West Indies, &c." will supply the reader with no other information than what his majesty's ministers have chosen to convey in their speeches in the house of commons, and the documents they permitted to be laid on the table. It is rather a laboured and eloquent defence of their wisdom, candour, and liberality,

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than what its title would seem to import.

The anonymous author of the "History of the Campaign of 1796, in Germany and Italy," appears to have "neglected no enquiries, nor pains, to give his historical account exactness and perspicuity." His object has been to present the reader with an abstract and a combination of the materials supplied by the official documents published at London, Vienna, and Paris, and such as he was enabled to procure through the means of a constant correspondence with some distinguished military characters on the continent. The result of his labours is a regular connected narrative, drawn up in correct and neat language, and containing, on the whole, an impartial detail of the event of one of the most active and important campaigns as to its effects, that are described in the annals of the world. The author's political prejudices are by no means in favour of the French; and we think that he suffered his mind to be warped by them, when he drew the character of Moreau as a general, and that of Buonaparte as a conqueror, and as a man.

The "History, or Anecdotes of the Revolution in Russia, in the Year 1762, translated from the French of M. de Rulhière," is a very curious and interesting performance, in which the reader will meet with much original information, respecting the causes and the circumstances which concurred in bringing about that extraordinary event, and the character of those who were the principal agents in the scene. It is the work of an intelligent and accurate observer, who resided at Petersburg, in the suite of the minister plenipotentiary from

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France, at the time when the revolution took place, and who was personally acquainted with all, and intimately with most of the persons concerned in the transactions which he relates. Of its authenticity we see no reason to entertain any doubt; and the attempts which were made to suppress it, by the agents of the late empress at Paris, must operate as a strong testimony in its favour with those who may be disposed to be incredulous. On the translation, however, we cannot bestow any praise. It should seem to be the production of a foreigner, who is very imperfectly acquainted with the idiom of the English language.

The "Historical, Political, and Moral Essay on ancient and modern Revolutions, Vol. I." written in the French language, is part of a work in which the author proposes to enquire into the remote, as well as immediate causes of the different political changes which have taken place in the history of the world; the characters and views of the principal agents; the state of science, morals, &c. at each period; and to point out the resemblance between each revolution and that of France. The volume before us is employed in comparing the French revolution with the revolutions of Greece; and abounds in evidences of learning and extensive information, in novelty of remark, striking and curious parallelisms, and a number of detached discussions and dissertations on various interesting subjects. But the author will frequently be found speculative and fanciful in a very high degree; and in what he says on the subject of the progressive improvement of mankind, and the relative character of religions, to be influenced by that species of modern philosophy, and those infidel prejudices which he elsewhere reprobates and

condemns. In the prosecution of his plan, if he prove not less discursive than in the volume before us, his work will swell to an inconvenient size.

Among the articles which we enumerated in our last volume, as belonging to the literature of Switzerland, was Mr. Necker's treatise "on the French Revolution." During the present year a well executed translation of that work has appeared in our own language, in 2 volumes, which the celebrity of the author will render an acceptable present to English readers. After the notice which we have already taken of the original, it is sufficient to state concerning the volumes before us, that the first contains the history of the French revolution from the time of the preparations for the assembling the States-general, to the execution of the king; and the second, the proceedings of the national convention, and the public events till the establishment of the constitution of 1795. Greatly as M. Necker disapproves of that constitution, he considers it to be durable: and while he loses no opportunity of expressing his detestation of the new government of France, is enthusiastic in his ardour to maintain the claims of the French nation to superiority in arts, arms, letters, &c.

The "Memoirs relating to the French Revolution, by the Marquis de Bouillé, translated from the French Manuscript," constitute an interesting publication, and a valuable accession to the list of documents for future historians. They are written with an air of openness and frankness which powerfully engages the attention of the reader, and disposes him to give the author credit for the truth of the facts which he relates, even when unsupported by collateral testimony. One
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of the principal objects of M. Bouillé in publishing them was, to vindicate himself from the charges of rashness and inhumanity, in the affair of Nancy, which we, among other writers, preferred against him in our British and Foreign History for the year 1791. In the representation which we therein gave of that horrid business, we were guided by the best authorities we could then obtain, after our most sedulous and careful enquiries, and by that strict regard to truth and impartiality which has invariably characterised the conductors of the New Annual Register. M. Bouillé's Memoirs, however, give a very different account of the affair: and we must do him the justice to add, that it is supported by the most satisfactory documents. From this account it appears, that he did not wantonly imbrue his hands in the blood of his fellow-soldiers; and that the sanguinary engagement which took place before the insurgents were vanquished, was occasioned by the treachery of some of that body, and of the armed inhabitants of Nancy, after a pacific arrangement had been formed by the marquis and a deputation from the town and soldiery. But M. Bouillé's Memoirs will not exonerate him from more than the suspicion, of what plain and uncourtly minds will consider to be gross duplicity, if not perfidy. Among other passages which confirm this remark, the reader will find the following confidential declaration of the author to M. Emery, a distinguished member of the national assembly: "I am a royalist, and conform to your constitution, which I think detestable, because my sovereign has accepted it; but should he refuse any longer to acknowledge it, I likewise will withdraw my obedience from it!"

The "Private Memoirs relative to the last Year of the Reign of Lewis XVI. late King of France, by Ant. Fr. Bertrand de Moleville, Minister of State at that Time, translated from the Original Manuscript of the Author," in 3 Vols. are also entitled to distinguished notice among the materials for a history of the French revolution. After making all necessary allowances for the prejudices of the author as a royalist, and the colouring they have led him to give to particular facts and prominent characters in the scene, they will be found to contain numerous curious and interesting anecdotes, together with much original, authentic, and important information, respecting the measures adopted by the court and revolution parties, and the personal conduct and character of the unfortunate Lewis. Among the particulars of secret history which they discover, not very honourable either to the agents or their employers, are the methods pursued in order to influence the patriotic journalists, the members of the legislature, the national guards, and the audience in the galleries of the national assembly, to which the immense civil list granted to the crown was scandalously prostituted. This work is ornamented with portraits of Lewis XVI. Antoinette, the dauphin, princess Elizabeth, and madame royale, from original pictures received as presents from their late majesties.

The "Secret History of the French Revolution, from the Convocation of the Notables in 1787 to the 1st of November, 1796, &c. translated from the French of Francis Pagès," in 2 Vols. instead of presenting us with a vast number of particulars but little known, according to the pretensions in the title-page, consists chiefly of details al-

ready communicated to the world ; together with extracts from the most remarkable publications on the revolution, which have appeared in France, Germany, and England, accompanied with numerous reflections and observations of the author. These reflections and observations are lively and spirited, and frequently judicious and valuable. They expose, in animated strains, the excesses and crimes committed by the different contending factions, whether in favour of royalty or republicanism, and hold out salutary and useful lessons to legislators and statesmen. The translator has executed his task with sufficient fidelity.

In our sketch of the Foreign Literature of the year 1795, we announced the appearance of M. Garat's valuable and interesting "Memoirs concerning the Revolution." The English reader has it now in his power to become acquainted with that author's narrative, and able apology for his own conduct in the public employments which he held, by a well executed version of those memoirs, in his native language, by R. Heron.

The "Memoirs illustrating the History of Jacobinism," volumes I. and II. translated from the French of the abbé Barruel, are intended to prove, that a regularly organized system of conspiracies has long existed in Europe, for the ruin of religion, monarchy, and civil society ; that the club of the Jacobins originated in a coalition of the adepts among the respective conspirators ; and that all the events of the French revolution, even the atrocities connected with it, have sprung by a natural process, from the propagation of their principles. The first volume is entitled the Anti-christian Conspiracy, and consists of a number of extracts from the writings of

Voltaire, Frederic II. D'Alembert, Diderot, &c. ; from which no other information can be deduced than what was before sufficiently notorious, that those authors were systematic enemies to Christianity, and that they were zealous even to bigotry, artful and insidious in propagating their own infidel notions. What the abbé Barruel has advanced more than this, is almost wholly the production of a warm and irritated imagination. The second volume is entitled Anti-monarchical Conspiracy, and is divided into two parts. The first part is chiefly made up of extracts from the works of D'Argenson, Montesquieu, Rousseau, &c. with an exposition of their principles, and reflections on them ; in which the author's attachment to absolute monarchy is abundantly exemplified, and the enmity of those writers to despotism proved, but no anti-monarchical conspiracy detected. The second part of this volume is employed in shewing, that the free-masons had a considerable share in producing the French revolution. That in the numerous lodges which existed in France, there were many friends to the principles of liberty and equality we can easily believe ; and think it exceedingly probable, that, as they enjoyed no freedom of the press or of speech, they would take advantage of the nature of such institutions for the propagation of their principles, without incurring any personal risk. But not being in the number of the initiated, we can neither assent to, nor oppose, his declaration that those principles constitute the grand secret of masonry. Be that, however, as it may, we want much more evidence than the author has been pleased to afford us, before we can admit the improbable tales respecting the adepts,

epts, and their occult doctrine, which he has inserted in this part of his memoirs, or be convinced that the plot after which he is hunting, is any thing more than ideal. In the work before us, the abbé Barruel displays the same love of the wonderful, as in his History of the Clergy during the French Revolution, noticed in our Register for the year 1794, and the same horror at the men who dare to exercise the right of enquiry, or to attempt any innovations in religion or politics.

Professor Robison's treatise entitled "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies, &c." affords abundant evidence of the author's extreme political terror, excited by a very imperfect and contracted view of the causes of the French revolution; of his credulity in admitting the crude and inconsistent allegations of German and French writers, and the most suspicious authorities, if they seem in the least to favour the hypothesis which his imagination has formed; and of a want of candour and liberality, in the insinuations and calumnies thrown out by him on those who differ from his own theological and political standard, which is deserving of the severest censure. But in vain will the unprejudiced reader examine it for "proofs of a conspiracy against all the religions and governments of Europe." Were he indeed disposed to turn the tables on the author, and to adopt his latitude of suspicion and construction, he might accuse him of being leagued in a conspiracy against the liberties of mankind, and in support of corruption and political profligacy. For Mr. Robison

contends, that "we should discourage all secret assemblies which afford opportunities to the disaffected, and all conversations which foster any notions of political perfection, and create hankerings after unattainable happiness;" that "ministerial corruption, with all the dismal tale of placemen, pensioners, and rotten boroughs, &c. &c. is the inevitable consequence of the liberty and security which we enjoy;" and that "if a systematic opposition be considered as a necessary part of a practical constitution," bribery by ministers is almost indispensable.

Mr. Malham's "Naval Gazetteer, or Seaman's complete Guide, containing a full and accurate Account, alphabetically arranged, of the several Coasts of all the Countries and Islands in the known World, shewing their Latitude, Longitude, Soundings, and Stations for Anchorage, &c. &c. illustrated with a correct Set of Charts, from the latest and best Surveys," in two volumes, is executed on a more extensive plan than any preceding work of the same nature, and with more than "a tolerable degree of accuracy and correctness." It affords ample evidence of the author's industry in collecting his materials, and of his ability and judgment in combining and arranging them; and will prove an useful present not only to navigators, but to the mercantile world, and to readers in general.

The "History of Inventions and Discoveries, by John Beckmann, public Professor of Economy in the University of Gottingen, translated from the German, by William Johnston," in three volumes, is the result of arduous and extensive enquiry, and has afforded much gratification to our curiosity. at the same time that it has considerably increased

our stock of entertaining and useful knowledge. The contents of these volumes, as may be supposed, are very miscellaneous: and although they do not embrace every invention and discovery connected with science and the arts, they present the reader with a considerable variety, and many of them of importance, throwing "much light on many curious circumstances hitherto buried in oblivion," if the author has "not been able to clear up every doubt respecting the objects on which he treats." We think, however, that Mr. Beckmann's moderate title of "Collections towards a History of Inventions," would have been more appropriate than that which the translator has given to them. Mr. Johnston has performed his task with apparent fidelity and accuracy.

In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers the 1st volume of "the History of the Puritans, &c. by Daniel Neal, M. A. a new Edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, by Joshua Toulmin, A. M." now D. D. During the present year that diligent, able, and impartial editor has completed his undertaking, which consists in the whole of five volumes; in which he appears attentively and faithfully to have followed the plan which he prescribed to himself, and which we have already noticed. Besides numerous notes interspersed throughout the different volumes, abounding in information and entertainment, Dr. Toulmin has introduced into the fourth volume, well written supplements, comprising the history of the English baptists, and of the quakers, two denominations which in the last century were treated neither with equity nor humanity; and to the last volume he has added judicious and liberal reflections

on the revolution, and the act of toleration, and a number of curious papers and documents, which will be interesting to the ecclesiastical historian.

In Biography, we are presented with "Memoirs of the House of Medici, from its Origin to the Death of Francesco, the second Grand Duke of Tuscany, and of the great Men who flourished in Tuscany within that Period, from the French of Mr. Tenhove, with Notes and Observations, by Sir Richard Clayton, Bart." in two volumes. Mr. Tenhove, who was a branch of one of the most respectable families in the United Provinces, was distinguished by an early taste for classical knowledge, modern languages, and the fine arts; and, possessing an easy fortune, was rendered "capable of deriving signal advantages from his travels in Italy and Sicily, where he observed the sublime and elegant productions of nature and art, with the taste and enthusiasm of an enlightened connoisseur. The Memoirs of the House of Medici were composed at his ease—from time to time—and were printed piece-meal as they were composed. In the form he left them they have rather the aspect of interesting materials for a great work than that of a regular edifice. As he did not live to complete his design, he committed to the flames all the copies of these Memoirs, excepting those which he had distributed to his particular friends in separate parts as they came from the press." From one of those copies the translation before us took its rise. Notwithstanding that, from the circumstances above stated, these Memoirs are not so regular and complete as were desirable, they form, nevertheless, a work

a work of very considerable merit, containing a valuable treasure of historical and biographical facts, curious details and learned investigations, sound criticisms, and just reflections. And as they relate to one of the most interesting periods in the history of the arts and sciences, of letters and philosophy, the English reader will acknowledge himself greatly indebted to the translator, for presenting him with the sentiments of the original, "with fidelity and freedom." Mr. Tenhove's text consisted of twenty-six books, which have been judiciously thrown by Sir Richard Clayton into thirteen chapters, on the plan of Mr. Roscoe's valuable *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*. Of the multifarious contents of these chapters, which comprise the annals of more than three hundred years, it is not possible to convey any adequate idea within the limits to which we are necessarily confined. We can assure the reader, however, that they will supply him with much information and entertainment, not only on the subjects expressed in the title-page, but on numerous incidental, or collateral topics: particularly those of the revival of literature in Florence; the account of the Greek exiles, who took refuge in Italy after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks; the genius and taste of the ancient Etruscans; the origin of the reformation; the progress of architecture, painting and poetry in Italy; and the memoirs of Catherine de' Medici, with a sketch of her character.

Mr. Noble's "*Memoirs of the illustrious House of Medici, from Giovanni, the Founder of their greatness, who died in the Year 1428, to the Death of Giovanni Gaston, the last Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1727, illustrated with*

several Genealogical Tables," appear, chiefly, to have been compiled from the literary productions of English travellers; not without occasional aid derived from foreign historians, and the perusal of some manuscripts. As far as they relate to the genealogical and medallic history of that house, they contain interesting, and we believe accurate information; but as a history of character and manners, and of the progress of civilization, literature, and science in the period which they comprehend, we cannot pronounce them entitled to any high share of commendation. Of Mr. Noble's style and language our readers may form a judgment from his *life of pope Leo X. inserted among our Biographical Anecdotes and Characters*.

"*The Life of Bianca Capello, Wife of Francesco de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, translated from the German Original of J. P. Siebenkees, by C. Ludger,*" is a plain and unadorned narrative of the facts relating to that extraordinary woman, which the author was able to collect during his residence at Venice, from the archives of that city, and afterwards at Florence, from the interesting and authentic documents of the grand ducal library. It displays great industry of research, and uniform impartiality, and most probably comprises as much truth as can now be obtained respecting the character and conduct of Bianca. Mr. Siebenkees differs from Mr. Noble in many material circumstances; concerning which the public must form their judgment by a comparison of the arguments and authorities of the respective biographers.

The "*Account of the Life of Muley Leizit, late Emperor of Morocco, written by a Spanish Agent*

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at the Moorish Court, &c. translated from the original French, by Robert Heron," contains apparently authentic annals of a detestable and sanguinary monster, by an eye witness of his atrocities, and an instigator of the meritorious conspiracy which led to his destruction. To his translation Mr. Heron has added a short review, compiled from D'Herbelot and other authors, of the Moorish history, from the earliest times to the accession of Muley Leizit; and a philosophical enquiry into the causes which have hitherto retarded the civilization of the Moors. The latter is defective in the excellence of accurate and proper discrimination.

The "Anecdotes of the House of Bedford, from the Norman Conquest to the present Period," compose a work on which the author cannot found any very legitimate claims to the character of an interesting and elegant biographer. Excepting the very early period to which the family of Russell is attempted to be traced, it contains little that will be new to those who are tolerably versed in the history of England, and in the peerages of Collins or Edmonson. The style and language, likewise, in which it is written, seldom rise above the animation of dry genealogical detail.

The "Memoirs of the Life of Simon Lord Lovat, written by Himself, in the French Language, and now first translated from the original Manuscript," contain a curious, although too circumstantial detail of facts, interesting to the British historian, of the authenticity of which, notwithstanding the bad fame of the author, we see no ground to entertain reasonable doubt. They extend from the year 1694 to July 1715, and are divid-

ed into two parts. The first part is employed chiefly in a narrative of the author's quarrel with the family of Athol, and a defence of his character against the charge of having committed a rape on his aunt, which was made the ground of his outlawry; but presents the reader, collaterally, with an interesting account of the state and manners of the Scottish clans towards the conclusion of the last century. In the second part Lord Lovat explains the transactions of Great Britain and France, in relation to the exiled Stuart family, and describes "the unexampled persecution employed against him by the court of St. Germans, for the space of twelve years, after he had abandoned his estates and his clan as a prey to his enemies, to go into France, to tender his services to that unfortunate court." In this part, many of the weak intrigues of the exiles are disclosed, and the slender foundations on which they frequently built the most sanguine hopes of restoration; but the greater portion of it is employed in describing incidents personal to the author.

"The Life of William, late Earl of Mansfield, by John Holliday, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq." although a laborious performance, and accurate, as far as respects the facts and anecdotes which the author has collected, is a very inadequate tribute of respect to the memory of that celebrated character. It is but justice to acknowledge, that this is in some measure to be attributed to the want of materials for a complete life of the earl, occasioned by the destruction of his lordship's manuscripts in the year 1780. From the documents which Mr. Holliday was enabled to obtain, he did not conceive himself warrantable in aiming at more than a delineation of Lord Mansfield's character in his judicial capacity,

capacity, and in private life. But in these views his performance is far from being so satisfactory as could have been wished; and is rather to be characterised as an assemblage of particulars, which may afford useful assistance to future biographers, than a regular biographical production. Among our selections under the head of Biographical Anecdotes and Characters, we have presented our readers with the most interesting of these particulars. Of illustrative remarks and comments the life before us is exceedingly barren. It is divided into three parts. The first contains an account of the pedigree, birth, education, private life, and professional progress of lord Mansfield, to the time of his appointment to the office of lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench. The following divisions present the reader with an historical series of important decisions of lord Mansfield in his judicial capacity, useful to tyros at the bar, and students looking up to it; and farther particulars of his private life. The panegyrics which Mr. Holliday bestows on the late lord chief justice, occasionally favour of adulation, even to fulsomeness.

The "Memoirs of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, or an impartial Review of his private Life, his public Conduct, his Speeches in Parliament, and the different Productions of his Pen, &c. by Charles M'Cormick, L. L. B." are written with ability and spirit, and will supply general readers with much interesting information respecting the public character of that extraordinary genius, and the various political movements of the present reign, in which he sustained a distinguished figure. The author is also entitled to the praise of impar-

tiality. For while he bestows due encomiums on the talents with which Mr. Burke was endowed, his industry and eagerness in literary pursuits, and his unrivalled exertions in the cause of liberty and human happiness; he, likewise, freely censures his failings, and reprobates with becoming warmth, that apostacy of his old age from the principles which first brought him into notice, by which he blasted all the honours of his former life. But Mr. M'Cormick's Memoirs are defective in information respecting the earlier years of Mr. Burke, the mode of study which formed his mind, and those peculiarities in his disposition and character, which could not easily be obtained without a personal acquaintance and intimacy. With respect to the information furnished from the private papers and letters which the author states to be in his possession, we must be allowed to entertain some degree of scepticism, till we are supplied with more satisfactory evidence of their authenticity.

The three volumes of "Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes, of several of the most eminent Persons of the present Age, &c. by the Author of Anecdotes of the late Earl of Chatham," abound in interesting information respecting the most distinguished political characters, and the management of state affairs in this country during the present reign; which cannot fail of affording entertainment to the reader, as well as much valuable assistance to future historians. The editor, who is sufficiently known, notwithstanding that he has not chosen to authenticate these anecdotes by his own name, states in his preface, and we believe, with great fairness, "that he

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is not conscious of having advanced a single untruth; that very few of these anecdotes have been printed before; and that it has been his wish and care, to avoid whatever is to be found in other books, except in two or three instances, where he has been under the necessity of correcting the facts." Among the other characters exhibited in the first and second volumes, are the dukes of Grafton, Leeds, and Rutland, earls Mansfield, Camden, and Temple, lord George Germain, the present bishops of Hereford and Ossory, messrs. George Grenville, Thomas Whately, David Hartley, Josiah Wedgwood, Benjamin Franklin, and the Burkes. The third volume is devoted to an appendix, consisting of a variety of curious political papers, and historical documents, some of which are original, others explanatory of passages in the work, and all of them now so extremely scarce, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to procure them through any other channel.

The Supplement to the four volumes of "Anecdotes of some distinguished Persons, chiefly of the present and two preceding Centuries," which terminates that amusing and instructive work, will prove productive of at least equal reputation to the compiler with the preceding volumes, and meet with equal approbation from the public. One deviation only from the original plan occurs in it, the introduction of a living character, that of the present venerable dean of Gloucester.

The "Remarks on Boswell's Life of Johnson, &c. by Edward Athenry Whyte," contain a satisfactory defence of the late Mr. Thomas Sheridan, the tragedian and rhetorician, against the strictures on his character and conduct introduced into that

work, and some anecdotes and original papers, which will prove acceptable to biographical writers.

Mr. Harwood's "*Alumni Etonenses, or a Catalogue of the Provosts and Fellows of Eton College, and King's College, Cambridge, from the Foundation in 1443, to the Year 1797, &c.*" besides a long list of names copied, with few variations, from Mr. Pote's edition, presents us with short accounts of the most eminent members of those institutions, selected from different manuscripts, as well as from the works of Fuller, Strype, Wood, Walton, Walker, Bayle, Lloyd, Le Neve, Ward, Granger, the general Dictionary, the *Biographia Britannica*, and other authentic sources. Many of these biographical notices will prove interesting to other readers besides those who, like the author, received their early education within those celebrated walls; but we cannot pronounce them, in general, to be well written and pleasing compositions.

"The Life of J. G. Zimmermann, Counsellor of State, and first Physician to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, at Hanover, &c. translated from the French of S. A. D. Tissot, M. D. &c." is an interesting piece of biography, the subject and author of which have both sustained a very respectable rank among professional and literary men on the continent. Dr. Tissot, from a long intimacy of friendship, and confidential correspondence with Dr. Zimmermann, had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the incidents of his life, which no other person possessed. Of these he has given us a pleasing and animated detail in the work before us, accompanied with reflections which do honour to the head and heart of the writer.

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haps his partiality for his friend has led him to speak with too much tenderness of some of his failings, and even to adopt some of his prejudices. We advert particularly to the effects of Dr. Zimmermann's religious and political irritability, which embittered the last years of his life, and to which he ultimately fell a sacrifice. Our readers may learn to what unjustifiable lengths this temper carried him, in the particulars of his life which are inserted in the present volume.

The "biographical Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic, and of other eminent Characters who have distinguished themselves in the Progress of the Revolution," are stated by the editor to be built "not on vague rumour, but upon direct information from persons intimately conversant with the facts, and well acquainted with the characters, which are the subject" of them. And we must acknowledge, that they carry in them strong internal marks of authenticity, and also of impartiality. They are written in a pleasing and animated style, and contain much interesting and amusing matter, which has not appeared before the public in any other form, accompanied with judicious and temperate moral and political reflections, occasioned by the extraordinary events which they relate. Prefixed to these anecdotes is an useful chart of the proscriptions of parties in France, from that of the Brissotins in June, 1793, to that of the royalists in September, 1797.

The work entitled "Iconographia Scotica, or Portraits of illustrious Persons of Scotland, engraved from the most authentic Paintings, &c. with short Biographical Notices, by John Pinkerton," published in numbers, is principally valuable

on account of the curious collection which it offers of elegant engravings from ancient portraits, seals, &c. many of which are entitled to distinguished rank in this department of the graphic art. The numbers already delivered to the public contain sixty-three plates, accompanied with fifty-six pages of letter-press.

Among the publications of the year belonging to the head of Antiquities and Topography, we meet with "a Letter to Jacob Bryant, Esq. concerning his Dissertation on the War of Troy, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." In our last volume we introduced Mr. Bryant's dissertation to our readers, and intimated our apprehension of the tendency of his hypothesis, on the supposition of its establishment, to overturn the foundations of historical testimony, and to weaken the evidences of divine revelation. Mr. Wakefield appears to have viewed it in the same light, and to have been induced by the impression which such an apprehension created, to engage in this reply. The substance of his argument is included in the following propositions: "that no leading point of history, of various connexions, abundant attestation, and general belief from a remote antiquity contiguous to its achievement, can be disproved or discredited, by the disagreements and inconsistencies of writers, relative to concomitant circumstances of subordinate consideration, and much less by the vague and arbitrary conjectures of ingenious disputants in distant ages:" and that "it cannot be invalidated by arguments derived from poetic fable; which takes a striking event merely as a groundwork, and has always been indulged in a superinduction of adventitious

titious embellishments, either resulting from an exaggeration and modification of received truths, or from an absolute invention of imaginary circumstances." In elucidating these propositions, and applying them to Mr. Bryant's objections against the commonly-received doctrine of the reality of the Trojan war, Mr. Wakefield displays his usual erudition, acuteness, and critical skill, and, in our judgment, satisfactorily answers the reasonings of his learned and respectable antagonist.

Mr. Maurice's sixth volume of "Indian Antiquities, &c." was intended to complete that work, the preceding parts of which have been announced by us in our Registers for the Years 1793 and 1794. The introduction, however, "at the earnest request of numerous subscribers, of a new and important subject, the ancient commerce of Hindostan, without which it must have been imperfect to gentlemen connected with India, necessarily occasions its extension to a seventh volume." The volume before us consists of two dissertations; one, on the origin of the Druids, and the striking affinity which their religious rites bore to those of the Brahmins; the other, on the commerce carried on, in very remote ages, by the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks, with the British Islands, &c. Admitting that the author is still sometimes too fanciful, and too poetical, and that his various matter might have been advantageously compressed, most English readers may derive much information and entertainment from his present labours. They may therein find many ingenious and plausible, if not convincing arguments to prove, that the great outlines of the Brahmin creed of faith was formed

by a colony of priests in the great school of Babylon; that those priests spread themselves widely, not only across the Indus, but through the northern regions of Asia, even to Siberia itself; and that gradually mingling with the great body of the Celtic tribes, who pursued their journey to the extremity of Europe, they finally established the Druid, that is the Brahmin system of superstition, in ancient Britain. The particulars, likewise, included under Mr. Maurice's second dissertation, relative to the commerce carried on in remote ages with our own country, and the ancient commerce of Egypt, Persia, and India, will be found highly interesting. This volume is illustrated with five neatly-executed engravings, representing a piece of ancient sculpture from the cavern of Elephanta, the most ancient pagodas of Deogur, two perspective views of Stonehenge, and coins and an altar bearing symbols of the Phœnician rites.

Mr. Lumisden's "Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome and its Environs, being a classical and topographical Survey of the Ruins of that celebrated City, illustrated with Engravings," will prove an acceptable present to readers in general, and more particularly to those who have had the opportunity of visiting that metropolis of the ancient world. They are the result of diligent and accurate investigation, during a long residence at Rome; in which the author enjoyed the advantage of having access to the choicest writers who have treated on its inexhaustible curiosities, as well as the most learned and best informed *Ciceroni*, and of repeatedly comparing their opinions and observations with the remains themselves, and the scenes in which they are to be traced. Mr. Lumisden appears to have engaged

gaged in this task with his mind well stored with historical and classical knowledge, with a sufficiency of science, and a genuine love of *virtù*. After presenting the reader with a sketch of the history of Rome, the origin and progress of her architecture, as peculiar, and as borrowed from the Grecians, &c. he carries him to the gates of the city, and the most remarkable antiquities which appear on the roads leading from them; whence he conducts him to the seven hills within the walls, and to the remains of the temples, baths, aqueducts, and other public buildings, of which he gives a minute account, accompanied with interesting dissertations, remarks, and anecdotes. To the body of his work he has added an appendix consisting of six letters, describing the Nasonian Sepulchre, Tivoli, the Villa of Hadrian, and including remarks on Præneste, Albano, and Herculaneum. The illustrative plates are few, but well executed.

The "Account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester, near Minching-Hampton, in the County of Gloucester, by Samuel Lysons, F. R. S. and A. S. folio, with Forty-four Plates," is a highly elegant and splendid work, the chief value of which consists in the accuracy and excellence of the numerous engravings, from views and plans made by the author. The subjects of them, besides a map of the Roman stations, roads, and buildings within fifteen miles of Woodchester, are views of that village and the adjacent country; plans of the Roman buildings discovered at Woodchester; Mosaic pavements, which are not equalled in point of extent or beauty by any in Europe, if we except those discovered at Otricoli in Italy, and

now in the museum of the Vatican; plans and sections of the flues and hypocausts for warming the different apartments; a view and plans of a sweating room; and fragments of columns, statues, stucco, pottery, and various utensils. Mr. Lysons' descriptive account, which is given in French as well as English, is little more than explanatory of the plates; but it is accompanied with notes, abounding in classical illustrations, which convey desirable information on the subject of Roman architecture.

The "Illustration of Roman Antiquities at Bath, by the Reverend Richard Warner," has been published under the auspices of the corporation of that city, and reflects credit on them for having extended their patronage to such a laudable undertaking. Mr. Warner is known to be a zealous and well-informed antiquary; and in the work before us he has exercised his talents, in general, with his usual judgment and skill. After rejecting the hypothesis that a flourishing city had been erected by the Britons on the same spot, he presents his readers with a sketch of the Roman history of Bath, from its origin, which he dates in the period of Vespasian's conquests; and with descriptions of remains of monumental stones, altars, bas-reliefs, and statues, illustrated with wooden cuts. In particular instances Mr. Warner opposes the judgment of Governor Pownall, in his "Descriptions and Explanations of some Remains of Roman Antiquities, &c." noticed in our Register for the Year 1795; but not without, sometimes at least, assigning valid reasons for his difference of opinion.

In our last year's Register we announced the appearance of the first

first volume of Mr. Hutchinson's "History of the County of Cumberland, and some Places adjacent, from the earliest Accounts to the present Times." We have now to inform our readers that the second volume of that work has been completed, consisting, like the former, of two parts, published at different periods, and abounding in much useful information, and in much amusement. Mr. Hutchinson has received contributions from various gentlemen, on the subjects of antiquities, biography, agriculture, and natural history, which he has communicated, in general, in their own language. This circumstance has rendered the composition of this History of Cumberland very unequal and uncouth; and it is besides marked by frequent negligencies and inaccuracies, which should not have been suffered to escape correction.

The publication of "the History of Devonshire, in 3 Vols. folio, by the Rev. Richard Polwhele," commenced sometime ago with the appearance of the second volume, which has but very lately fallen under our inspection. Singular as such an inverted order may appear, it is not of sufficient importance to make us very inquisitive after the author's reasons for it. In his preface Mr. Polwhele informs us, that the more curious and striking particulars that are usually interwoven in the general texture of county histories, the more interesting accounts in antiquities or history, &c. are reserved for the first volume; that the work before us consists of nothing more than a chorographical description or parochial survey of the county of Devon, which will doubtless be considered as vapid and dead, by those who have no relish for topographical delineations, for accounts of

landed property, for genealogical memoirs, or for descriptions of parish churches. Although we are not disposed to pronounce quite so harsh a judgment on this part of our author's labours, yet we are not persuaded that the method which he has adopted was the most likely to create favourable impressions, even in their minds who comprehend the design of *the whole work*. The plan which he has followed of confining himself to dry chorography through the whole of the volume before us, we apprehend will have the effect of rendering it heavy and tiresome, and on those accounts less instructive, and certainly less pleasant, than the mode usually pursued by county-historians. Mr. Polwhele, however, will not be wanting in defenders of the method which he has chosen; and he appears to have been confirmed in his sentiments respecting its propriety, by many whose judgment he reveres. In executing his plan he has followed the ecclesiastical divisions of the county, commencing with the archdeaconry of Exeter; which, subdivided into its deanries, occupies the whole of the present volume. The order in which these deanries are introduced, after a short account is given of Exeter, its churches, and its neighbourhood, is the following: Cadbury, Dunsford, Kenne, Aylesbeare, Plymtree, Honiton, Dunkeswell, and Tiverton. On Mr. Polwhele's accuracy as a chorographer, we must leave others to decide who are better acquainted than ourselves with the county of Devon. Where his readers "mark deficiencies, they will be aware that chasms are often owing to papers promised, but withheld; where they detect errors, they will consider the negligence of correspondents, whose seeming zeal, or ingenuity, too frequently

quently precludes every suspicion of mistake."

During the present year a part of "Vol. I." of Mr. Polwhele's history has been published, which is to be followed by succeeding portions till the plan of the author is completed. The pages of which this part is composed contain a sketch of the natural history of Devonshire, and the history of that county during the British period, from the first settlements in Danmonium, to the arrival of Julius Cæsar, fifty-five years before Christ. The sketch of the natural history of Devonshire, which is divided into ten chapters, we have found instructive and entertaining, as well as many of the notes, chiefly furnished by Mr. Polwhele's correspondents, or selected from MSS. with which he has been favoured. The history of the county during the British period is composed from his volume of "Historical Views of Devonshire," noticed in our Register for the Year 1793, and is divided into eleven sections, forming the first chapter of the great body of the author's work. This history contains an account of the settlements, divisions of land, governments, religion, civil, military, and religious architecture, pasturage and agriculture, mining, manufactures, commerce, language and learning, persons and population, character, manners and usages of the Danmonians. In this department of his labours, more particularly under the articles civil, military, and religious architecture, and commerce, Mr. Polwhele must be allowed, even by those who may not concur with him in many of his opinions and deductions, to display much industry of research, and ingenuity of remark, and to offer a variety of curious particulars which merit the

favourable attention of the public.

The fourth volume of Mr. Lysons's "Eavirons of London, being an historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, within twelve Miles of the Capital," completes that useful and entertaining work, the nature and general merits of which we have sufficiently explained in our Registers for the years 1792 and 1795. The present volume is confined to the counties of Herts, Essex, and Kent; and at the end of the parochial accounts contains a very curious general view of the former and present state of market-gardens, and of the quantity of land now occupied for that purpose round the metropolis. To the whole work Mr. Lysons has added a general appendix of additions and corrections.

Mr. Langley, in his "History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough, and Deanry of Wycombe, in Buckinghamshire, including the Borough Towns of Wycomb and Marlow, and sixteen Parishes," appears to have made the most of his scanty materials, which he collected, among other sources, from the MSS. of Mr. Browne Willis, in the Bodleian library, and from "the evidences which the Tower, the British Museum, and the Registry of Lincoln afford." But the district which he has undertaken to describe, will be found to contain little that is attractive to those who have no local interest in it. The picturesque scenery, indeed, we must except from this remark; in the description of which Mr. Langley's pen has been most advantageously employed, for his own credit as a writer, and for the entertainment of his readers. The descents of ancient families, armorial ensigns, the successive patrons
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and incumbents of the respective benefices, and sepulchral notices, occupy their due portion of the volume.

Mr. Brewster's "parochial History and Antiquities of Stockton-upon-Tees, including an Account of the Trade of the Town, the Navigation of the River, and of such parts of the Neighbourhood as have been connected with that Place," is written in a series of letters; and contains as much information relative to the civil, military, and commercial state of Stockton from the earliest times, and to the present manners of its inhabitants, as the author's diligent enquiries and personal observation enabled him to collect. It comprizes, likewise, biographical notices of some of the most distinguished inhabitants, or natives of that town. But we cannot assign it a respectable rank among the productions in British topography.

The "History or Description, general and circumstantial, of Burghley House, the Seat of the Right Honourable the Earl of Exeter," if we are to take its character from the anonymous author, is "a more neat, elegant, and extensive description of the palace of Burghley than any that has ever appeared, arranged in a more polished and methodical manner; &c. &c." But although we cannot adopt his critique on his own performance, and found ourselves frequently disgusted by his affectation in sentiment and language, we can recommend it as an useful companion to those who may visit that noble mansion.

Mr. Green's "Account of the Discovery of the Body of King John, in the Cathedral Church of Worcester, 17th of July, 1797," is published as a supplement to the author's investigations concerning that monarch's tomb, in his "His-

tory and Antiquities of Worcester, noticed in our last volume, and describes the particulars of the relics found under a cenotaph erected in the choir of the cathedral. They appear to indicate the identical remains of king John; and they afford scope for antiquarian curiosity to ascertain, whose body "may have been admitted to the possession of the royal grave."

Mr. Roots's "Charters of the Town of Kingston-upon-Thames, translated into English, with occasional Notes," may prove acceptable to the inhabitants of that town, but cannot be supposed adapted to excite much interest beyond its boundaries. In his preface Mr. Roots makes it appear probable, that Kingston lost its privilege of sending members to parliament in consequence of the sheriff's discontinuing to issue the precepts for election, and not in consequence of a petition from the inhabitants that they might be released from the burthen, as stated in Mr. Lysons' "Environs of London."

Mr. Croft's "Excerpta Antiqua," contain some selections from original papers which will amuse the curious antiquary, notwithstanding that they do not convey any useful or important information. A considerable number of the author's pages is employed in detailing the depositions of the queen dowager, lords, ladies, and others, taken before James II. and his council, respecting the birth of the nominal prince of Wales, afterwards called the Pretender.

In our last year's Register we laid before our readers an account of a most impudent literary fraud, which was attempted to be practised on the public, respecting legal instruments and MSS. which it was pretended had belonged to Shakspeare; as well as of the controversy which

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issued in its complete detection, and was followed by a public confession of criminality from one of the parties concerned. During the present year, "an Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare-Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk-street," hath appeared in a volume consisting of more than six hundred closely printed octavo pages. It should seem that the author was one of the dupes to the imposture; who, feeling his pride mortified by the severe censures of Mr. Malone, which he conceived to be aimed at the deceived as well as the deceivers, notwithstanding that he acknowledges the cheat to have been exploded, has yet undertaken to shew, that the believers in the genuineness of the Shakspeare MSS. "were influenced by reasonings which will not soon be confuted." The method which the author has adopted is that of a continued commentary on the 'Enquiry' of Mr. Malone; in which the reader will meet with genuine antiquarian literature, and curious facts relative to the orthography, language, manners, dramatic history, and biography of the Shakspearean age, united to an abundant proportion of pedantry, affectation, and ill-humour. The author certainly has convicted Mr. Malone of some mistakes in his assertions and criticisms, but not of such as affect the force of his general arguments, and triumphant conclusion. The "reasonings which will not soon be confuted," which produced in our author and his credulous friends a temporary conviction of the genuineness of the Norfolk-street papers, we have not been able to discover in our perusal of the volume before us.

At the head of our list of Travels and Voyages, published during the year 1797, we must place "an

1797.

authentic Account of the Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; including cursory Observations made, and Information obtained, in travelling through that ancient Empire, and a small part of Chinese Tartary, together with a Relation of the Voyage undertaken on the Occasion, &c. by Sir George Staunton, Bart. &c. his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy to the Emperor of China, and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Absence of the Ambassador," in two volumes, quarto, with a folio volume of plates. This account is drawn up from the papers of the earl of Macartney, his majesty's ambassador, the communications of sir Erasmus Gower, commander of the expedition, and of other gentlemen in the several departments of the embassy, and from the author's personal enquiries and observations during his official transactions, his intimate private intercourse with mandarins of distinguished rank in the court of China, and his progress from the northern to the southern limits of that extensive empire. In the first volume, after an explanation is given of the occasion of the embassy, and the preparations for conducting it, the reader is presented with a description of the voyage from England, by Madeira and the Canary Islands, and across the Atlantic, to Rio de Janeiro; from thence through the southern part of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, the Straits of Sunda, and Banka, to Turon Bay in Cochin China; and from Turon Bay to the Chusan Islands, on the eastern coast of China, and through the Yellow Sea to the Pei-ho River, where the embassy embarked on board large covered barges, to be conveyed by inland navigation to Pekin. Among the particulars detailed in this volume, much will be found to gratify

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curiosity; although we cannot avoid observing, that it might have been advantageously compressed into a narrower compass. In the second volume, which is by far the most interesting, from the novelty and importance of the subjects which it embraces, we have an account of the gradual progress of the embassy to Pekin, and of the transactions there; of the journey through the famous Chinese wall to Zhe-hol, in Tartary, the summer residence of his imperial majesty; of the reception of the ambassador; of the ceremonies and manners of the Chinese court; of the negotiations with the imperial ministers; of the return of the embassy from Zhe-hol to Canton and Macao, chiefly by canals, and through nearly twenty degrees of latitude; and of the voyage from Macao to Europe. This account is interspersed with subsidiary narratives, and a variety of interesting information relative to the government, population, manners, natural history, agriculture, arts, manufactures, police, and literature of the greatest and most singular empire in the world, between which and the rest of the civilized nations of the earth, but a very imperfect communication has hitherto been permitted to be maintained. More information respecting the religious ceremonies and philosophical opinions of the Chinese would have been acceptable; but, probably, their characteristic jealousy of foreigners prevented our travellers from obtaining it. These volumes bear throughout the marks of accuracy and veracity. Their style is, in general, sufficiently perspicuous; but frequently stiff and formal, and occasionally debased by negligencies and vulgarisms. The maps and views which accompany this work are numerous, and many

of the latter elegant and beautiful. Since the publication of this quarto edition, a smaller one has appeared, in three volumes, octavo, without the plates, excepting a chart of the voyage from England to the gulph of Pekin, including also the limits of the Chinese dominions as extended by the conquests of the present emperor, and maps of the route of the embassy from Zhe-hol to Canton.

“Constantinople ancient and modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago, and to the Troad, by James Dallaway, M. B. F. S. A. late Chaplain and Physician to the British Embassy to the Porte,” is a work abounding in that variety of information, entertainment, and antiquarian discussion, which renders it a valuable addition to our collections of modern travels. The whole work is divided into twenty-six sections, of which nine are employed on a description of the metropolis of the Turkish empire, with its suburbs, its population, public buildings, government, police, commerce, state of society, and manners, &c.; which appears to be the result of sedulous enquiry and attentive observation, and will afford pleasure to those readers who are not unacquainted with the representations of former tourists. The remaining sections present us with accounts of different excursions into the neighbourhood of Constantinople; along the romantic shores of the Bosphorus; the coasts of Anatolia, and the Ægean sea, including the islands of Samos, Chio, Mitylene, and Tenedos; through the far famed, but now desolate regions of the Troad; and other interesting parts of Asia Minor. The object of Mr Dallaway and his friends in these excursions was, to obtain “accurate information

information of the present state of those ruins which were once the pride of classic antiquity, and to inspect those scenes once dignified by the residence of the most enlightened of their day." This information is accompanied with historical details, relative to the principal cities which were visited by our traveller; illustrations of the manner and customs of the modern Greeks; a sketch of the doctrines and rites of the Greek church; and philological remarks on the modern Greek and Turkish languages. That Mr. Dallaway's style and language are occasionally liable to objection, but in general perspicuous and pleasing, our readers will perceive from the specimens under different heads of our selections.

In our sketch of the Foreign Literature of the year 1795, we announced the appearance of "Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily, by Frederic Leopold Count Stolberg." During the present year Mr. Holcroft has published a faithful and elegant English translation of them, in two volumes, 4to. illustrated with numerous well executed plates, particularly of the church of St. Peter, the Campo Vaccino, anciently the Forum Romanum, the Colosseum, and the Pantheon. Count Stolberg's narrative is drawn up in the epistolary form, and exhibits him in the various characters of naturalist, poet, philosopher, statistical writer, historian, antiquary, and amateur. It proves him "to be a man of taste, of learning, and of observation, and intimately acquainted with men and manners." His first letter is dated from a village near Dusseldorf; whence he proceeded, by the common route, to the sublime scenes of Switzerland, to the beauties of Genoa, the Milanese, and northern

Italy, and to Florence. After visiting the famous gallery of Florence, the count successively examined the curiosities of Rome, which engaged much of his attention; of Naples and its vicinity; of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily: the latter of which have engrossed a considerable part of his second volume. In his return from those scenes the author passed through the Bolognese, Venice, the circle of Austria, Vienna, and Prague to Dresden, where his tour ended. From the vast mass of materials which he has accumulated, readers of all descriptions may derive much information and amusement; and they will be grateful to the translator for having so ably executed his laborious task, and for his very useful index, pointing out the miscellaneous facts which these travels produce, "individually and collectively, to the farmer, the philosopher, the antiquary, the artist, the connoisseur, and the botanist."

Dr. Townson's "Travels in Hungary, with a short Account of Vienna in the Year 1793," are rendered valuable and interesting, from the comparative novelty to English readers of the scenes and objects which they describe, and the opportunities which he enjoyed for acquiring accurate and extensive information. The volume is divided into nineteen chapters. The first chapter contains a short account of the learned institutions, cabinets, libraries, and literary societies at Vienna, the amusements of the inhabitants, and the grand imperial hot-houses at Schoenburn, where "the rarest palms and shrubs peculiar to the tropics, grow in their native pride." The rest of the volume is devoted to the author's excursions through Lower and Upper Hungary, and across the Carpathian

mountains to the Polish salt-mines, and the city of Cracow; and presents us with many curious communications relative to the constitution and government of Hungary; the innovations attempted to be introduced by Joseph II; the character, manners, and diversions of the inhabitants; the productions of the country; and the incidents which beset the author in traversing its mountainous districts. Dr. Townson's view of the political and statistical situation of Hungary, and his mineralogical, botanical, and entomological disquisitions are particularly important. These travels are embellished by sixteen well executed plates, and a valuable map, exhibiting a view of all the principal natural and artificial productions of the country, and the different inhabitants; the latter, together with the *petrography* distinguished by colours, and the former by signs. The style in which they are written is, in general, easy and correct; and for occasional inaccuracies of language the author may fairly be allowed to plead an absence for eight years from his native country. We cannot take leave of this volume, however, without protesting against the indelicate and licentious descriptions in which the author has too frequently indulged, and the illiberal tendency of some of his political reflections and remarks.

Mr. Southey's "Letters written during a short Residence in Spain and Portugal, &c." contain interesting information relative to the present condition of those countries, and the manners of the inhabitants, peculiarly useful for travellers the same way; and interspersed with lively and curious tales and anecdotes. They breathe throughout a liberal manly spirit, and expose, in proper terms of detestation and disgust, the complicated

evils of despotism and superstition, which spread want and wretchedness over some of the most charming and fertile scenes in Europe. Among the letters written in Portugal, the reader will meet with a valuable memorial on the state of that country, and suggesting plans for its improvement, written by an enlightened Portuguese secretary of state about the year 1740. But Mr. Southey appears as frequently in the character of a literary traveller, as in that of an observer of men and manners. And "as the cat will always after kind," he has paid particular attention to the poetical productions of the countries through which he passed. Of these he has inserted many translations and imitations; together with an essay on the poetry of Spain and Portugal, an analysis of a curious Portuguese epic poem written on the marriage of Charles II. of England with the princess Catharine, and some pleasing original pieces of poetry.

The "Voyage to St. Domingo, in the Years 1788, 1789, and 1790, by Francis Alexander Stanislau, Baron de Wimpffen, translated from the Original Manuscript which has never been published, by J. Wright," is written in a pleasing animated style, and is recommended by the humane and liberal sentiments in which it abounds, as well as the valuable information collected by the author respecting the then actual state of the island, and the condition of the different classes of slaves. The baron, with proper feeling and indignation, reprobates the infamous traffic maintained on the coast of Africa; and while contending that the West India islands might be cultivated without the assistance of Negroes, shews that the plantations of St. Domingo were originally conducted by "men who let themselves to the planters for a term

term of three years; and that there are some small divisions of the old grants, yet cultivated by whites, who live on them in a state of decent competence." Some anecdotes which occur in this work, will serve to illustrate the causes of the horrors, which since the author's visit have taken place in that unhappy island.

The "Travels in North America by M. Crespel, with a Narrative of his Shipwreck, and extraordinary Hardships and Sufferings on the Island of Anticosti, &c." is principally a translation of a little work published many years ago in France, describing the particulars of an expedition, by order of the French government of Quebec, against the Outagamies, or Fox Indians, in which the author engaged in the capacity of chaplain; and interesting scenes of extreme distress, in which he and his fellow voyagers were involved in their passage homewards. The recent shipwreck of the Active frigate, with Lord Dorchester on board, on the island of Anticosti, suggested to the editor the idea, that M. Crespel's account of a spot, but little known excepting to navigators up the river St. Lawrence, might not prove unacceptable to the public.

The "Descriptive Sketch of the present State of Vermont, one of the United States of America, by J. A. Graham, L. L. D. late Lieutenant Colonel in the Service of the above States," is written in the epistolary form, and will furnish the English reader with desirable information respecting the geography, natural history, climate, population, constitution, and manners of that division of the grand transatlantic republic. While perusing it, however, he must make no small allowances for the author's partiality in

favour of his own country, its inhabitants, and productions.

The "Sketches and Observations made on a Tour through various parts of Europe, in the Years 1792, 1793, and 1794," are the production of a lively and good-humoured traveller, which, if they do not add much to the information communicated by preceding tourists, present us with judicious, candid, and entertaining reflections on men and manners in the countries through which he passed, and numerous amusing and interesting anecdotes. The principal cities in the United Provinces, Flanders, Germany, and Italy were successively visited by him, and are described, with their most striking singularities, and those of their neighbouring regions, in a manner that will keep up the attention of the reader. From Italy the author proceeded by sea to Gibraltar; whence he travelled, chiefly by land, to Cadiz and Lisbon, where his observations were brought to a conclusion.

The "Journal of a Tour through North Wales and part of Shropshire, with Observations in Mineralogy, and other Branches of Natural History, by Arthur Aikin," is written in a correct, unaffected and pleasing style, and offers to the public not only various entertainment, but useful and valuable information. Mr. Aikin engaged in this tour, partly with the design of viewing and describing those scenes of beauty and grandeur, which are scattered so profusely through North Wales; and partly for the improvement of his acquaintance with nature in the mineral and vegetable kingdoms. His delineations of the characteristic features of Welch landscape, are drawn with taste and judgment, and will afford much pleasure to the lovers of picturesque

description. To scientific readers his mineralogical and botanical researches, and geological observations will be particularly acceptable, and supply them with curious and interesting matter. With his descriptive and scientific details Mr. Aikin has also intermixed a valuable account of the state of the woollen manufactures of North Wales, and occasional anecdotes, illustrating the simple innocent manners of the lower classes of the natives.

The "Collection of Welch Tours, or a Display of the Beauties of Wales, collected principally from celebrated Histories and popular Tours, with occasional Remarks," will be useful to cursory travellers through those charming scenes, by pointing out the objects which are particularly deserving of their attention. It is illustrated with some tolerably executed engravings.

Mr. M'Nayr's "Guide from Glasgow, to some of the most remarkable Scenes in the Highlands of Scotland, and to the Falls of the Clyde," is divided into journeys, generally of about thirty miles in extent, and furnishes the traveller with the most necessary information concerning the principal natural beauties and artificial curiosities, which call for his notice in each day's excursion. When the author indulges to the descriptive vein, he is animated to enthusiasm; but sometimes oversteps the boundaries of good taste. Apposite quotations, historical and poetical, are frequently introduced into his pages.

The two volumes of "Observations relative chiefly to the Natural History, Picturesque Scenery, and Antiquities of the Western Counties of England, made in the Years 1794 and 1796, &c. by William George Maton, M. A. Fellow of the Linnæan Society," contain a varie-

ty of information and entertainment for readers of different tastes. We cannot accuse this author, however, of too much animation in painting the sublime or decorated scenery in his route, of which some of "the former cannot be exceeded in our island," and of the latter "many spots are perhaps unrivalled." Notwithstanding this remark, his descriptions of the country through which he passed, his topographical notices of the principal towns, as far as they extend, and his accounts of some of the "stupendous remains of ancient architecture, and the more modern relics of monastic grandeur," appear, on the whole, to be drawn with fidelity and accuracy, and will afford a considerable share of pleasure to general readers. But students in natural history will receive the most gratification from Mr. Maton's labours. His botanical and mineralogical remarks they will frequently find highly interesting, and abounding in curious and important information. These volumes are illustrated with a mineralogical map, and sixteen neat views in aquatinta, by Alken.

In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced to our readers the first volume of the "History of the principal Rivers of Great Britain," and fully explained the intention of that work, as well as our opinion of the manner of its execution. We have now to announce the appearance of the second volume; on which it is sufficient to remark, that it will be found to reflect at least a proportionate share of credit on the ingenious editor and artist. The beauties and curiosities of nature or of art, from Kingston-upon-Thames to the mouth of that river, including what is most deserving of notice in the metropolis; and from Tunbridge through Maidstone and Rochester

Rochester to Sheerness, are the subjects of this part of that entertaining and splendid production.

Among the few political publications of the year, of which our limits will permit us to take any distinct notice, are "Three Memorials on French Affairs, written in the Years 1791, 1792, and 1793, by the late Right Hon. Edmund Burke." These memorials have been published by the gentleman to whom the author confided the care of his manuscripts, and are distinguished by his well-known eloquence, energy, and acrimony. They consist of speculations on the nature and probable effects of the French revolution, and reasons to induce the powers of Europe to unite, to crush the force, and to destroy the principle of the French republic, and to re-establish monarchy in that country. The "Two Letters on the Conduct of our Domestic Parties, with regard to French Politics, including Observations on the Conduct of the Minority in the Session of 1793," by the same author, is another posthumous publication, which a proper regard for the memory of the deceased would have committed to the flames, instead of the press. The first is a compound of weak, of virulent, and rancorous abuse of Mr. Fox, and unintentionally develops the causes of it; viz. the proud spirit of independence which would not suffer that gentleman to degrade himself into the situation of a tool to the Burlington-house faction, and the manly frankness with which he chose to deliver his own sentiments, and not the sentiments of party, on great political questions in the house of commons. In the second letter Mr. Burke's powers of eloquence and sarcastic wit are employed in attempts to ex-

pose the political conduct of a noble duke, and Mr. Erskine, and in attacking the king of Prussia for deserting the confederacy against France. Prefixed to these letters is a tedious dull panegyric on Mr. Burke, by the editors. The "Third Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Proposals for Peace with the Regicide Directory of France," was left in an imperfect state by Mr. Burke, and has been eked out into its present form by his literary executors. The reader, however, will seldom be at any loss in distinguishing their intruded sentiments and language, from those of the deceased orator. His effusions are marked by his usual brilliancy, energy, and vulgarity, and pour forth plentiful abuse on the French directory and French nation; while at the same time, they hold out in a ridiculous point of view, poor lord Malmesbury, and his mission to Paris, and even our own king's declaration, and the measures of his minister. A complete and masterly answer to the last-mentioned publication may be seen in "A Letter to his Grace the Duke of Portland, being a Defence of the Conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, in sending an Ambassador to treat for Peace with the French Directory, against the Attack made upon that Measure by the Right Hon. Edmund Burke; and an Endeavour to prove that the permanent Establishment of the French Republic is compatible with the Safety of the Religious and Political Systems of Europe: by James Workman, Esq. of the Middle Temple."

The "View of the Causes and Consequences of the present War with France, by the Hon. Thomas Erskine," whether considered in a political or historical light, is a very valuable production; just in its views, candid and conciliating in its

sentiments, and unanswerable in its arguments. And it is drawn up with that simplicity, perspicuity, and elegance, that happy mixture of logic and rhetoric, which render it admirably adapted to produce impression. With pride we can appeal to it, as a most able defence of the leading political principles, reasonings, and statements which we have advanced during the period under review. Mr. Gifford's "Letter to the Honourable Thomas Erskine, containing some Strictures on his 'View,' &c." is dogmatical, declamatory, and virulent in the extreme; scurrilous in its language, malignant in its insinuations, and in every respect the reverse of the treatise to which it is opposed. The author of "Reasons against National Despondency, in Refutation of Mr. Erskine's 'View,' &c." is a much more decorous and dispassionate advocate for the cause which he espouses than Mr. Gifford, and more ingenious in his comments on the arguments of Mr. Erskine. But his reasons will not produce conviction beyond the circle of that political party, whose views and interests are identified with those of our present ministers. Dr. Beddoes, in his "Alternatives compared, or what shall the Rich do to be safe?" offers a variety of cogent reasons, deduced from gross facts, to shew the incapacity of the present men in power to conduct either a peace system or a war system for this country; and to convince the public of the necessity, if they wish for political salvation, of opposing their wild conceptions, and insane enterprizes, with as much alertness as if they had to rescue all they hold dear from a building in flames.

In Irish politics, we meet with "Mr. Grattan's Address to his Con-

stituents, the Citizens of Dublin, on his Determination to retire from the Parliament of Ireland;" an animated piece of irregular eloquence, in which the author ably exposes those ministerial measures, and shameful abuses and oppressions, from which the most fatal consequences may speedily be apprehended in our sister kingdom. The "Observations on a late Address to the Citizens of Dublin, with Thoughts on the present Crisis, &c." are the production of an able and spirited writer, who opposes all present attempts at reform in Ireland; and will extort applause as a composition, from those who may not be convinced by the author's arguments. The "Reflections on the Irish Conspiracy, and on the Necessity of an armed Association in Great Britain, &c." are also written with a considerable degree of ingenuity, but under the strong bias of party spirit. The author undertakes to prove, that a conspiracy to overturn the government exists in Ireland, referring for his documents to the report of the secret committee of the Irish parliament; and that a similar conspiracy exists in England, of which, however, he has not brought forwards the least shadow of evidence. The "Observations on the present State of Affairs in Ireland, suggested by a recent Report, that the Office of Concession and Pacification was to be entrusted to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales," are richly deserving of attention, on account of their importance in a political view, the temperate spirit which they breathe, and the elegant chaste style in which they are delivered. The "Appeal to the sober Understandings of Englishmen, on the present State of Ireland," contains much valuable information respecting the state of parties in that country, their views

views and interests, their civil and religious distinctions, &c.; and offers sound political advice for perpetuating the connection between Ireland and Great Britain. But the picture which the author has drawn of the evils which have occasioned the present discontents, will excite the most painful emotions, and the most gloomy forebodings in minds possessed of sensibility, and the least spirit of patriotism. Such, likewise, will be the effects produced by "a View of the present State of Ireland, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the Disturbances in that Country, and a Narrative of Facts, &c. by an Observer." And those effects will not be counteracted by the "Letter to the Earl of Moira, in Defence of the Conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, and of the Army in Ireland."

We can only insert the titles of the following publications: "An Appeal on the Subject of the English Constitution, by John Cartwright, esq.;" "an Interesting and Impartial View of the Practical Benefits and Advantages of the Laws and Constitution of England, by P. B. Cross, esq.;" "A Display of the Spirit and Designs of those who under the Pretext of Reform aim at the Subversion of the Constitution, by the Reverend G. Bennet;" "Thoughts on National Infamy;" "A Second Letter to Mr. Erskine, containing Strictures on his 'View,' &c. by W. Gifford;" "French Aggression proved from Mr. Erskine's 'View,' &c. by J. Bowles, esq.;" "Plain Thoughts of a Plain Man, with a few Words to Mr. Erskine;" "A short Statement of Facts," occasioned by the last-mentioned pamphlet; "View of the Present State of Great Britain, by J. G. Keith;" "Address to the People of Great Britain

on the present Posture of Affairs, by R. Macfarlan;" "On the Means of saving our Country, by H. R. Yorke, esq.;" "Measures recommended for the Support of Public Credit, by Captain James Burney;" "An Essay on Invasions, and Defence of the Coasts, with short Tracts on various temporary Subjects, by Joseph Williams, esq.;" "Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c. by David Gam, esq." "Read or be Ruined, or Observations on the Financial Progress of the Present War;" "Thoughts on the Constitutional Principles of Finance;" "Who were the Aggressors? addressed to Mr. Gifford, by C. Sanders, LL.D.;" "An Impartial Statement of the Merits and Services of Opposition, &c. by S. Fleming;" "Thoughts on the Defence of Property, by Uvedale Price, esq.;" "The Question stated, Peace or War? and who are the fittest Men to make Peace and keep it?" "Letters of Crito on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences of the present War;" "National Danger, and the Means of Safety, by the Author of Annals of Agriculture;" "Inconsistency of Mr. Pitt on the Subject of the War, and the present State of Commerce considered, by T. Plummer, jun.;" "An Appeal to the Moral Feelings of S. Thornton, R. Burdon, and H. Browne, esqrs. and the several Members of the House of Commons who conscientiously support Mr. Pitt;" "A Letter on the State of Parties;" "Conciliation, or Considerations on the Origin and Termination of the present War, &c.;" "Three Letters addressed to the People of Great Britain, on the Failure of the late Negotiation;" "Remarks upon the Conduct of the respective Governments of Great Britain and France,

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in the late Negotiation for Peace, by W. E. Taunton;" and "A Defence of the French Emigrants, addressed to the People of France, by T. G. de Lally Tollendal," written in French, and translated into English by Mr. Gifford.

Under the head of Critical, Classical, and polite Literature, we meet with "ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΕΚΑΒΗ. Euripidis Hecuba, ad Fidem Manuscriptorum emendata, et brevibus Notis, Emendationum potissimum Rationes reddentibus, instructa; in Usum studiosæ Juventutis." This work is generally understood to be edited by professor Porson, and is intended to be followed by similar editions of the other plays of Euripides, if the literary republic approve this specimen of his labours. The classical scholar will receive this information with much pleasure, since the acknowledged learning, critical acuteness and accuracy of Mr. Porson can leave him no room to doubt, that he shall receive those precious remains of the Greek drama in a much more correct and improved state than they have hitherto been presented to the public. Such is the character of this impression of the Hecuba, which displays the talents of the editor to considerable advantage, both in the remarks in the prolegomena; and in his critical and explanatory notes. Of the latter, however, he might have been less sparing, without indulging the apprehension "ne libellus in librum excreceret."

Mr. Wakefield's "in Euripidis Hecubam, Londini nuper publicatam, Diatribe extemporalis," will not diminish the reputation which that gentleman has justly acquired for learning and ingenuity, whatever may be the reader's judgment

on the whole, respecting the questions at issue between him and the Greek professor. Observing his philological labours to be entirely unnoticed in the new edition of the Hecuba, notwithstanding the coincidence between readings suggested by him and those adopted by Mr. Porson, Mr. Wakefield conceived himself to be treated with unjustifiable contempt, and has animadverted, with some severity, on what appeared to him to be vulnerable parts in the professor's work. Should that editor undertake, as we apprehend he must, the defence of his observations and criticisms, the interests of literature cannot but be benefitted by the contest, which we hope will be carried on, by both those scholars, with urbanity and good temper.

The next work which we have to announce, is a singularly splendid and valuable edition of an ancient classic, to the completion of which the editor has devoted his full powers of learning, industry, and critical skill, and a very considerable pecuniary expenditure. Its title is "T. Lucretii Cari de Rerum Naturâ Libros sex, ad Exemplarium MSS. Fidem recensitos, longe emendatiores reddidit, Commentariis perpetuis illustravit, Indicibus instruxit, et cum Animadversionibus Ricardi Bentleii, non ante vulgatis, aliorum subinde miscuit, Gilbertus Wakefield, A. B. &c." in three volumes, quarto, on superfine imperial, and on small paper. We doubt not that the lovers of literature will amply recompense Mr. Wakefield, for the labour and learning which he has bestowed in correcting the text, and explaining the sense of his original, and for the laudable pride which he has cherished of confining to his own country the palm

palm of excellence in classical typography: that no public library will be deemed complete, in which this edition of Lucretius is wanting and that it will ornament the shelves of every elegant scholar. The abilities of Mr. Wakefield for such an undertaking, are too well known to require any notice from us: and as we are precluded by the nature of our work from entering into any minute particulars respecting its execution, we must content ourselves with remarking in general, that nothing has been wanting on his part, to render it highly creditable to his reputation as a scholar, critic, and man of taste. Among other editions of Lucretius which Mr. Wakefield made use of in preparing his work, were the second edition of that poet, commonly reputed the first, printed at Verona, in 1486; that by John Baptist Pius, printed at Bologna, in 1511; and the Juntine and Aldine impressions of 1512, and 1515. He, likewise, had the opportunity of consulting a copy of Le Fevre's Lucretius, enriched with MS. notes by Dr. Bentley; a MS. formerly Dr. Askew's, now in the public library at Cambridge; three MSS. in the British museum, two of the fifteenth century, and the third of a later date; a MS. furnished by Mr. Edward Poore; and various readings from MSS. at Vienna, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, published by F. C. Alter, at the end of his edition of Lucretius, Vienna, 1787.

The next publication which calls for our notice consists, partly of a selection of various poems, by ancient and modern writers, and partly of academical exercises by the editor. It is entitled "M. Musuri Carmen in Platonem. Isaaci Casauboni in Josephum Scaligerum Ode. Accedunt Poëmata & Exer-

citationes utriusque Linguae. Auctore S. Butler, &c." The poems above mentioned are not unknown to the learned reader; and the first has been already ably illustrated, particularly by Foster, in his Essay on Accents. Mr. Butler's notes on them are short, but bear honourable testimony to his literary attainments. The original pieces in this collection consist of Greek and Latin poems, and poetic translations from the English, with an oration; of which the whole possesses considerable merit, and some were rewarded by prizes in the university of Cambridge. In an appendix Mr. Butler has subjoined the Hymn to Jupiter of Cleanthes, the Stoic, with Dupont's version; two Hymns of Clemens Alexandrinus; and Henry Stevens's Adhortatio ad Lectorem Librorum Novi Foederis, of which he has given a prose translation. From Mr. Butler's preface it appears, that he has been appointed by the university of Cambridge to publish a new edition of Aeschylus.

The translation of "the Commentary of Hierocles upon the golden Verses of the Pythagoreans, from an accurate Edition of the Greek original, published in London, in the Year 1742, by the learned Dr. Warren, accompanied with Notes and Illustrations, by William Rayner, A. B." although occasionally marked by peculiar quaintnesses of expression, appears, on the whole, to be a sufficiently faithful version of that obscure and mystical work; and will prove acceptable to the disciples of the modern Platonic school. Mr. Rayner's translation of the Moral Characters of Theophrastus, which he has subjoined to the former, will be found more intelligible, because intended for the uninitiated, and
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more pleasing in point of style and language.

"The History of Rome, by Titus Livius, translated from the Original, with Notes and Illustrations, by George Baker, A. M." in six volumes, is a work which is the evident result of considerable labour and application, and presents the English reader with a very respectable version of that elegant writer. We cannot state, indeed, that it will give him a perfect idea of the animation, harmony, and beauty of the original. The most polished scholar, with all the aids of learning, judgment and taste, would fail of producing such a translation. But Mr. Baker's version is, with the exception of a few passages, faithful to the sense, and, in general, sufficiently expressive of the spirit of the Roman historian. In his preface the author has collected all the particulars that are known concerning Livy, and endeavoured to vindicate him from the objections to his character as a credulous and partial historian. To the last volume he has added a copious and useful index. Mr. Baker's notes and illustrations are few and unimportant, and he has omitted several dissertations which he had drawn up, on Roman customs, &c. For the latter circumstance he apologizes by observing; that Dr. Adams's Roman Antiquities have superseded the necessity of their appearance.

The ingenious author of a "Dissertation on Virgil's *Æneid*, Lib. I. verse 37," endeavours to prove that verse to be an interpolation, from its supposed incongruity with the immediate subject of the poem, and from what he conceives to be insurmountable objections against its measure and phraseology. But we can by no means pronounce his arguments sufficiently valid to produce conviction.

"Metronariston, or a new Pleasure recommended, in a Dissertation upon a part of Greek and Latin Prosody," is a work which will afford genuine entertainment to every classical scholar, whatever may be his ultimate opinion respecting the doctrine which the author maintains. It abounds in learned criticism, novel and acute observations, ingenious hints, and true humour, which are intermingled in a lively and fanciful manner, and have certainly afforded us a new pleasure. The object of the author is to revive and support the opinion of Adolphus Mekerchus, an eminent scholar of the sixteenth century, who, in a commentary *De veteri & recta Pronunciatione Linguae Græcæ*, was a strong advocate for reading every syllable according to its quantity; and to shew "that the observance of quantity is the only maxim for the reasonable enjoyment of the sense as well as melody of verse." In pursuing his plan, after delivering some just observations on the nature of English verse, and the best method of reading it, he proceeds to the scanning of Greek and Latin verse; and taking it for granted that the words are not to be broken in reading, recommends a new method of scanning, by dividing an hexameter into spondees and anapests, instead of spondees and dactyles: the propriety of which he illustrates by a number of striking examples. The author afterwards exposes, with much force and wit, the improprieties and blunders which are committed in the common method of reading Sapphic, Asclepiad, Alcaic, and particularly Iambic verses; and treats at large on pauses, with a view to the corroboration of his former arguments. The remaining part of his work is devoted to a severe critique on the author of *Accentus Redivivi*, and some able strictures

frictions on the Essay on the Prosodies of the Greek and Latin languages, which was noticed in our last volume.

Major Ouseley, whose "Persian Miscellanies" were introduced to our readers in our Register for the year 1795, has, during the present year, engaged in the superintendence of a periodical work, under the title of "Oriental Collections," the object of which is to convey to the public "in their proper respective characters, such extracts from original eastern MSS. as might be deemed worthy of translation or of comment; such productions, as, from the lightness of their nature, their desultory style, or their brevity, could not well be presented to the world as distinct volumes; or such essays, as the authors, from a necessity of residing in the country, or disinclination to trouble or expence, might not find it convenient or agreeable to publish on their own account." Such a work, if proper discrimination be made use of in the selection of materials, cannot fail of gratifying the curious, and of promoting and facilitating the study of oriental literature. Two numbers of these collections have already made their appearance, containing articles in history, biography, topography, natural history, poetry, and music; of which some are interesting and important, and others might have been omitted without any prejudice to the reputation or utility of the work. Our last remark, however, is confined to a very few specimens; and we doubt not that as the author proceeds in his design, his communications will become more valuable and attracting.

Mr. Hole's "Remarks on the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, in which the Origin of Sindbad's Voy-

ages, and other Oriental Fictions, is particularly considered," supply us with abundant evidence of the author's erudition, ingenuity, and acuteness; but we have not been able to discover any adequate useful purposes for which those qualities have been so lavishly expended on the present publication. His principal aim seems to have been to lessen our disgust, created by the extravagance and incredibility of many circumstances related in the Arabian Tales, by presenting us with equally extravagant narrations from Homer and Pliny, Marco Paulo, Sir John Mandeville, Purchas, and other ancient and modern writers. And, in truth, he has collected evidence sufficient to prove, if that were at all necessary, that an attachment to the marvellous has been by no means an exclusive characteristic of the Arabians. He has, likewise, brought forward some striking coincidences to shew, that many of the fables of Greece, of Rome, of Arabia, and of India, are to be traced to the same primitive source. This we consider to be the most curious and interesting part of Mr. Hole's work, and should be glad to see the subject pursued by some persons intimately conversant in the stores of oriental, as well as classical literature.

Mr. Dowling's "Treatise on the Elements and Theory of the Hebrew Language," among many just and original observations on grammar, and the philosophy of language, which deserve the notice of Hebrew students, contains much of what is fanciful and mystical, as any of the reveries of the rabbinical school. The method of reading Hebrew which Mr. Dowling approves, is something between the Masoretic plan and that of Dr. Gregory Sharpe.

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Mr. Browne's "new Classical Dictionary for the Use of Schools, containing under its different Heads, every thing illustrative and explanatory of the Mythology, History, Geography, Manners, &c. occurring in the Greek and Roman Authors, &c." in a pocket quarto volume, is offered by the author to the teachers of youth, "as a substitute for the meagre appendix of proper names annexed to our Latin dictionaries, and as an epitome of the voluminous, but elegant *Bibliotheca Classica* of Mr. Lempriere." It appears to have been executed with care and judgment, and to merit reception into the seminaries where the Greek and Latin languages are taught.

The "*Prolepsis philologiæ Anglicanæ, or Plan of a philological and synonymical Dictionary of the English Language*, by Benjamin Dawson, LL. D." announces an intended publication, in which the author, instead of the present method of explaining words by other words, or by periphrases, in the same language, proposes "reducing them to their respective genera and species, or exhibiting their general and special implications." This mode of explanation, he ingeniously contends, may with as great propriety be adopted by the philologist, as by the geometer, or botanist, and will lead to that precision in the use of terms, which will obviate one of the principal causes of confusion of ideas, and diversity of opinions. Dr. Dawson's explanations are to be supported by authorities, and illustrated with notes and critical observations.

Mr. Knox's "*Hints to public Speakers*, intended for young Barristers, Students at Law, &c." offer concise instructions in the art of speaking, on the subjects of empha-

sis, gesture, and tone, which may prove useful to juvenile rhetoricians. We cannot, however, commend the author so far as to state, that his precepts will strongly recommend themselves to the reader, by the graces of the style and language in which they are delivered.

The "*Dialogues in a Library*," embrace a variety of subjects, theological, philosophical, historical, poetical, &c.; but are chiefly designed to deduce arguments, from a view of the phenomena of the world, in support of the leading truths of natural and revealed religion. Although we cannot pronounce them equal in point of matter or execution, with preceding works of a similar nature, yet they may prove instructive and useful to young readers. We cannot, however, but reprobate the intolerant spirit which the author inculcates when he represents the holders of opinions which he deems false and impious, to be as much the objects of public cognizance, and punishment, as rioters or felons.

The two volumes of "*Selections from the French Anas*," &c. form an elegant and entertaining miscellany, compiled with judgment and good taste, and an invariable regard to morality and decorum. They contain such passages from the *Ménagiana*, the *Scaligeriana*, the *Huetiana*, &c. as appeared to the editor to possess the most general tendency to amuse or instruct; and concise and well written literary and biographical sketches of the authors whose names are affixed to each ana-

"The *Philanthrope*, after the Manner of a Periodical Paper," consists of thirty-five essays on a variety of interesting subjects, chiefly in morals and polite literature, with occasional anecdotes and allegorical narrations; which reflect credit on the

the author's judgment and taste, and will afford considerable pleasure and entertainment in the perusal. The style in which they are written is correct and pleasing, and when the subject admitted of it, lively and animated.

"The Quiz, by a Society of Gentlemen, Volume I." is another collection of miscellaneous essays, of various merit, but none of them possessing any high claims to commendation, in point either of originality of matter, or of correctness and elegance of composition. In one of them an attempt is made to convict Goldsmith of plagiarism, from a poem in an old French novel, in his beautiful ballad of Edwin and Angelina. But before we can admit the charge, we must have better evidence than the author has yet produced of the authenticity and antiquity of that poem.

During the year 1797, an edition has appeared, in eight volumes 8vo. of "the Works of Tobias Smollett, M. D." which we notice in this place, on account of its containing concise and well written memoirs of his life, including critical remarks on his different productions, by John Moore, M. D.; to which that gentleman has prefixed an ingenious and entertaining historical and critical view of the commencement, and progress of romance-writing to the time of Smollett.

During the year 1797, likewise, "the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds" have been collected together, and published in two volumes 4to. In these volumes, besides the literary productions of our celebrated artist, which have already met with the approbation of the public, the reader will find an account of a journey to Flanders and Holland, in the years 1781 and 1783, which abounds in instructive remarks, va-

luable criticisms, and entertaining anecdotes. He will also find an account of the life and writings of the author, by Edward Malone, esq. one of his executors; which is a heavy uninteresting production, and contains little information that has not already been communicated to the public, by the author of "Testimonies to the Genius and Memory of that Artist," noticed in our Register for the year 1793, or through the medium of different periodical publications.

The "Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of Rembrandt, &c. by Daniel Daulby," contains ample information relative to the numerous productions of that artist, from a writer who has spent some years in collecting his prints; and criticisms on his genius and merits, which are honourable to the author's judgment and taste, and will be perused with peculiar pleasure by connoisseurs.

In the department of Poetical Translation and Poetry, we meet with "the Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare," and "the Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry of Horace, translated into English Verse, by William Boscawen, esq." in two volumes. The first of these volumes was published some time since, but did not fall into our hands till the appearance of the second. In this version the author "has endeavoured to preserve, as nearly as possible, a middle course between literal translation and loose paraphrase." The measure which he has chiefly chosen, is the short Iambic, consisting of eight syllables: which we are far from thinking the best adapted to express the strength and animation of the original, even when conducted by the greatest poetical genius and spirit, tutored by experience.

experience. It is a measure which these united qualities can with difficulty preserve from sinking into tameness and flatness. Mr. Boscawen's version, however, is not destitute of considerable merit. In point of fidelity to the sense of Horace, it is, in general, unimpeachable; and, in many instances, superior to those of his rival translators, Creech, Duncombe, and Francis. But while endeavouring to transfuse into it the spirit and elegance of "that most pleasing of ancient poets," he has frequently failed, as well as his predecessors. Perhaps it was injudicious in him to provoke a minute comparison of the merits of their respective works with his own, by remarking, when mentioning the motives that induced him to engage in this translation, that the Roman bard "has never yet received an English dress in any degree worthy of him." In his various introductions, and in his copious notes, which are partly selected and partly original, Mr. Boscawen has discovered no small portion of learning and judgment.

In our last year's Register we introduced Mr. Clubbe to our readers, as a candidate for public favour in a poetical translation of six satires of Horace. During the present year that gentleman has published "the Epistle of Horace to the Pisos, on the Art of Poetry, translated into English verse." This work, as well as the former, offers satisfactory proof of the author's acquaintance with the sense of his original, and of his ability to convey it to the English reader in perspicuous, and, generally, easy numbers. But it is marked by negligences, and faulty expressions and terminations, which a little labour, and a tolerably chastised taste, would have easily corrected.

"The Poems of Caius Valerius Catullus, in English Verse, with the Latin Text revised, and classical Notes," in two volumes, have been published by a translator, who might have been entitled to a considerable share of approbation if he had employed himself in selecting the unexceptionable pieces in his original, and exhibiting them in an English dress. His version contains, in general, a faithful representation of the sentiments of Catullus, and frequently shews the author to be possessed of no mean poetical talents. His numerous faulty rhymes, however, will not permit us to praise the correctness of his ear. But our greatest exception to his labours arises from his having translated the whole of Catullus, without reserve; even his indecencies and obscenities, "disgusting to our sensations, and repugnant to our natures." For such an offence against the delicacy and feelings of chaste readers, we conceive that no apology can be satisfactory. The translator's numerous notes evince his respectable proficiency in classical and critical literature.

"Pedotrophia, or the Art of nursing and rearing Children, &c. translated from the Latin of Scevole de St. Marthe, &c. by H. W. Tytler, M. D." presents the English reader with a didactic poem of considerable merit, by an author who sustains a respectable rank among modern Latin poets. But we cannot subscribe to Dr. Tytler's injudicious eulogium, that "for elegance of expression the Pedotrophia yields only to the Georgics of Virgil," and that the author "comes very little short of the majesty of Virgil during the whole course of his poem." It contains much useful instruction, delivered in perspicuous and harmonious verse, which is some-
times

times enlivened by beautiful epifodes and families, and sometimes rendered disgusting by minuteness of description, and medical directions. Dr. Tyder's translation conveys the "whole meaning" of his original; and in a style of versification, which, if not uniformly poetical, is generally pleasing and harmonious. This translation is accompanied with medical and historical notes; the Life of Scevole de St. Marthe, from the French of Gabriel Michel, and of Father Nicéron; and a long dedication in rhyme to the earl of Buchan.

Mr. Cottle's "Icelandic Poetry, or the Edda of Saemund translated into English Verse," will be an acceptable present to students in northern mythology. It consists of twelve odes, unquestionably of great antiquity; even admitting that the assertion of Runalphus Jonas is too bold, who in his Dissertation on the Elements of the Northern Languages maintains, "that the mythology of these odes, and probably a great part of the odes themselves, are as ancient as the times when the Asiatics first came into the north of Europe." They abound in novel and sublime images; and are chiefly employed in relating the fictions received by the Teutonic nations, respecting their heaven and hell. Mr. Cottle's translation of them is spirited and harmonious, and in a similar species of versification with Gray's Descent of Odin. It is illustrated with a variety of valuable notes, partly taken from the Danish edition of Saemund, printed at Copenhagen, in 1787, and partly the result of the translator's learning and ingenuity.

"The Henriade, an Epic Poem, in Ten Cantos, translated from the French of Voltaire, into English Rhyme, with large Historical and

Critical Notes," in two parts, is a faithful, elegant, and animated version of that celebrated poem, which will enable the English reader, in general, to enter into its true sense and spirit, and to form an accurate judgment of its excellencies and defects. In some instances it exceeds the original in beauty of description, and harmony of versification. Of the historical and critical notes, which are partly taken from Voltaire, and partly added by the translator, the latter are not the least valuable and interesting.

"The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq. with Notes and Illustrations by Joseph Warton, D.D. and Others," in nine volumes, comprehend the whole of our poet's productions, in prose and verse, excepting his translations of the Iliad and Odyssey; and include the following articles not contained in Warburton's edition: "several poems undoubtedly of our author's hand; many letters to correspondents, which, from the circumstances of literary history which they contain, it was thought might be entertaining; his thoughts on various subjects; his account of the madness of Dennis; the poisoning of Edmund Curl; the essay on the origin of sciences; the key to the Rape of the Lock; and that piece of inimitable humour, the 14th Chapter of Scriblerus, on the Double Mistress; all of which were inserted in his own edition in 4to. in 1741. And to these is added, also, one of his best critical compositions, his Postscript by the Odyssey." The notes and illustrations which accompany this edition, consist of the most valuable of Warburton's, which are free from that paradoxical writer's "forced and far-fought interpretations, totally unsupported by the passages which they were brought to elucidate;"

the materials collected in Dr. Warton's well known Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope; new criticisms and observations suggested by the editor's maturer judgment; various interesting facts and anecdotes supplied by his literary connections; and quotations from other writers. Prefixed to the first volume, is a life of Pope, written in an easy and unstudied style, and containing some original information communicated by the learned Mr. Joseph Spence, author of the admirable essay on the *Odyssey*. On the whole, the volumes before us must be pronounced by us a very improved edition of the works of our admired bard, abounding in valuable criticisms, and much useful as well as entertaining information. At the same time we must remark, that there is less original matter in them, to those who are conversant in Dr. Warton's former labours, than might, perhaps, reasonably have been expected from an editor of such high and deserved reputation.

In our Register for the year 1794, we announced the appearance of the first volume of a grand and beautiful edition of "the Works of John Milton," which was recommended by peculiar excellencies of typography and engraving. We have now to notice the completion of that undertaking, by the publication of the second and third volumes; the former of which contains the last six books of *Paradise Lost*, and the whole of *Paradise Regained*, and the latter all the other poems of Milton, including those in Latin and Greek.

During the present year, the number of elegant pocket editions of the works, or detached pieces of our most admired British poets, noticed in our last two volumes, has been enlarged by "the Poetical

Works of Mr. William Collins, with a Prefatory Essay by Mrs. Barbauld," and "an Essay on Man, by Alexander Pope, esq. to which is prefixed a Critical Essay, by J. Aikin, M. D." The talents of the editors for appreciating the merits of those respective works are too well known, to render it necessary for us to recommend their criticisms to the perusal of readers of taste.

The "Poems by William Mason, M. A. Volume III." consist of odes, elegies, sonnets, miscellaneous pieces, and dramas, written at different periods, from the year 1746 to 1796, some of which have been already published separately by the author, and others circulated in manuscript among his friends. With the character and merits of Mr. Mason, as a poet, the public is too well acquainted to require any mention of them in this place: and if the pieces which compose this volume cannot be said to add to his reputation, few, if any of them, will be thought unworthy to be admitted into a collection of his remains. Some of them are distinguished by beauties of no ordinary class, either of sentiment or composition, and particularly the dramas; which, although not to be compared with *Caractacus* and *Elfrida*, will not be found to disgrace the pen of their author. From the publication of this volume, it appears, that the poet, who, throughout his life had been the ardent lover of liberty, became in his old age a modern political alarmist; and could employ himself, when revising an ode to Mr. Pitt, first printed in 1782, in changing the epithet "people's friend," into that of "country's friend," because the former was "usurped" by Mr. Fox, at the last Westminster election.

In our Register for the year 1795,

1795, we introduced to our readers the first book of "the Life of Hubert, a Narrative, Descriptive, and Didactic Poem, by the Reverend Thomas Cole." During the present year, the second and third books have been published, which are posthumous, and probably much less perfect than if the author had lived to correct and polish them. Notwithstanding these disadvantageous circumstances, however, the perusal of them has afforded us a considerable share of pleasure.

Mrs. Charlotte Smith's second volume of "Elegiac Sonnets, and other Poems," contains many elegant and beautiful effusions of a Muse, whose characteristics are well known to the public, and whose various compositions have met with a very flattering reception. The tone of melancholy, however, which pervades the greater part of them, occasions a considerable diminution of the pleasure, which their merits would otherwise afford. This volume is ornamented with a portrait of Mrs. Smith, and some well-executed illustrative engravings: one taken from the pencil of the right honourable the countess of Beibo-rough. In our Register for the year 1794, we introduced the first volume of this lady's "Elegiac Sonnets, &c." to the acquaintance of our readers.

The IVth part of "the Pursuits of Literature, a Satirical Poem in Dialogue," is written with the same view, and in the same spirit with the preceding parts, noticed in our Registers for the years 1794 and 1796; excepting that for raillery and satire, the author has too frequently substituted insult and malignity.

Mr. Southey's volume of "Poems" will be received with no inconsiderable hope of pleasure and

gratification, by every person who has read his "Joan of Arc," noticed in our last volume. It consists of a variety of pieces, the productions of very distant periods: an historical poem, sonnets, inscriptions, odes, Botany Bay eclogues, elegies, ballads, &c.; which are distinguished by rich and animated poetical imagery, liberality, and delicacy of sentiment, genuine pathos, and melodious numbers. In these, as well as in his former productions, the great interests of virtue and humanity appear to be paramount to all lower considerations, in the estimation and best wishes of the author.

The "Odes and Miscellanies by Robert Farren Cheetham," are the productions of a very young author, and written in an easy flow of versification. They exhibit marks of poetic genius, which give fair promise of future excellence, when his judgment shall be matured, and his taste corrected by an intimate acquaintance with the best models.

The "Series of Poems, containing the Complaints, Consolations, and Delights of Achmed Ardebeili, a Persian Exile, with Notes Historical and Explanatory, by Charles Fox," are chiefly written in the elegiac strain. Their versification is, in general, harmonious; their language correct and elegant; the sentiments which they inculcate moral and pious; and they are frequently distinguished by imagination, energy, and pathos. We suspect, however, notwithstanding the allusions which they contain to oriental history and mythology, that they are genuine British produce.

The collection entitled "Lyric Poems," contains various pieces of different merits; but the greater part of them entitled to a respectable rank

in that class of publications. They appear to be the productions of a cultivated mind, and present the reader with numerous spirited and elegant passages, and others marked by a tenderness and simplicity that will please and charm him.

The collection of "English Lyrics," likewise, in point of fancy, delicacy of sentiment, and poetic taste, will be found deserving of a considerable share of commendation. Some of the poems which form it, are exquisitely beautiful.

The "Elegy to the Memory of the Rev. William Mason," is the production of a genuine poet, who, in harmonious, solemn, and dignified strains, worthy of the subject, laments the loss, and celebrates the excellencies and virtues of his friend, as a poet, and as a Christian.

Mr. Park's "Sonnets, and other small Poems," "were first encouraged to solicit public notice by the counsel of Mr. Cowper." We think it but justice to the author to acknowledge, that they merit such notice. For notwithstanding instances of negligence, incorrectness, bad rhyme, and obsolete or illegitimate expression, which will offer themselves to the reader's eye, he will find many of them to be highly poetical and elegant, and some extremely striking and beautiful. Mr. Park's little volume is embellished with pleasing engravings.

The volume entitled "Prison Amusements, and other Trifles, &c. by Paul Positive," consists chiefly, of "pieces composed in bitter moments, amid the horrors of a gaol, and the pressure of sickness. They were the transcripts of melancholy feelings, the warm effusions of a bleeding heart." Notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances in which they were produced, many of

them reflect credit on the author's genius and taste, and will please and interest the reader, by their simplicity, elegance, and pathos.

"The Vales of Wever, a Loco-Descriptive Poem, &c. by J. G. Gilborne, Esq." abounds in lively conception, bold imagery, beautiful description, and polish of style and phraseology, which secure to the author the honours of a spirited, elegant, and harmonious poet. But it is not free from blemishes. While perusing it, we sometimes found ourselves utterly incapable of affixing any precise meaning to his combinations of pearly words; and more frequently we found the sense obscured by the inversion of their regular arrangement. Dr. Darwin's Botanic Garden is the model which Mr. Gilborne has chiefly studied.

Mr. Bidlake's "Country Parson, a Poem," is not unworthy of that author's talents, the exertions of which we have had frequent opportunities of noticing in terms of commendation. It contains pleasing and interesting descriptions, less lively, indeed, and brilliant than we have formerly received from Mr. Bidlake's pen; and just sentiments, ingeniously clothed in poetic allegory. The stanza in which this poem is written, is that of Spencer.

Mr. Polwhele's "Old English Gentleman, a Poem, Volume I." is the commencement of a work in which the author designs to exhibit "the manners of the last century in a country gentleman of family, as contradistinguished from those of borough-mongers, merchants, and miners." At present Mr. Polwhele has done little more than introduce us to the father of his hero, and the different branches of his family; describing the outlines of their characters, and their usual employments
and

and occupations. In his effort properly to discriminate their characters, he has "sometimes attempted the more dignified heroic verse, and at other times sported in the lighter strain:" and in either instance we may add, without any injury to his poetical reputation. Of Mr. Polwhele's success in executing his plan, it is as yet too early to form any decided opinion, since this volume contains only two books, which bring us to the birth of his hero.

The "Moral Tales, in Verse, founded on real Events, written by Thomas Hull, of the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden," in 2 Vols. are interesting and well told; drawn up in easy versification and correct language; and inculcate sentiments honourable to the author's heart, and useful to those of his readers. We wish, however, that he had excluded from them such incidents as partake of "the marvellous and super-natural," which we cannot admit to be properly described in the title.

"The Poet's Fate, a poetical Dialogue, by George Dyer," describes, in smooth and pleasing versification, and not without a portion of vivacity and satire, the inattention of the great to literary merit, and the hard and unfortunate lot which is proverbially attached to the ardent votaries of the Muses. This dialogue is accompanied with copious and interesting notes, explanatory and biographical.

The "English Prologue and Epilogue to the Latin Comedy of Ignoramus, &c. with a Preface and Notes relative to modern Times," by the same author, possesses similar characteristics with the preceding work, and properly exposes to contempt dullness, pedantry, and intolerance. But we cannot think that the author's talents appear to

the greatest advantage on humorous and satirical topics.

"The Art of Poetry, according to the latest Improvements, by Sir Simon Swan, Baronet, published by Joseph Fawcett," is employed in ridiculing, in good-tempered, and not unsuccessful ironical strains, the different tribes of modern fashionable poets. The correct, the sentimental, and the polite versifiers are successively the subjects of his animadversion; and the pedantic and malignant do not escape, without being subjected to the lash of just and appropriate satire.

"The Church, a Poem, by the Rev. John Sharpe, B. A." is written in blank verse, and, although sometimes uncouth, or prosaic, discovers genius and talents, which industry may render very respectable. The object of the author is, to ridicule those follies which tend to bring the clerical character into disrepute, and by ironical contrast to describe the duties of the worthy and useful divine. He has pursued his plan with considerable felicity, and enlivened his satiric or didactic advice with many beautiful and striking similes.

"The Battle of B-ng-r, or the Church triumphant; a comic-heroic Poem, in nine Cantos," celebrates a singular achievement in modern ecclesiastical history, with the circumstances of which our readers cannot be unacquainted, as the civil action to which it gave rise sufficiently interested the curiosity of the public. In addition to the materials with which real events furnished the ingenious and lively author, his poetic fancy has been active and successful, and enabled him to present to the lovers of humour, who possess a classical taste, genuine entertainment.

The "Sermon preached before
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the University of Cambridge, by H. W. C.—t, D. D. &c. published by Request, and now (for the Sake of Freshmen and the Laity) by Request translated into English Metre, by H. W. Hopkins, A. M." in humorous, and well measured Hudibrastic verse, ably exposes high church doctrines and tory politics, and may be read with profit, as well as pleasure, by those for whose benefit the translator intended it.

"My Night Gown and Slippers, or Tales in Verse, written in an Elbow Chair, by George Coleman the Younger," were originally designed to be recited or sung in an entertainment which the author proposed to offer to the public, at the Hay-market theatre, during Lent. We are glad that when that performance was relinquished, he held it more adviseable to print his stories than to burn them; for they abound in wit and humour, and have frequently excited into action our risible faculties. The first tale, entitled the Maid of the Moor, ridicules, in a very happy manner, the German ballad of Bürger, of which, during the last year, we were presented with so many different translations.

From Peter Pindar's muse we have received, during the year 1797, "One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Ninety-Six, a Satire, in four Dialogues, Dialogue Ist and IId;" and "An Ode to the Livery of London, on their Petition to his Majesty for kicking out his worthy Ministers, &c. &c."

The other poetical publications of the year were, "Poems, by Thomas Townsend, Esq.;" "Quebec Hill, or Canadian Scenery, a Poem, in Two Parts, by J. Mackay;" "Original Miscellaneous Poems, by Edwards Atkins Harrop;" "Poems, by T. F. Dibdin;" "Fugitive Pieces,

by Frances Greensted;" "First Flights, by John Heyrick, Jun. &c. containing Pieces in Verse on various Occasions;" "Juvenile Essays in Poetry, by J. Donoghue;" "The Lion and Fawn, a Legend, presented on their Marriage, to the Earl and Countess of Derby;" "Tributes of Affection, with the Slaves and other Poems, by a Lady and her Brother;" "Suicide rejected, an Elegy, founded upon Principles of Christian Confidence against worldly Despondency, by Charles James, to which is prefixed a Moral Discourse against Suicide (never before published) by the late Dr. J. Fordyce;" "Critical Trifles, in a familiar Epistle to John Fisher, Esq. by the Rev. C. E. Stewart;" "Elegy on the Death of Mr. Burke, by Mrs. West;" "Elegy on the Death of W. B. Cadogan, by P. Bidulph;" "The Castle of Olmutz, a Poem, inscribed to La Fayette;" "Ode to Kosciuszko, by H. F. Carey, A. M.;" "Poetry, by T. Morgan;" "The Right of Life, a Sermon translated into Verse, by H. Horace, Esq.;" "Christ's Hospital, a Poem, by T. S. Surr;" "Britannia, a Poem, by Samuel Hull Wilcocke;" "Walter and William, an Historical Ballad, translated from the original Poem of Richard Cœur de Lion;" "The College, a Satire, Cantos I and II;" "Lord Mayor's Day, an Heroic Poem;" "A Poem on the Author of two late Productions entitled 'the Baviad,' and 'the Pursuits of Literature,'" "The Scottish Hudibras, by S. Colville;" "The Sea Side, a Poem, in a Series of familiar Epistles, from Mr. Simkin Slenderwit, summerising at Ramsgate, to his dear Mother in Town;" "The Lamentation of a Dog, on the Tax, and its Consequences, addressed to the Right Hon. William Pitt, with Notes, by Scriblerus Secundus;"

cundus;" "The Dog-Tax, by E Nairne;" "The Gallanté Shew, displaying the Character of a Prime Minister;" "A Political Eclogue, Citizen H. T—e, Citizen T—rn-y, R. B. Esq.;" "A Trip to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight, in rambling Verses, &c. by a Friend to Britain;" "The Trap, a Poem, by a Lady;" "The Guinea Note, by Timothy Twigg, Esq.;" "Hobby Horses, a Poetical Allegory, in Five Parts, by Jenkin Jones;" "The Reign of Liberty, a Poetical Sketch, by Joseph Jackson;" "The Scaith of France, or the Death of St. Just and his Son, a Poem, by E. Smith, Esq.;" "The War of the Giants, by an Admirer of Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, to which is added a Dialogue between John Bull and one of his Friends, with Notes;" "The Invincible Island, with introductory Observations on the present War, by Percival Stockdale;" "The Volunteer, a Poem;" "The Campaign, a Poetical Essay, in Two Books, &c. by Robert Brown, Corporal in the Coldstream Guards;" "The Waes o' War, or the Upshot o' the History o' Will and Jean, in Four Parts;" "Britain's Genius, a Song, to the Tune of 'Come listen to my Ditty,' occasioned by the late Mutiny on Board his Majesty's Ships at the Nore, by C. A. Esq.;" and "A Collection of English Songs, with an Appendix of original Pieces, by Mr. A. Dalrymple."

The following were the Dramatic publications of the year 1797: "The Minister, a Tragedy, in five Acts, from the German of Schiller, Author of the Robbers, Don Carlos, &c. by M. G. Lewis, Esq. M. P.;" "Lorenzino de Medici, a Tragedy, in five Acts, by William Rough;" "Arviragus, a Tragedy, (never per-

formed) by the Rev. William Tasker;" "The Fatal Sisters, or the Castle of the Forest, a Dramatic Romance of five Acts, by Edmund John Eyre;" "False Impressions, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Richard Cumberland, Esq.;" "Knave or Not? a Comedy, in five Acts, by Thomas Holcroft;" "Wives as they Were, and Maids as they Are, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Mrs. Inchbald;" "A Cure for the Heart-Ache, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Thomas Morton, Esq.;" "Cheap Living, a Comedy, in five Acts, by Frederic Reynolds;" "The Will, a Comedy, in five Acts, by the same Author;" "Prejudices, a Comedy, in five Acts, by B. Frere Cherenfi;" "The Italian Monk, a Play, in three Acts, by James Borden, Esq.;" "The Honest Thieves, a Farce, in two Acts, altered from the Committee, by T. Knight;" "The Wandering Jew, or Love's Masquerade, a Comedy, in two Acts, by Andrew Franklin;" "A Trip to the Nore, a Musical Entertainment, in one Act, by the same Author;" and "Utrum Horum? a Comedy of two Acts, as it is now acting with great Applause, at the respective Theatres of London and Amsterdam."

Among the few articles which we have reserved for our Miscellaneous department, we find "A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding-Schools, by Erasmus Darwin, M. D. &c." which the author's known good sense, literary attainments, and professional experience, cannot fail of recommending to parents, guardians, and governesses of young ladies. Under a variety of heads it suggests important and judicious advice, for establishing such a rational system of education for females, as promises to be

successful "in uniting health and agility of body, with chearfulness and activity of mind; in superadding graceful movements to the former, and agreeable tastes to the latter; and in the acquirement of the rudiments of such arts and sciences, as may amuse themselves or gain them the esteem of others; with a strict attention to the culture of morality and religion."

"Mythology compared with History, for the Use of Young Persons, &c. by the Abbé de Tressan, translated from the French by H. North," in 2 Vols. is replete with valuable and curious information, explanatory of the fables of Greek and Roman mythology, arranged with judgment and perspicuity, and detailed in a lively and pleasing style. It deserves to be recommended, as an useful companion in their studies, to those for whose benefit it was chiefly designed.

The splendid volume of "Miscellaneous Writings, by R. C. Dallas, Esq." is composed of various poems; a tragedy; moral essays; and a vocabulary of the passions, "in which their sources are pointed out, their regular currents traced, and their deviations delineated." Mr. Dallas's poems possess few claims to commendation; and we cannot flatter him so far as to say, that his tragedy will entitle him to a respectable station among our dramatic writers. But his prose exercises reflect credit on his abilities, and on his heart. They are distinguished by solid sense, ingenious remarks, benevolent and pious sentiments, and will afford pleasure and improvement to his readers.

The "Narrative of the Sufferings of T. F. Palmer and W. Skirving, during a Voyage to New South Wales, 1794, on Board the *Surprise* Transport, by the Rev.

Thomas Fyfe Palmer," has been published to vindicate the characters of the sufferers from the charge of conspiracy and mutiny, in which it was pretended they had engaged, with the design of murdering the captain, and seizing the ship. This purpose it has completely answered, by bringing forwards such strong and circumstantial evidence in their favour, as their most ingenious and prejudiced enemies cannot gainsay or resist. But it exhibits, at the same time, such instances of cruel, brutal, wicked treatment, to which they were subjected on their voyage, as must excite in the humane heart a degree of horror and indignation which words cannot describe.

Mr. Clarke's "Dissertation on the Use and Abuse of Tobacco, wherein the Advantages and Disadvantages attending the Consumption of that entertaining Weed are particularly considered, &c." contains a zealous, but not very formidable attack on the consumption of that balmy narcotic. "What I have done," says the author, "I have done in the fear of God, and with the simple desire of being useful to my brethren; I have sometimes spoken ironically; sometimes sarcastically; but always with deep seriousness and concern. In short, I have done what I could to render odious and detestable a custom, which, I think, every thing in heaven and earth discountenances!" For our parts, we are free to acknowledge ourselves such hardened sinners, that his benevolent and pious labours have been lost upon us. Had the author's work appeared in good king James's days, that sapient monarch might have deemed it worthy of being added as an appendix to his equally argumentative *Counterblast to Tobacco*.

The volume of "Fragments, in the

the Manner of Sterne," contains the happiest imitations that we have met with, of that whimsical and eccentric author, and will be read with pleasure by his admirers. It consists, chiefly, of dialogues, in which the interlocutors, who are of the Shandy family and connection, appear in much of their original character, and hold similar opinions and language as in their first appearance before the public. To these the author has added a beautiful and pathetic tale. But the greatest excellence of this work consists, in the moral, humane, and benevolent sentiments which it invariably inculcates.

"Vaurien, or Sketches of the Times, exhibiting Views of the Philosophies, Religions, Politics, Literature, and Manners of the Age," in 2 Vols. "in the form rather than the matter of a novel," contains shrewd remarks on men and manners, by a writer who appears to have been pretty much conversant with the world, and not an inattentive observer of the diversified characters which it presents to us; and who applies the powers of wit and lively satire in ridiculing modern philosophers and reformers, political and theological. With the exception of some passages, which will strike every enlightened reader as not being easily reconcileable with candour and liberality, we recommend his labours as what have afforded us considerable entertainment.

In the following catalogue of the Novels, Romances, &c. of the year 1797, the first ten articles possess superior claims to commendation: "The Adventures of Hugh Trevor, by Thomas Holcroft, Vols. IV. V. and VI.;" "Canterbury Tales for the Year 1797, by Harriet Lee;"

"Walsingham, or the Pupil of Nature, a Domestic Story, by Mary Robinson, in 4 Vols.;" "Cinthelia, or a Woman of Ten Thousand, by G. Walker, Author of Theodore Cyphon, &c. in 4 Vols.;" "Moral Tales, consisting of the Reconciliation, &c. by Joseph Moser, in 2 Vols.;" "The History of Vanillo Gonzales, surnamed the Merry Bachelor, from the French of Le Sage, in 2 Vols.;" "Emily de Varmont, or Divorce demonstrated by Necessity, &c. from the French of Louvet, in 3 Vols.;" "Estelle, by M. de Florian, with an Essay upon Pastoral, translated from the French, by Mrs. Susanna Cummins, in 2 Vols.;" "The Genius, or the Mysterious Adventures of Don Carlos de Grandez, by the Marquis Von Grosse, translated from the German, by Joseph Trapp, in 2 Vols.;" "Clara Duplessis, and Clairant, the History of a Family of Emigrants, translated from the German, in 3 Vols.;" "The Beggar Girl and her Benefactors, by Mrs. Bennet, in 7 Vols.;" "Parental Duplicity, or the Power of Artifice, by P. S. M. in 3 Vols.;" "The Knights, or Sketches of the Heroic Age.;" "The Inquisition, in 2 Vols.;" "Santa Maria, or the Mysterious Pregnancy, by J. Fox, in 3 Vols.;" "The Neapolitan, or the Test of Integrity, by Ellen of Exeter, in 3 Vols.;" "A Welch Story, in 3 Vols.;" "Grafville Abbey, first printed in the *Lady's Magazine*, in 3 Vols.;" "Clara Lennox, or the Distressed Widow, by Mrs. Lee, in 2 Vols.;" "An Old Friend with a New Face, by Mrs. Parsons, in 3 Vols.;" "The Girl of the Mountains, by the same Lady, in 4 Vols.;" "Munster Abbey, by the late Sir E. Leigh, in 3 Vols.;" "The Shrovetide Child, or the Son of a Monk, in 2 Vols.;" "The Submissions

fions of Dependence;" "The Count de Santerre, by a Lady, in 2 Vols;" "The Orphan of Bollenbach, or Polycarp the Adventurer;" "The Mysterious Wife, by Gabrielli, in 4 Vols;" "The Church of St. Siffrid, in 4 Vols;" "Azemia, a Descriptive and Sentimental Novel, by J. A. M. Jenks, in 2 Vols;" "Jocelina, or the Reward of Benevolence, by Isabella Kelly, in 2 Vols;" "The Castle of Bucktholme, in 3 Vols;" "Milistina, or the Double Interest, in 2 Vols;" "Count Donamar, translated from the German, in 3 Vols;" "Advertisement for a Husband, in 2 Vols;" "The Orphans of Snowdon, by Miss Gunning, in 3 Vols;" "The Spoiled Child, by Mrs. Howell, in 2 Vols;" "Disobedience, by the Author of Plain Sense, in 4 Vols;" "Henry Sommerville, a Tale, in 2 Vols;" "The Days of Chivalry, in 2 Vols;"

"The Irish Heiress, in 3 Vols;" "Percy, or the Friends;" "Love at first Sight, altered from the French, by Mrs. Gunning, in 5 Vols;" "Edmund and Eleonora, or Memoirs of the Houses of Sommerfield and Gratton, by E. Marshall, A. M. in 2 Vols;" "Phedora, or the Forest of Minski, by Mary Charlton, in 4 Vols;" "Edmund of the Forest, in 4 Vols;" "The Sorrows of Edith, or the Hermitage of the Cliffs, by Mrs. Burke, in 2 Vols;" "The History of Sir George Warrington, or the Political Quixote, by the Author of the Female Quixote, in 3 Vols;" "Rose Cecil;" "The Governess, or Courtland Abbey;" "Isidora of Galicia, by Mrs. Hugill, in 2 Vols;" "Bungay Castle, by Mrs. Bonhote, in 2 Vols;" and "The Contradiction, by the Rev. W. Cole."

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1797.

IN our short and imperfect Catalogue of the Foreign Literature of the Year 1797, we have very few articles to insert belonging to the Russian Empire. At Riga, Mr. Herder has published two treatises in Theology, in which his well-known abilities and liberality appear to eminent advantage. The first is entitled "of the Redeemer of Men, according to our three first Gospels," and the second, which completes his design, "of the Son of God, the Saviour of the World, according to the Gospel of John, &c." The object of the author is, to assist the unprejudiced in distinguishing fact from fiction, and to solve the questions, What are the Gospels? What is Christianity? What was it in the beginning? What is it to us? In prosecuting it, Mr. Herder rejects all dogmatism and mysticism, and has afforded such a practical view of our religion, as may be read with pleasure and profit by every rational believer. We cannot, however, surmise what were the grounds on which the author built his hypothesis, that Mark was neither an epitomiser of Matthew, nor a compiler from him and Luke, but that he wrote his gospel before either of them, and adhered more closely to the most ancient Hebrew gospel, to which the others made additions.

— At the same place, M. H. Storch has published the second volume of his valuable collections on the subject of the history of Russia, and given to his work the title of "an Historico-statistical Picture of the Russian Empire, at the Close of the Eighteenth Century." From his long residence in Russia, and travels into its remotest parts, and from the documents to which he has had access, we may entertain the expectation that our author will be enabled to give us a full and interesting account of that country. — "Catharine the Second at the Bar of Humanity," stated to be published at Petersburg, is a short, but spirited sketch of the principal features of that extraordinary woman, and the principal transactions of her reign, which the author has brought forwards in order to determine, in what point of view the philanthropist should consider Catharine, and whether he can justly give her the name of Great? A sufficient knowledge of Russian politics, manly sentiment, and strict impartiality, mark our author's pages, and induce him, with great justice, in our opinion, to decide the question in the negative. — At Petersburg, a splendid edition of "the Poems of Anacreon" has been published, in the original Greek, accompanied with a Russian translation.

translation.—At Riga, Mr. Fr. Schulz has published the first volume of "a Selection of Miscellaneous Maxims; for the Use of those who know the World, or who wish to know it, with a German Translation." The pieces which form this collection, are chiefly extracted from D'Aguesseau, D'Alembert, Bellegarde, Crebillon the younger, Duclos, Fontenelle, Pascal, Rousseau, and Voltaire.

The first work which we have to announce in Swedish literature, is the sixteenth volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy," Parts I.—IV. published at Stockholm. This volume contains several valuable papers in mathematics, natural history, and mechanics, by Messrs. Schröter, Ol. Swartz, Modeer, Achard, Swederus, Lidbeck, and Vice-admiral Chapman. The communications of the latter are stated in the foreign Reviews to be of very great importance to the science of ship-building. — At the same place have appeared "New Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, for the Year 1796," Parts I.—IV. To this volume, likewise, vice-admiral Chapman has contributed a valuable essay on the best form for anchors, the proper proportion of their parts, and the weight they should have in a ship of a given size. Of the other scientific papers which it contains, the most important belong to the heads of astronomy, natural history, and anatomy; and were communicated by M. O. von Acrel, M. Prosperin, M. Schröter, M. L. Nordmark, Dr. Melanderhielm, Mr. S. Cedman, M. P. N. von Gedda, and M. J. L. Odhelius. Among the curious articles which it presents to us, is a description of a man, born without hands, arms, feet, or legs, who can write, carve wood, draw,

paint, turn, make watches, &c. and who has acted as counsellor in several causes. — The fourth and fifth volumes of the "Transactions of the Royal Academy of Belle Lettres, History, and Antiquities," published at the same place, among other less important articles, speeches on the creation of members, and biographical notices, contains a curious essay on the origin and names of the celestial constellations, by Dr. Melanderhielm, intended to prove that the Hindoos were the inventors of astronomy; an answer in the affirmative to the question, whether we can form any certain judgment of the manners of a people from the decline or flourishing of the fine arts among them? by A. G. Silfverstolpe; Remarks on the Situation and State of the Finnish Nation, at the Time when it was first reduced under permanent Subjection to Sweden, by Prof. H. G. Porthan; History of Belle Lettres among the Romans, by F. H. Eberhardt; and an Enquiry into the Antiquity of Gunpowder in general, and in Sweden in particular, by M. J. Murberg. — At Stockholm, likewise, Dr. C. W. Ludeke has published the seventh volume of his curious and interesting "general Archive of Swedish Literature, under the Reign of Gustavus III." noticed in this department of our Register for the year 1795. — At the same place, M. Olave Agrell, who was formerly secretary to the Swedish consulate at Morocco, has published "Letters on Morocco, &c." which appear to furnish authentic information respecting the present state, policy, manners, &c. of that empire, written in a lively and interesting manner. On his way out the author spent some time at Gibraltar, and other parts of Spain, of which he gives a brief account.

At

—At Wexio, Dr. Olave Wallavist, bishop of that see, has published "a Sketch of a Manual of Promotion to ecclesiastical Offices, with historical Remarks on the Laws and Customs respecting it since the Reformation," which will give full information to those who wish to be acquainted with the modes of obtaining church dignities in Sweden.

With respect to the state of literature in Denmark, our information still continues exceedingly scanty. We hope that the paucity of Danish productions (for few indeed have we met with, or heard of) is not to be attributed to restrictions which rumour reports to have taken place in that country on the liberty of the press. The circumstances which we mentioned when noticing Mr. Cramer's publication, in our last volume, would seem, however, to countenance such a report. If it be well founded, the measure has originated in a short-sighted policy, incompatible with the liberal views which for some years past have appeared to actuate the Danish government, and will ultimately defeat its own ends.—At Copenhagen, M. C. J. R. Christiani, German preacher to the court, has published a work entitled "Essays for the Improvement of Mankind, &c." consisting of valuable treatises, partly written by the editor, and partly by Venturini, Marezoll, and others, the object of which is to disseminate knowledge by promoting and recommending regular systems of education for youth. It should seem that M. Christiani is at the head of an institution at Copenhagen, in which the principles developed in these essays are carried into practice, with no small degree of reputation to the worthy tutor.—At the same place, M. Chev. de Hauch has published "Elements of experimental

Physics;" which are spoken of as forming a judicious and useful work, comprehending the most modern discoveries in physics and chemistry.—In this department of our Register for the year 1792, we had the opportunity of announcing the first part of an important work entitled "Symbolæ Botanicae, &c. or more accurate Descriptions chiefly of Plants, collected by P. Forikaol, in his Travels in the East, &c." published by professor Vahl. During the present year the third part has made its appearance, and is spoken of in high terms of approbation by the foreign journalists. Of the date of the second part of the same work, we have not been able to obtain any information.—At Copenhagen hath appeared "an Alphabetical Index to the corrected and enlarged Edition of Fabricius's System of Entomology, containing the Orders, Genera, and Species," which is said to be on a good plan, and well executed.—At Kiel, professor Olivarius has commenced a respectable periodical work, of which a number is to appear once in three months; intended to present the public with a regular account of the state of literature, &c. in the north of Europe. Its title is "Le Nord Littéraire, Physique, Politique, et Morale."

On turning our view towards the Batavian republic, we still find our materials for a sketch of Dutch literary productions very limited and imperfect. At Amsterdam, the society for promoting the general weal has published two "Prize Essays concerning the Duties of a worthy Master and Mistress of a Family in common Life, with Remarks on the Causes of the little Happiness apparent in many Households," abounding in sensible and judicious advice, that may prove useful in correcting

correcting errors and bad management in the domestic relations.—At the same place, the above society have published “Prize Essays on the Defects of the lower Schools,” and “on the best Theory of Rewards and Punishments in Schools;” which are particularly adapted to the circumstances and regulations of the new republic, but afford hints that may contribute to the improvement of schools, and scholastic discipline, in other countries.—At Leyden, M. Voorda has published “twenty-eight Decades of controversial Theses,” on various subjects in jurisprudence.—In this department of our annual labours for the year 1788, we introduced to our readers the first volume of M. Sepp’s “Wonders of God contemplated in the most minute Creatures, or the Insects of the Netherlands described, &c.” published at Amsterdam. We have now to announce the completion of the third volume of that arduous and beautiful work, published at the same place, which comprises the first and second classes of Papilios, and the first and second classes of Phalenæ.—At the same place hath appeared “an Account of the last Revolution of the United Provinces,” which is represented to be a faithful and well written narrative of that event.—At the same place, M. J. H. van Swinden has published “An Eulogy on P. Nieuwland, read in the Society Felix meritis.” The subject of this warm and elegant eulogy, who died at the age of thirty, was a person of extraordinary genius and talents, which pointed him out as a proper person to fill the chair of professor of natural knowledge, the higher mathematics, civil and military architecture, hydraulics and astronomy, at Leyden. It appears that the duties of his office were discharged

by him with eminent reputation; while he occasionally distinguished himself by works of fancy and taste.—At Dordrecht, M. Hœufft has published a paraphrastic Latin version “Anacreonti quæ Tribuuntur Carminum;” which is not destitute of merit, although the elegiac measure chosen by the author is not the best adapted to convey the spirit of the light effusions of his original.—At Rotterdam, M. Henry Collet d’Escury has published a volume of “Juvenile Poems,” in Latin, which are said to reflect credit on his genius and classical attainments.—At Amsterdam hath appeared a volume of “Oriental Apologues and Tales, by the abbé Blanchet,” well known by his singularities, humour, and extreme sensibility; which are told in a manner that will entertain and please the reader. Many of them have appeared, in different forms, in other publications; and some are translated from the English.

Among the productions of Germany, for the year 1797, in Biblical Literature and Criticism, we meet with “the Academical Lectures of Sam. Fred. Nathan Morus, on the Interpretation of the New Testament, prepared for the Press, with a Preface, and Additions, by H. C. Abr. Eichstadt, P. D.” vol. I. published at Leipzig. Professor Morus’s Lectures were a kind of free comment on Ernesti, and deservedly obtained for the author a high degree of reputation, on account of the extensive erudition and critical acumen displayed in them. From the specimen before us, the editor appears well qualified to deliver them to the world in a manner not unworthy of their respectable author.—At the same place, M. C. Aug. Hempel has published “explanatory Lectures on the three Epistles of John, with a new Latin Paraphrase on them,” by the same author.

author. These Lectures are printed from a copy which the editor took while an auditor of the professor; and although less valuable, and less correct than the preceding, will prove an acceptable present to biblical scholars. — At Helmstadt, Dr. H. Ph. Con. Henke has published a German translation of archdeacon Paley's "*Horæ Paulinæ*," which the foreign journals pronounce to be much improved in its new dress, by the remarks of the translator which accompany it. — At Lemgo, M. Eman. Berger has published "a Sketch of a moral Introduction to the New Testament, for Teachers of Religion, and thinking Christians," volume I. The object of the author in this work is, to give an exposition of all the moral precepts, whether of general acceptance, or adapted to particular times and circumstances, that are contained in the New Testament writings. The volume before us comprehends the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, with a general introduction; and is executed with considerable learning and ability. When expressing his opinion of the history of our Saviour's temptation, he rejects the literal scheme of interpretation, and the equally absurd hypothesis of diabolical illusion: but instead of adopting our excellent Farmer's simple and rational scheme of its being a relation of a divine vision, containing symbolical predictions and representations of the principal trials and difficulties attending Christ's public ministry, he supposes it to be a moral fiction, related by Jesus for the instruction of his disciples, and by them misunderstood. — At Leipzig, Dr. G. J. Planck has published the second volume of his excellent "*Introduction to the Science of Theology*," which as a critical, exegetical, and historical work, is of

very high importance in biblical literature. The first volume was announced by us in our Register for the year 1794. — At the same place, M. C. Lew. Dreyfen has published a treatise "on the best Mode of instructing Youth in the Christian Religion." This is a judicious, rational performance, and will be highly prized by those Christians whose creed contains nothing in it that is superstitious or mystical. — At the same place, professor S. Theoph. Lange, of Jena, has published a "*History of the Dogmas, or Articles of Faith, of the Christian Church*, extracted from the Fathers," vol. I. In this work the author's erudition and critical skill appear to considerable advantage; but united to a freedom of opinion which will not meet with the approbation of Trinitarian and high orthodox divines. Prefixed to the volume is a well-drawn sketch of Christianity, as delivered by Christ and the apostles, and a comparison of it with Judaism. — At Erlangen, Dr. G. F. Seiler, a friend to the Lutheran system, has published a work, in two volumes "on Divine Revelations, and particularly those which were made to Jesus and his Apostles," which is valuable and interesting, as exhibiting a striking instance of the good effects produced on mens' minds of late years, by the progress of philosophy, and the historical mode of explaining the scriptures. To those advocates for revelation who do not take too high ground, it will prove an acceptable present. — At Leipzig, an anonymous popular tract of considerable merit has appeared, entitled "*Religion an important Concern of Man*;" the object of which is to shew, that religion is equally conducive to man's real happiness, and congenial to his nature. — With-
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out an imprint, a sensible and well-written tract against the celibacy of the clergy, has been circulated in Germany, entitled "Free Thoughts on the Marriage of Priests, as the Basis of a highly necessary Reform in the Catholic Priesthood, in an Examination of the late Ordinances of the Consistory of the Prince Bishop, against the Incontinency of the Clergy of the Diocese of Ratisbon, by a Bavarian Professor of Theology."—At Magdeburg, M. C. G. Ribbeck has published a second volume of "Sermons adapted to the Spirit and Wants of the Times and Place," which are said to be entitled to equal commendation with the former, noticed in our last year's Register. — At Coburg, Onesimus Braun, of the order of St. Francis, has published "Instructions for a Christian Life, in seven practical Discourses, delivered to the Country people during Lent," which inculcate sound morality, and liberal opinions, and throw out hints that there is no merit in the mechanical saying of a rosary. The latter have procured the author the honour of having his work prohibited at Vienna.

Under the heads of Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and political Economy, we have not a numerous list of articles to insert in our present year's catalogue. At Marburg, professor Theodore Tiedemann has published the sixth volume of his learned and ingenious work, entitled "the Spirit of Speculative Philosophy," which we introduced to our readers in our last volume. This part of our author's labours terminates with the close of the seventeenth century. At some future period, should the sentiments of his contemporaries respecting his qualifications for such a task, afford him sufficient encouragement, it is his intention to write the History of

of Speculative Philosophy during the Eighteenth Century. — At Halle, professor Lewis H. Jacob has published a collection of "Miscellaneous Philosophical Essays in Teleology, Politics, Theology and Morals," the characteristics of which are good sense, perspicuity, and liberality. The most important of them are on the doctrine of final causes; the principles by which political opinions and actions are to be judged; and a philosophical dialogue on providence. — "The Metaphysics of Morals, by Immanuel Kant," published at Königsberg, appear to us, instead of throwing light on that science, to confound and bewilder the reader, by the peculiarities which we have repeatedly noticed to be prominent in the professor's system. — The same remark is applicable to his "Metaphysical Elements of Jurisprudence," published at the same place. Much of what is valuable and important is, without question, comprehended in this work, as well as the former, but it is frequently involved in an obscurity and unintelligibility of expression, that greatly detract from its merit. The author is an advocate for the representative form of government, abolishing all hereditary nobility, and hereditary offices of state, and allowing the chief magistrate no authority but merely to execute the will of the people. — At Carlsruhe have appeared "Discourses with enlightened Citizens of the County of Baden, at the Conclusion of the Fiftieth Year of the Reign of Charles Frederic," which are stated to contain a pleasing picture of the benevolent endeavours of a good prince to promote the happiness of his subjects. — At Gottingen, M. G. Fred. von Martens has published a "Sketch of an Historical Developement of the true Origin of the Laws of Bills of

of Exchange; a Fragment of the History of Trade in the middle Ages; with a Collection of ancient Documents hitherto little known in Germany, consisting chiefly of Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and English Laws on the Subject." The ample title will sufficiently inform the reader of the subjects of the author's work, in investigating which he has displayed great industry and acuteness. — At Hamburg, professor Büsch, well known by his valuable theoretico-practical view of commerce, in its various branches, has published an "Essay on the History of the Commerce of Hamburg," which is represented to be a work of considerable importance, in a mercantile and political view. — At Leipzig, M. C. P. Laurop has published a treatise which deserves notice, "On the Cultivation of Birch, and its Advantages over other Trees, particularly in Places where Wood is scarce;" and at Gießen, M. A. F. W. Von Hillefheim has published an useful, though short treatise in political economy, entitled "The improved Management of the silky-haired (or Angora) Rabbit in Germany, considered in all its Parts, and collected for the Use of those who are actually engaged in it, or who intend to be so." — To the above-mentioned articles we add the titles of the following, published at Berlin: "A Collection of useful Essays and Accounts relative to Architecture, for young Architects, and Lovers of the Science, by some Members of the royal Prussian upper architectural Department," in 2 vols. with plates; "The rural Architect's Manual, with a View to the Construction of Dwelling Houses, and other necessary Buildings, by D. Gilly," vol. I.; and "On the Invention, Construction, and Ad-

vantages of Roofs formed of Planks, with a particular View to the original Writing of their Inventor," by the same author.

In the list of German productions belonging to the department of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c. we have to insert M. Bode's "Astronomical Ephemeris for the Year 1798," and also that "for the Year 1799," published at Berlin, which are not inferior in valuable communications, and interesting astronomical news, to their predecessors. — At Leipzig, M. J. Theoph. Riedel has published "Instructions for the Use of the Compass in practical Geometry," illustrated with twelve plates. Few treatises will be found so satisfactory as that before us, in enabling the reader to determine the degree of accuracy which the compass admits, the method of proving it, the means of correcting the faults discovered, and other things necessary to be known in the use of that instrument. — At Berlin, professor Jef. Huth has published a translation from the French, of "J. H. Lambert's Treatise on some acoustic Instruments, with an Appendix, on the Horn of Alexander the Great, as it is called, on Experiments with an elliptical Speaking Trumpet, and on the Application of Speaking Trumpets to Telegraphy;" which is rendered peculiarly valuable by the additions of the ingenious editor. — At Hamburg, M. G. Schmeißer has published a work which cannot fail of proving interesting to every lover of science: it is entitled "Sketch for a better Acquaintance with the present Situation of Science in France." Respecting the National Institute, the School of Arts, the School of Mineralogy, and the present state of manufactures in Paris, it conveys very interesting information, from an au-

thor who examined things very minutely himself, and had an introduction to the most distinguished members in each of the scientific departments; with an account of whom this volume is concluded. — At Leipzig, M. J. G. Hoyer, first lieutenant of the electoral Saxon pontonier corps, has published "a Sketch of a Manual of the Sciences pertaining to a Pontonier, with a View to their Application to military Purposes," in three volumes, which contain a full and perspicuous account of every thing necessary to be known in that branch of military tactics. — At Berlin, professor M. Henry Klaproth has published a second volume of "Contributions towards the chemical Knowledge of mineral Bodies," the greater part of which are new, and present us with results of considerable importance in general chemistry. The art of chemical analysis will derive much improvement from his labours. In our last year's Register we announced the appearance of M. Klaproth's first volume. — At Leipzig, professor C. F. Ludwig has published "Elements of the natural History of the human Species, sketched for academical Lectures," containing a variety of most important facts, and original remarks, whence the author has drawn instructive conclusions in anthropology. — At Halle, M. Fran. von Paula Schrank has published a treatise "on the accessory Vessels of Plants, and their Uses," illustrated with plates, which contains an ingenious and curious examination of the different kinds of hairs and glands that appear on plants, with a view to ascertain their offices in the economy of vegetable life. He imagines them to be principally destined for the absorption or discharge of fluids. — At Erlangen, professor Olave Swartz

has published "The West India Flora, enlarged and elucidated, &c." volume I. which is spoken of in very high terms by the foreign reviewers. — At Jena and Leipzig, professor A. J. C. Batfch has published "a Sketch of natural History in general, being an Abstract of the Author's Text Books," in which much valuable information is condensed into a small compass. — At Hanover, M. A. W. Roth has published "Remarks on the Study of aquatic Plants, of the Class Cryptogamia," from which the young botanist may derive much useful instruction. — At Posen and Berlin, M. F. A. von Humboldt has published "Experiments on the irritated nervous and muscular Fibre, with Conjectures on the chemical Process of Life in the animal and vegetable Kingdoms," vol. I. illustrated with plates. This is a most important work, containing a great variety of interesting facts and conclusions from them, in animal electricity, which bid fair to lead to consequences of considerable moment in the practice of medicine. — At Hanover, professor G. R. Treviranus has published a volume of "physiological Fragments," on the nervous power, and its mode of action, on vital turgescence, and on real and apparent organic warmth, from which the author has acquired considerable reputation on the continent. — At Tübingen, M. C. Fred. Clossius has published an ingenious "Essay on Decollation," in which, on various grounds, he defends the probability of an opinion, first maintained by professor Sæmmering, that the head is not deprived of consciousness till some time after it is separated from the body. — At Halle, Dr. Curt Sprengel has published "a Manual of Pathology," in three volumes, in which he has collected and digested

all the new known discoveries in the natural history of man. Dr. Sprengel's medical erudition, and indefatigable industry of research, are well known, and will recommend his labours to the attention of professional men.—At Stendal, Dr. S. Theoph. Vogel has published "The Examination of the Sick, or general philosophico-medical Enquiries for the Investigation of the Diseases of the human Body," which are conducted with circumspection, minuteness, and precision; and are rendered interesting by the occasional introduction of remarkable cases from the author's own practice.—At Leipzig, a very useful work, and masterly in point of execution, has appeared, entitled "the Army Physician's Manual, or, on the Preservation of the Health of Soldiers in the Field, Establishments for the Cure of their Diseases, and the Knowledge and Cure of the most important Diseases liable to occur in a Campaign," in two volumes.—At the same place, G. Wedekind, physician to the army of the Rhine, has published an interesting "Account of the French military Hospitals," which offers authentic documents to prove, that the health of the sick and wounded soldiers is much more regarded under the republic, than it was under the monarchy, no pains or expense being spared for their recovery.—At Jena, Dr. C. W. Hufeland has published a work entitled "the Art of prolonging Human Life," which is immoderately extolled by the German journalists. It appears, however, to contain much useful information and instruction; delivered in the form of lectures, which are divided into two parts; the former, theoretical, the latter, practical.—We can only insert the titles of the following publications: "T. S.

Sæmmering's Plate of a female Skeleton, with a Description;" royal folio, published at Frankfort; "Description of the physiological and pathological Preparations in the Collection of Aulic Counsellor Loder, at Jena, by J. Val. H. Kœhler," published at Leipzig; "C. S. Anderich's anatomical physiological Dissertation on some Nerves of the human Body, published by Ern. Ph. Anderich, Part I." at Königsberg; "Anatomical Essays, No. I. on the Structure of the Nerves, illustrated with three Plates, by J. C. Reil, M. D." published at Halle; "the History of the salival System, physiologically and pathologically considered, &c. by J. Bart. Siebold, M.D." published at Jena; "a Journal for Surgery, Midwifery, and forensic Medicine, published by J. C. Loder, Vol. I. No. I." at the same place; "a Treatise on the Venereal Disease, by C. Fr. Clossius," published at Tübingen; and "on the Effects of mineral Waters, &c. by J. E. Wichmann, Physician in ordinary to the King of Great Britain," published at Hanover.

The next German productions which call for our notice, belong to the departments of History, Geography, Biography, and Travels. In this Number is "*Χρονικὴ Γεωγραφία Φραντζῆ*, &c." now first published, by F. C. Alter, Greek professor at Vienna. This is the work of an historian, who claims a distinguished rank among the eye witnesses of the fall of the eastern empire; and professor Alter is entitled to the thanks of the literary world for the attention and care with which he has edited it. To the work of Phrantzes he has added the confession of faith of the Latins, sent by pope Gregory IX. to the patriarch Gennadius, with the answer of the patriarch and his synod,

nod, and some other creeds from MSS; corrections and additions to the Chronicle, from Crusius's Turcogræcia; and the epistle of the protonotary Theodosius Zygomalas to Martin Crusius. — At Leipzig, M. S. F. G. Wahl has published "ancient and modern fore and middle Asia, being a geographical, physical, and statistical Description and History of the Persian Empire." On this work the author has bestowed uncommon industry, in collecting information from the classical writers of antiquity, the works of learned moderns on eastern history and antiquities, and the accounts of ingenious and well-informed travellers into Persia, which have been published in this country, as well as on the continent. He has, likewise, exercised much judgment in selecting, combining, and arranging his various materials, so as to present his readers with the best geographico-historical description of Persia, which has hitherto been produced: we mean as far as the author has proceeded. For the present volume, although of no small magnitude, is only the first of an intended series on the same subject. — At Halle, and Leipzig, professor Manglesdorff has published "the ancient History of the World, compiled for the Use of his own Children, and others from twelve to fifteen Years old, or upwards," in four volumes, which is executed with judgment and spirit, and will be found instructive, as well as entertaining, by many men not unacquainted with history, as well as by young persons in the course of their education. — At Berlin, M. C. L. Woltmann has published the first volume of "a History of the States of Europe;" which is employed on the history of France. The foreign reviewers state it to be the work of no common historian, but of one who possesses

a truly philosophical head, a profound knowledge of mankind, and peculiar acuteness and felicity in the delineation of character by a few masterly strokes. — At Königsberg, M. J. G. Georgi has published the first volume of "a geographical and physical Description of the Russian Empire," which is intended to be completed in three volumes. M. Georgi resided for a considerable time in the various governments of the Russian empire, and among other sources of information had the opportunity of consulting many manuscripts, and a number of Russian works, which are for the most part unknown to foreigners. His respectable talents will enable him, from the advantages which he has possessed, to furnish his readers with an instructive and entertaining work relative to that country. The present volume, as far as it extends, is entitled to that character. — At Leipzig, M. E. A. W. Zimmermann, counsellor of the court, and professor at Brunswick, &c. has published the first volume of "a comparative Essay on France and the United States of North America, with reference to their Soils, Climates, Productions, Inhabitants, Constitutions, and progressive Formation." The principal object of this work is, to shew the dissimilarity between the revolutions of France and America, in their causes and consequences, from a description of the different countries and their inhabitants. Whatever the reader may think respecting the importance of the author's design, and the ultimate success of his industrious and ingenious researches, from the specimen before us he will conclude, that they will supply him with a large mass of valuable and curious information, and offer to him many topics of discussion which will prove interesting and entertaining. — At Weimar,

Weimar, the last-mentioned author has published a little treatise entitled "a general View of Italy," which contains more important and valuable information, than is often found dispersed in many bulky volumes. It is with pleasure that his readers will receive his promise to furnish them with a larger work on Italy, from materials which he has already collected in a tour through that country. — At Aurich, M. Tileman Dothias Wiarda, secretary to the States of East Friesland, has published a copious, authentic, and impartial "History of East Friesland," in seven volumes. — At Weimar, professor A. C. Gaspari has published the first volume of "a complete Manual of modern Geography," which is represented to be an excellent performance, and sufficiently full to satisfy every reader, excepting the geographer by profession. The volume before us contains particular descriptions of the circles of Austria, Bavaria, Suabia, and Franconia, preceded by a history of geography, as much of astronomy as concerns our globe, and the natural history of the earth. — At Budissin and Zittaw, M. C. Theoph. Frohberger has published "Letters on Herrnhut, and the Evangelical Brotherhood," containing a well-written account of the history of Herrnhut; of its topography, with the manners, &c. of the inhabitants; of the constitution of the united brethren; of their colonies and missions in different parts of the world, &c.; to which are prefixed some observations on the life and character of Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian sect. — At Leipzig, M. F. C. Laukhard has published "Adventures and Observations during the Campaign against France," which will abundantly compensate the reader for

the trouble of perusing them. His description of the Austrian military hospitals, which is confirmed by the testimony of numerous other writers, affords a horrible contrast to Dr. Wedekind's account of the French hospitals, noticed in a preceding department of our work. — At Vienna, professor Eckhel has published the seventh volume of his very valuable "Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, &c." containing the imperial coins from Antoninus Pius to the reign of Dioclesian. — At Magdeburg, M. J. Gurlitt has published "a biographical and literary Account of J. Winkelmann," which supplies us with some new anecdotes of his early life, and accurate particulars respecting some doubtful circumstances in it. — At Nuremberg, M. Fran. von Paula Schrank has published the first volume of "Accounts of the Lives and Writings of celebrated Men of Letters," which is executed with judgment and accuracy. It is intended, in some measure, to be a continuation of Nicéron's Memoirs of Men of Letters. — At Erlangen, Dr. Fred. Adam Georg has published "a Monument for my Father: the Life of J. Mich. Georg, late Director of the Royal Prussian Regency at Bayreuth, &c." in which we are presented with a striking instance of the power of talent to raise itself, by persevering industry, from the lowest condition, amid the most difficult circumstances. — At Hamburg have appeared "Anecdotes of the private Life of the Empress Catharine II. Paul I. and his Family," extracted from the papers of a young Polish officer, who served several years in the corps commanded by the present emperor, when grand duke; which are written with a degree of frankness and apparent impartiality, that renders them highly interesting,

and engages the reader's confidence in their authenticity. — "The Shade of Catharine II. in the Elysian Fields," with the fictitious imprint of Kamschatca, consists of three dialogues between Catharine and Peter the Great, Louis XVI. and Frederic II. They are drawn up in an interesting and pleasing manner, and contain many just and striking observations on the characters and conduct of the respective personages introduced. — "M. J. C. Huttner's Account of the British Embassy through China and a part of Tartary," published at Berlin, was drawn up by that gentleman while he attended the embassy in the capacity of tutor to Sir George Staunton's son, for the entertainment of his confidential friends, and without any intention of permitting it to be sent into the world, till the theft of a copy of what the author had sent to Germany, the contents of which were announced for publication in a Hamburg newspaper, rendered it expedient to take that step. It is the production of an accurate and sagacious observer, and confirms some of the most wonderful statements in Sir George's narrative, while it presents the reader with ingenious and curious observations on topics but slightly, if at all noticed in that work. — At the same place, M. Fred. Schulz has published vol. I. part I. of "New Travels through Italy," which, notwithstanding the number of similar productions, will supply the reader with much information and amusement. It was written in continuation of "the Livonian's Journey from Riga to Warsaw, &c." announced in our last volume.

The last articles which we have to insert in our catalogue of the productions of Germany for the year 1797, belong to the head of

Classical, Critical, Polite, and Miscellaneous Literature. In this number are "*Ἀριστοφανους Κωμικαὶ*, &c. corrected on the Authority of a valuable Manuscript of the tenth Century, by P. Invernizi. To which are added critical Remarks, Greek Scholia, Indexes, and Notes of the learned," in 2 vols. published at Leipzig. The principal value of this edition of Aristophanes consists in its being a copy from the MS. mentioned in the title page, which is said to be the most correct and complete existing. It supplies several chasms, and rectifies several passages: but the greatest advantage derived from it is the correction of the metre, particularly in the chorusses. The editor's remarks are cursory and trivial. — At the same place have appeared "*Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri XVII. Græca ad Opt. Cod. Manus. recensuit, Var. Lect. Adnotationibusque illustravit, Xylandri Versionem commendavit Jo. Phil. Siebenkees, Prof. Altorfinus*," tom. I. The late professor Siebenkees's learning and industry must have contributed to render this edition of Strabo valuable to the classical scholar. The best manuscripts, however, which he had the opportunity of consulting, were marked by numerous corruptions and defects. This volume contains the first three books. — At the same place, Dr. J. Severinus Vater has published "*Animadversiones et Lectiones ad Aristotelis Lib. tres Rhet. &c. with Corrections of the Text, &c.*; to which is added an Appendix, by Fr. Aug. Wolf." The known learning and celebrity of the annotators cannot fail of rendering this work an acceptable present to the admirers of Aristotle. — At Nuremberg, M. J. Wolfgang Müller has published "*A Commentary on two obscure mathe-*

mathematical Passages in Plato's Works, one of which occurs in the *Thætes*, the other in the *Meno*," which he is said to have elucidated in a very happy and satisfactory manner.—At Leipzig, Dr. J. Severinus Vater has published "A Hebrew Grammar, with a Criticism on the Methods of Danz and Meiner in the Preface." On this work the German reviewers remark, that it contains many new, excellent, and striking observations; and that they cannot recommend a better to any one, who would study the Hebrew thoroughly.—At Altenberg, professor J. Fred. Degen has published "An Account of German Translations of the Greek Writers," vol. I, A—K, on a similar plan, and with the same diligence which he discovered in his History of the Translations of the Latin Classics, published in the year 1795.—At Frankfurt, M. P. L. de Beauclaire has published the second and third volumes of his "Series of Gallicisms, or Idioms of the French Language:" a work first noticed by us in this department of our Register for the year 1794. The third volume is rendered particularly curious by the introduction of a neological dictionary, or vocabulary of new words, or terms, recently invented, and brought into use since the French revolution; with many expressions and modes of speech now in fashion.—At Gottingen, professor Eichhorn has published the first volume of a work entitled a "General History of the Culture and Literature of modern Europe," from which the elegant scholar may promise himself much genuine entertainment. The object of the author is to trace the progress of letters, science, and the fine arts, their gradual migrations, and local revolutions, &c. from the middle of the

dark ages to our own times. The volume before us contains the author's first period, extending from about the year 1100 to 1450; and reflects great credit on his diligence and accuracy of investigation, and on the talents which he possesses for advancing the interests of polite literature. With his services in the cause of biblical and theological learning, our readers are not unacquainted.—At Weimar, M. C. A. Böttiger has published "Grecian Paintings on Vases, with archæological and artificial Illustrations of the original Prints," vol. I. This work is the production of an author distinguished by that learning, sagacity, and taste, which must render his labours in the department to which he has in the present instance devoted them, highly acceptable to scholars and artists. The dearth of sir William Hamilton's well-known collections suggested the idea of the work before us, in which the prints are stricken off from the original plates, and accompanied with a new commentary by our author.—To the articles already enumerated we add the titles of the following: "The Works of C. M. Wieland, complete," vols. XX—XXIII. both inclusive, published at Leipzig; "Letters to a Lady, on the Arts, by Jos. Fred. Baron Rackwitz," parts I. and II. published at Dresden; "The Torso, a periodical Publication, dedicated to ancient and modern Art, by C. Bach and P. C. Benkowitz," vol. I. published at Breslaw; "The corporeal World displayed in 360 Figures in Copperplate, with Explanations in French and German, calculated to teach Children the Names, Qualities, and Uses of such things as come before their Eyes, by J. H. Meynier," published at Augtburg; "Mineral Waters, a Poem, in four Cantos, by

Valerius William Neubeck, M. D." published at Breslaw; "Elements of a Theory of the Art of acting, with the Analysis of a comic and tragic Part, Shakspeare's Falstaff and Hamlet, by the Chamberlain Von Einfiedel, of Weimer," published at Leipzig; "New Travels round my Room," published at Brunswick; "History of Families, by Augustus de Fontaine. Family of the Haldens," in 2 vols. published at Berlin; "Wilhelmina, a History, by J. F. Junger," in 2 vols. published at the same place; and "The Emigrants, a Novel," in 4 Vols. published at Brunswick.

The first work, in point of order, which claims our notice among the literary productions of Switzerland, is a volume of "Select Sermons, by J. G. Fisch, second Preacher at Aaraw," published at that place. These sermons have been sent by the author into the world, in justification of himself against a malignant calumny, that he did not preach the truths of Christianity. From the specimens which they afford us of his pulpit discourses we can easily conceive, that his services do not meet with the approbation of fanatics, or of those who strictly conform their religious principles to systematic creeds and confessions of faith. But to sober rational Christians they must prove acceptable and edifying. As compositions they reflect credit on M. Fisch's abilities; and the sentiments which pervade them are such as do honour to Christianity, by representing it to be a yoke that is easy, and a burthen that is light. At Laufanne, a little piece has been published entitled "A Manual of practical Philosophy, &c." which consists, chiefly, of extracts, essays, and moral maxims, selected from English publications relating to the subject of edu-

cation. It is flattering to receive the editor's testimony to the merit of that species of our domestic literature, that "the mildest philosophy, the greatest simplicity, and the most judicious manner of conveying instruction, distinguishes those numerous literary productions."—At Geneva, the celebrated Bertrand Barère has published a work entitled "On our Scheme of Government, &c." which contains an ingenious illustration of the principles of the republican government in France, and an artful well-written eulogium on its merits. But independently of the partiality which must be allowed to have guided the author's pen, and the particular application of his sentiments, many of his remarks on government, civil liberty, public institutions, and political economy, are highly deserving of attention.—At Zurich, M. C. U. D. von E. has published two volumes of "Archives of political Economy and Legislation," containing extracts of what he deemed most valuable in the various little tracts on the above-mentioned subjects, published between the years 1774 and 1795, digested under their respective heads, in alphabetical order. Useful as we acknowledge the author's design to be, we wish that he may not in some measure defeat it, by rendering his work too voluminous. In the volumes before us, consisting nearly of a thousand pages, he has not exhausted the letter A.—At the same place, the same author has published "Annals of political Economy, Vol. I. for the year 1795;" which is conducted on a similar plan, and consists of extracts from treatises published since the year 1794, together with corrections and additions to the Archives.—At Laufanne, M. Brez has published an interesting and well-written "Histo-

ry of the Vaudois, or Inhabitants of the western Vallies of Piedmont," in 2 vols.—At Zurich, professor Jasp. Fäsi has published "A Sketch of a Manual of the Statistics of Switzerland," abounding in much accurate and valuable information, compressed within a narrow compass. The author is the son of the late J. Conr. Fäsi, well known for his geography of Switzerland.—At the same place, M. F. J. Stalder has published two volumes of "Fragments on Entlebuch, with a Supplement respecting Switzerland in general." The account with which these fragments present us of the manners and customs of the pastoral inhabitants of that alpine country, will be found entertaining by readers in general, and not unworthy the notice of the philosopher.—In Switzerland, but the place not mentioned, Bertrand Barrère has published a pamphlet entitled "Montesquieu painted from his Works," containing a warm and eloquent eulogium on the talents and judgment of Montesquieu, in his character of a writer on government and legislation, not unmixed with acute animadversions and free criticisms on those opinions and principles which are unfavourable to the sentiments and institutions of revolutionised France.—At Lausanne, Dr. Tissot has published "The Life of M. Zimmermann, Counsellor of State, and first Physician to the King of England, &c." which has been naturalised in this country, and noticed among the biographical articles in our view of the Domestic Literature of the present year.—At Zurich, an instructive and entertaining work has appeared, entitled "Aloysius von Orelli; a biographical Essay; with Fragments of Italian and Swiss History, and a Picture of the domestic Manners of the Town of Zurich, in the Middle of the 16th Century, by S. v. O. v. B.; with a Preface by H. H. Fuesli."—In our view of the Foreign Literature of the year 1795, we announced the publication, at the last mentioned place, of professor Meiners's valuable and interesting "Lives of celebrated Men who flourished at the Time of the Revival of Science." He has since added a second and a third volume to that collection, which will afford abundant gratification to the reader. The second volume contains the biographies of Picus of Mirandola, Angelo Poliziano, Ambrosio Degli Agnioni, or Ambrosius Traversarius, general of the Camaldulensian order of monks, and Herman von dem Busche, or Rudolf Agricola; and the third volume is wholly devoted to an account of the life and writings of the celebrated Ulrich von Hutten.—At the same place, M. C. C. H. Rost has published two volumes of an useful and entertaining work, entitled "The Amateur and Collector's Manual of the principal Engravers, and their Works, from the Commencement of the Art to the present Time, arranged chronologically and in Schools, compiled from the French Manuscript of M. Huber." These volumes are entirely employed on an account of the lives and principal works of artists of the German school.—At Basil, have appeared "Publii Terentii Comœdiæ Sex, &c." stated by the foreign reviewers to be a splendid publication, in which the text of Bentley is chiefly followed, though not without variation; and which in critical correctness equals its typographical beauties.—At Lausanne, the "Tragedies of Count V. Alfieri da Asti," have been published, in five volumes; at Basil, a poem entitled "The Inhabitants of the Coun-

Country, or the French Georgics," by the celebrated Le Lille, author of 'The Gardens,' and translator of Virgil's Georgics; and at Geneva, "Cyrus and Milto, or the Republic," a political romance, by M. H. D'Ussieres.

With respect to Italy, literature can have been but little cultivated amid the extraordinary circumstances which have agitated that country during the year 1797; and our information respecting such productions as have made their appearance, is unusually imperfect. At Venice, we understand that "The Book of Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher," and "The Book of Wisdom," have been translated into Italian, by F. Boaretti; but of the merits of those versions we have seen no account.—At Naples, a work has been published entitled "Elements of the Roman Laws, &c. by Scorzafave," which is stated to be well adapted for the instruction of students in civil law.—At Florence, P. Fossombrons has published a curious "Essay on the Principle of virtual Velocity."—At Pavia, citizen Valer. Lewis Brera, professor of Physic, has published a thesis "On the Effects produced on the human Body, by means of Friction with Saliva, and various Substances, &c." who has found, by a series of experiments, that opium, squills, acetated kali, digitalis, and other drugs, if mixed with gastric juice, or with saliva, produce the same effects, when rubbed into various parts of the body, as when administered internally.—At Venice, D. Targioni has published "The Life of Cavallucci, the Painter," in which the character of the artist is delineated with the skill of a connoisseur.—At Siena, P. M. Guglielm. Della Valle has published "The Lives of ancient Greek and Roman Painters;"

which display much learning, industry of research, and sagacity of illustration, but are greatly defective in perspicuity and the graces of composition.—At Pavia, F. A. Muzzi has published "Researches into the Hebrew Language;" and at Parma, S. Requeno has published an elaborate "Elucidation of the Art of manual Gesticulation," as practised by the ancients.

In French literature, the first publication on our list is "The Manual of the Philanthropist," which has been translated into English, and already engaged our attention among the productions which have issued from our domestic press, during the present year.—"The Works of Helvetius," a new and complete edition, have been published by citizen Laroche; which he has been enabled to perfect from the manuscripts bequeathed to him by that celebrated metaphysician.—The "Refutation of the Work on the Mind, delivered at the republican Lyceum, by John Francis La Harpe," contains popular, and sometimes successful, but more frequently loose and trifling objections against some of the leading positions of the last mentioned author. M. La Harpe seems to have entered the lists against Helvetius, without any accurate acquaintance with what preceding metaphysicians have written, either in support or confutation of his opinions.—The treatise entitled "The Philosopher of the Universe," is employed in investigating the doctrine of optimism, to which the author seems more inclined than to the opposite notion. Among many singularities, it discovers a commendable zeal for the interests of benevolence, and of morality.—For the illumination of the Parisians, M. Hercules Peyer-Imhoff has translated into French the
"Observ-

"Observations on the Sentiment of the Beautiful, and of the Sublime, by Emanuel Kant." How far they may admire the abstruse and obscure speculations of the German professor, we shall not venture to surmise, but the title of the work will most probably engage them to examine it.—"The Spirit of Mirabeau, or a Manual for Statesmen, Publicists, Officers of Government, and Orators, &c." in 2 vols. consists of extracts from the well-known works of that writer, containing his most important sentiments and remarks on the subjects of social union, institutions, education, public morals, civil and penal legislation, agriculture, commerce, finance, the military system, diplomacy, philosophy, history, and general literature. These extracts are preceded by a sketch of his life, apparently accurate and impartial.—C. Guiraudet, in his treatise entitled "Of Families, considered as the Elements of Societies," has displayed much ingenuity in tracing the progress of regular societies from the patriarchal system.—The "Dissertation on the Means of effecting a Regeneration of France, &c. by Citizen De la Croix," contains a number of sensible and important observations and hints, respecting civil legislation, criminal law, judicial errors, freedom of enquiry, &c. an attention to which might prove beneficial to other nations as well as France. In the concluding part of his work, in which he treats of the means of effecting a durable peace with the enemies of the republic, the reader will meet with some severe reflections on the system pursued by the British ministry, which their advocates and supporters will not easily prove to be unmerited.—J. La Chapelle's "Philosophical Considerations on the French Revolution, or

an Examination of the general Causes, and principal immediate Causes, which have determined that Revolution, influenced its Progress, and contributed to its moral Deviations, and political Exaggerations," is spoken of in the foreign journals as a very valuable, and very interesting publication.—L. Ginguene's "Refutation of M. Necker's Book on the French Revolution," contains an able defence of the French assemblies against the invectives of the ex-minister, distinguished for perspicuity, precision, and elegance.

Among the publications of France in mathematics and philosophy, we meet with "an elementary Treatise of mathematical Analysis, by J. A. J. Cousin, of the National Institute of Sciences and Arts at Paris." This work, which adds considerably to the already high reputation of the author, is divided into four parts. The first contains the principles of analysis; the second their explanation; the third treats of the resolution of determinate equations; and the fourth of indeterminate analysis.—We likewise meet with ingenious "Researches into the Principle of the lateral Communication of Motion in Fluids," by professor Venturi.—"Flamsteed's celestial Atlas, reduced by M. J. Fortin, a new Edition, with Additions by Citizens Lalande and Mechain," consists of thirty plates, with an explanation composed anew by Lalande, and important observations on Flamsteed's work. It presents us with the addition of a considerable number of stars, and of the following constellations introduced within the last twenty years: the mural Quadrant, formed by Lalande in commemoration of the catalogue of stars undertaken by him during the most violent crisis of the revolution; the Vine-keeper (Meftier),

fer), in honour of the astronomer of that name, by the same; the Poniatowsky's Bull, the Family Arms of the last King of the Poles, by M. Poczobut, a Polish Astronomer; the Frederic's Glory, by M. Bode; the greater and less Herschellian Telescope, and the George's Harp, by M. Hell. — The "Connoissance des Temps, or astronomical Journal for the sixth Year of the Republic (1798)," and the same annual publication for the seventh year (1799), besides the usual ephemerides, contain the history of astronomy to the year 1794; valuable astronomical communications from Lalande, Mechain, Messier, Vidal, and others; and a memoir concerning the globes or balls of fire which occasionally appear in the atmosphere. — The "Chemical Annals, or a Collection of Memoirs concerning Chemistry, and the Arts dependent on that Science," after a considerable interruption, have again been resumed, to the no small satisfaction of the philosophical world. The twenty-first and twenty-second volumes have reached this country, and furnish the scientific reader with a variety of valuable and interesting papers. The most distinguished contributors are Messrs. Guyton (formerly well known as M. de Morveau), J. A. Chaptal, Vauquelin, R. Pelletier, Klaproth, Van Marum, A. Seguin, Prevost, Venturi, Van Mons, Bouillon la Grange, and Fourcroy. — Of the five volumes of "the Theory of the Earth, by J. C. Delametherie, the second Edition, corrected and enlarged," the first and second are devoted to mineralogy, and are the evident result of extensive enquiry, and diligent application. The third contains speculations on the power and properties of matter, in which hypothesis and fancy are a-

bundantly predominant. The last two alone treat of the theory of the earth, in which we cannot pronounce the author less liable to objection, than some of the preceding writers, whose opinions he has undertaken to review and controvert. — "The Philosophy of Mons. Nicolas," in three volumes, is one of the most extraordinary farragos of extravagance and absurdity, that ever was delivered to the world through the medium of the press, under the name of philosophy. — The "Memoirs of Natural History and Natural Philosophy, established on Bases of reasoning, independent of all Theory, &c. by J. B. Lamarck, Member of the Institute," are intended to overturn the foundations of the pneumatic chemistry, and to establish a new theory in opposition to it. They are, however, frequently too profound for our comprehension; and when we do understand the author, we perceive in them more of assumption and speculation, than of legitimate induction from facts. — The "Essay on the medical and physical Topography of Paris, or a Dissertation on the Substances which may influence the Health of the Inhabitants of that City, &c. by Audin Roviére," is well conceived, and well executed, and to the Parisians must prove interesting. It is divided into two parts: the first treating of the situation, soil, air, seasons, food, water, mode of living, and cloathing of Paris; the second of its hospitals. — Professor Chaussier has published "A Synopsis of the human Muscles;" Professor Portal, "Observations on the Nature and Treatment of the Rickets, or Curvatures of the Spine, and of the superior and inferior Extremities;" Messrs. Moreau and Burdin, "an Essay on the humid Gangrene;" M. Villars, "Elements

ments of Medicine and Surgery;" M. Sabatier, a work "on the most frequent Surgical Operations," in three volumes; and professor Tourtelt, "Directions for preserving Health," in two volumes.

Among the articles in French literature belonging to the head of History, Biography, and Travels, is M. de Rulhière's "History of, or Anecdotes respecting the Revolution in Russia, in the Year 1762," of which we have already given an account, when noticing a translation of it, in our view of the Domestic Literature of the present year. — In our catalogue of the Foreign Literature of the year 1792, we introduced to our readers five volumes of "a History of the Revolution, of 1789, &c. by two Friends to Liberty." During the present year the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th volumes of that minute, but fair and dispassionate work, have reached this country, and will greatly assist the reader in forming an accurate judgment of the state of parties in France, as well as in obtaining particular information of all the public proceedings, till the dissolution of the second, or legislative assembly. — "The Spy of the French Revolution, by M. C*** formerly Member of several Academies," in two volumes, is a strange heterogeneous production, sometimes historical, sometimes political, sometimes poetical, and sometimes farcical; which may occasionally amuse the reader, by the anecdotes which the author details, and his sallies of wit and humour, but cannot be relied on as a faithful collection of historical documents. It is stated to have been composed in prison, during the ascendancy of Robespierre, on scraps of paper; and is bitter and acrimonious against the supporters of the republican

system. — "The complete Works of Freret," in twenty volumes, comprise the various treatises of that celebrated and able scholar in ancient history, chronology, mythology, antiquities, and geography, which have been long known to the literary world; and what are called his posthumous works, containing attacks on the apologists for christianity, and the letters of Thrasylus, hostile to natural religion. The latter, with a greater proportion of learning and subtilty, are in the usual style and manner of the writings of the French infidel school. — "The Campaigns of General Buonaparte in Italy, during the 4th and 5th Years of the French Republic (1796 and 1797), by a general Officer," consist, almost wholly, of public papers, connected together by a small degree of narrative, and critical commentary. Yet the whole forms one of the most interesting details which history presents to us. — The "Historical and Geographical Memoirs relating to the Countries between the Black Sea and the Caspian," will be found useful in correcting errors, and supplying deficiencies in former accounts of those countries. — The "Elements of Geography, by Citizen Bouchesfeiche," are drawn up with a degree of simplicity and perspicuity, that have recommended them to the legislature as proper to be used in the schools of public instruction. — The "Eulogy of Bailly," and the "Notices of the Life and Works of Condorcet," and "of the Life and Works of Lavoisier," by J. De Lalande, are short but interesting biographical memoirs of men, whose talents, science, eloquence, and philanthropy, will secure to them lasting memorials in the temple of fame, while their unfortunate lot in the convulsions attendant

tendant on the French revolution, will be long and feelingly lamented by every lover of useful and ornamental literature. — "The Life of Catharine II. Empress of Russia, with the Portraits of that Sovereign, of Peter III. of Prince Orloff, of Poniatofsky King of Poland, of Paul Petrovitch the present Emperor, and of Prince Potemkin," in two volumes, although its opening will not recommend it, on account of the romantic manner in which the author affects to have obtained some of his materials, contains, nevertheless, a copious collection of curious and interesting facts, of the authenticity of which we see no just reason to doubt. The portraits which it exhibits are well drawn, and apparently taken from life; and the author's reflections are just and animated. It is generally supposed to have been written by the younger Segur, from the papers of the several French ambassadors to the court of Petersburg, which have been brought to light by the French revolution. — "The five Men, &c. by Joseph Despaze," presents us with an eloquent and entertaining view of the history and character of Letourneur, Rewbell, Reveilliere Lepaux, Barras, and Carnot, which is highly encomiastic, although the author strongly disavows any intention of intoxicating with flattery the chiefs of the republic. M. Despaze is an able and spirited writer, and appears to be accurately acquainted with the state of parties, and the political events which call for his notice and observations; but whether the portraits in his groupe are drawn from the life, or otherwise, it is not in our power to determine. This work has been translated into English by John Stoddart. — The "new Voyage round the World, &c. in 1788-90, preceded

by a Tour into Italy and Sicily, in 1787, with a Selection of the most curious Remarks of Travelers relative to the Arts, Sciences, commercial and natural Productions, Manners, &c. of all Parts of the Globe, excepting Europe, by F. Pages," in three volumes, is chiefly a compilation from the works of preceding writers, intermixed with the results of his own enquiries and observations, not communicated in his former travels. He appears, in general, to have had recourse to accurate sources of information, and has provided for general readers much rational amusement. — The "picturesque Tour and Voyage on a Part of the Rhone, hitherto deemed innavigable, by T. C. Boissel," illustrated with seventeen plates, is not designed so much to depict the beauties on the banks of that river (although these are not neglected), as to give an account of a passage made on it, from Collonges to Seyssel, and to point out the means of rendering it navigable for rafts, at no great expence, in order to supply the French navy with masts. Considered in that light, it is a publication that will prove interesting in France. — "The Traveller at Paris, a picturesque and moral View of that Capital," in three volumes, consists of an alphabetical description of the public buildings, works of art, establishments, &c. in that city, interspersed with various information, reflections on ancient and modern customs, anecdotes, and remarks, which, although unconnected and desultory, form an amusing whole. The author's prejudices are not in favour of the new order of things.

The remaining articles in our catalogue of French publications during the year 1797, belong to the department of Classical, Polite, and Miscel-

Miscellaneous Literature. In this number is M. Levesque's new translation of Thucydides's "History of the Peloponnesian War," in four volumes, which we have seen commended for its fidelity and elegance. — "The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippa, by Achilles Tatius, translated from the Greek, &c." is an abridgment of an elegant version of that ancient novel, which has been generally attributed to the abbé Desfontaines. In its present form, the eight books of the original are compressed into four; the indelicacy of many of the passages is corrected; and it is illustrated by valuable explanatory notes. — "The Life of J. Agricola, by Tacitus," a new translation by D***, is the production of an author who is represented to have spent two years upon it, written it five times, and corrected it still oftener. The foreign journalists state, that the result of his labours is one of the best translations of the life of Agricola which they have seen, notwithstanding that the French language is ill adapted to express the force and brevity of the original. — The translation of "Valerius Maximus's memorable Actions and Sayings, &c." by C. Binet, in two volumes, is also spoken of as respectable in point of accuracy and elegance. — The publication entitled "Roman Nights at the Tomb of the Scipios," in the Italian language, was composed by the learned and ingenious count Verri, of Milan, and first published at Rome. It consists of imaginary conversations on different subjects in Roman history, executed with spirit and taste, abounding in information, and in just and striking sentiments. — "Pisigraphy, or the first Elements of the new artificial Science of writing and printing in one Language, in such a Manner as to be read and under-

stood in any other Language, without Translation, &c." is a truly ingenious and curious publication, which displays the author's extensive acquaintance with the philosophy of language, and suggests remarks and hints which the grammarian may convert to valuable purposes. We are persuaded, however, that the author's plan involves in it too many difficulties to be useful, at least to any considerable extent. — "The posthumous Works of Montesquieu," compose one volume in 8vo. and consist of a dissertation on the policy of the Romans in matters of religion; a dissertation on the nature of the echo; observations on natural history; discourses pronounced at the academy at Bourdeaux; eulogies; pieces in verse; an analysis of the spirit of laws; and familiar letters, thoughts on different subjects, and anecdotes. The authenticity of the MSS. from which these different pieces have been printed, is attested by the secretary of the National Institute, and by the librarian of Bourdeaux. — From the press of Didot has issued a most splendid edition of "the Works of J. J. Rousseau," in seventeen volumes imperial 4to. embellished with numerous plates, executed by the first masters. — We have, likewise, seen the publication of the following treatises announced: "the Theatre of Seneca, a new Translation, by C. Coupe," in two volumes; "the three Fabulists, Æsop, Phædrus, and la Fontaine," in four volumes, the two former poets translated into French, and the latter accompanied with notes; a treatise "on Allegories and Emblems, by C. Gaucher," in four volumes; "an Essay on the Progress of Music in France, on the Means of securing the Cultivation of it, &c. by J. B. Le-clerc;" "the complete Works of Marfais," in seven volumes;

lumes; "the Works of Mancini Nivernois," volumes three, four, and five, which are miscellaneous, and supplementary to his two volumes of Fables, noticed in our last year's Register; "the Captivity of La Fayette, an Heroid, with Plates, and historical Notes, containing Particulars hitherto unknown, by Charles D'Agrain;" "the Batavians, by Bitaubé;" "the Capture of the Bucket, an heroic comic Poem," translated from the Italian of Tassoni; and a satirical poem entitled "an Epistle on Calumny," by Chenier.

We shall now close our sketch of the Foreign Literature of the year, with briefly inserting some notices which have reached us of different Spanish publications. — At Madrid, the marquis de Mondejar has published "an Examination of Mariana's History of Spain," in which he has corrected several errors in that historian. — At the same place have appeared "the Secret Life of King Philip II." commonly attributed to the abbé de St. Réal, but by some to the celebrated Antonio Perez, secretary of state to that monarch; the "Eulogy of Antonio de Lebrija," one of the literary ornaments of Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries, by Don J. B. Munoz, author of the History of the New World; and "the Universal Traveller, or Accounts of the World ancient and modern, compiled from the best Authors, by D. Pedro Estala," published periodically. — At the same place, that eminent botanist, don Ant. Jos. Cavanilles has published "Observations on the Natural History, Geography, Agriculture, Population, and Produce of the Kingdom of Valencia," in two volumes folio, with maps and plates, which constitute one of the most important works that has appeared

concerning Spain in modern times; and "a Description, with Engravings, of 300 Plants, collected in the Neighbourhood of Madrid, and in the Kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia," in three volumes folio, with numerous engravings. — At the same place D. D. Ruir and Pavon have published "Novorum Generum Plantarum Peruvianarum et Chilenium Descriptiones et Icones," illustrated with seventeen large folio plates. — At Cadiz, has appeared a treatise entitled "Tauro-machy, or the Art of Bull-fighting, by D. Jos. Delgado," himself an experienced fighter, who deems it the noblest and most delightful of all sports, and rejoices in the idea that the passion for it is now at the highest pitch. — At Madrid, P. P. M. M. friar Thomas Connelly, of the Dominican order, and friar F. Higgins, of the Carmelite order, have published "a new and complete Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages," in two volumes, containing the English before the Spanish; which are to be followed by two other volumes, containing the Spanish before the English. — At the same place have been published, a treatise "on the Origin, Progress, and Stages of Castilian Poetry;" "an Examination of whatever belongs to the Origin of Spanish Poetry, in each of its principal Kinds in particular;" "Collections of Castilian Poetry; the Comments and Notes by which it has been illustrated; and the Translations in the Castilian Tongue from the Poets of other nations;" "Letters of Eloisa and Abelard, in Spanish Verse, accompanied with Notes," that in the name of Eloisa translated from Pope; and "the World, a Dream," a satire on the manners of the present age.

